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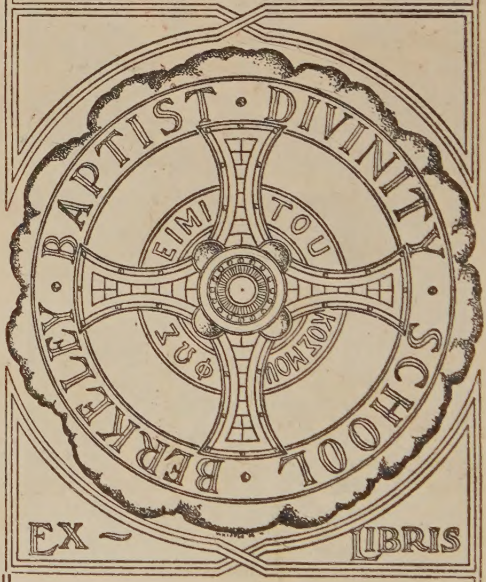

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CATHEDRA PETRI.

A

Political History

OF THE

GREAT LATIN PATRIARCHATE.

BOOKS III. IV. & V.

FROM THE CLOSE OF THE FIFTH TO THE MIDDLE OF THE NINTH CENTURY.

BY

THOMAS GREENWOOD,
M.A. CAMB. AND DURH., F.R.S.L., BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

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PREFACE.

THE remarks which the First and Second Books of this work have called forth,—and for which the writer begs to return his best thanks to his censors,—induce him to explain himself more clearly upon certain points which seem not to have been as thoroughly understood as he desired.

In his Preface to the published volume, the writer disavowed all intention to substitute any peculiar opinions of his own for proved matter of fact. He has, in truth, endeavoured throughout the work accurately to mark the distinction between the testimony of the witnesses, and the conclusions or inferences to which that testimony might conduct him or his readers. Still it was his manifest duty to ascertain, at all risks, the quality and value of the testimony produced to establish the truth of the facts narrated. Having determined this material point, and indicated the bearing of the truths thus elicited upon the resulting series, the acceptance or rejection of the conclusions arrived at ought, he thought, to be left to the unfettered judgment of the reader.

And, indeed, it has not been objected to him that he has withheld any evidence, or that he has distorted or garbled that which he has adduced to suit any peculiar views of his own. The charge seems to be, that he has too rashly rejected, or with less pardonable partiality explained away, certain proofs which ought to have been implicitly received; and he is told that the inferences founded upon these errors must fall to the ground.

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The objections taken by his courteous reviewers turn principally upon two points: I. The personal presence at some period of his life of the apostle Peter at Rome, his preaching in that city, and his martyrdom there in the reign of Nero: and II. The genuine character of the primitive church-constitution.

I. As to the first point, it is alleged that the writer has deliberately rejected or set aside certain *direct* and *positive* testimony to the fact of St. Peter's residence and martyrdom at Rome. By reference, however, to his work, it will be seen that every witness was called to the point upon whose means of information or veracity any reliance could be placed.[a] It is no imputation upon the writer, if, upon a minuter inquiry into the value of their testimony, he should have found himself constrained to give a preference to those witnesses who lived nearest to the time; who had the best means of knowing, and the strongest inducements to publish and make known to their hearers a fact of such extraordinary importance to the community of which they were the chiefs and the instructors. These early eye- and ear-witnesses he finds to have been either wholly silent upon the subject, or to have abstained from any direct assertion, *as substantive facts within their own personal knowledge*, that St. Peter at any period of his life dwelt, preached, founded a church, or died at Rome. He observes, indeed, that the writers in question speak of Peter and Paul as "founders" of a church at Rome; but it is by no means clear that they intend to affirm the personal presence of either, or that they alluded to them in any other character than that of the founders of a church there, as they were the founders of a church at Antioch, at Jerusalem, at Corinth, or any other among the multitude of Christian communities they had collected in the great cities of the empire and elsewhere. Two of these witnesses, remotest in point of time to the fact in question, allude to an *influential* presence of St. Peter in Italy, but without specifying time or place, or any of those attendant

[a] See the rule laid down in p. vii. of the preface to vol. i.

circumstances which denote the existence of a positive knowledge and belief in the mind of the witness himself, and give us confidence in the accuracy of his deposition—which, in fact, constitute the distinction between a faithful conviction of the truth, and vague hearsay credence or mere traditional belief.

Yet this evidence, such as he found it, was neither rejected nor explained away by the writer. It was allowed, on the contrary, to have the full weight that properly belonged to it. But vague and inconclusive testimony like this is peculiarly open to the influence of adverse facts. Such facts may have the effect of either overthrowing the conclusion altogether, or of rendering it imperative upon us to suspend our judgment on the question at issue. Several facts, in truth, were adduced which seemed to have a contrary bearing. It cannot be denied, for instance, that St. Peter dates his first Epistle from a city, or region, which he denotes by the name of *Babylon;* and in order to make this date evidence of the place from which that epistle was really written, it becomes necessary to determine the questions, Whether the Babylon thus mentioned was the ancient Mesopotamian city of that name; or the Egyptian Babylon of the Delta; or, lastly, whether we are to believe that Rome, the mystical Babylon of a later age, was intended by the writer.

Now, presuming St. Peter to have written his epistle from Rome, there springs up the question of the time *when* it was written. And here step in two negative facts, which necessarily restrict the epoch and the period of his residence there within a very narrow span. It may be taken for granted that St. Peter was not at Rome when St. Paul wrote his second epistle to Timothy, very shortly before his own death (ann. 65 or 66). It is impossible to allege any reliable proof that Peter was there at any given point of time during the ministry of St. Paul in Rome: he was not there when the latter arrived in the city; he was not there within a year of the death of St. Paul. When was he there? It is replied, At some time within the latter period. So be it; but then, whence did he come? To this question we must either profess our total ignorance, or reply—

from Babylon. From the Babylon of Mesopotamia, or of the Memphian nome of Egypt? If from the former, he must have travelled a distance of 2000 miles,—in those days a work of time and fatigue,—in order to dignify the Roman church by his martyrdom: if from the latter, both time and labour would have been less, though still considerable, as we may learn from the length of St. Paul's voyage from Jerusalem to Rome some five or six years before.

Without denying the possibility of the journey, the probabilities are all against it; and that probability is still further reduced by a consideration of a different character. It is not controverted that the peculiar mission of Peter was to the Jews of the dispersion, as that of Paul was to the Gentiles. It is therefore more probable that he would dedicate his life and labours to the conversion of the Jews, and that he would choose for the scene of his activity precisely the spot where they were collected in the greatest numbers, than that he should at the latest period of his life have wandered to Rome, where the field was already occupied by that fellow-labourer to whom it had been specially assigned by himself and his apostolic brethren.

But an objection *in limine* is here taken to the possibility of Babylon of Mesopotamia ever having been the residence of St. Peter. It is alleged that at the date of the death of the apostle, and for many years before, that city had become a desert —an uninhabited waste tenanted only by wild beasts. But the writer believes that this allegation is altogether untenable. The facts stand thus: Strabo (lib. xiv. c. i. § 5) says, indeed, that in his time "Babylon, the great city, had become a great desert." Now, it should be borne in mind, that Strabo was born (according to the best computation) in the year 54 B.C.; that his Geography was probably published about the year A.D. 18; and that he died about A.D. 25, in the reign of Tiberius. If, therefore, his description of the state of Babylon at that epoch is to be taken in its literal import, the city must have *then* been an uninhabited wilderness. But according to Josephus

(lib. xviii. c. ix. § 38), it was at that very time the abode of a very numerous colony of Jews. From him we learn that in the reign of the emperor Caligula, that is, between the years A.D. 37 and 41, a great body of Jews migrated *from Babylon* to the neighbouring Seleucia to escape the persecutions of the Parthians of that city. He then informs us, that within the same period 50,000 of that people perished by the hands of the hostile Seleucians. Without trusting to the accuracy of the numbers (always a very uncertain reliance), the fact of such a serious massacre sufficiently proves the great numbers of the Jews shortly before then settled in Babylon.

If, therefore, the words of Strabo are to be taken literally, they imply a direct contradiction to the information derived from Josephus. If, on the other hand, we adopt the account of Josephus, we must take Strabo's description of the state of Babylon in his days, *i. e.* anterior by a space of at least twenty years to the migration of the Jews to Seleucia, as intended simply to mark the vast contrast between the extent and population of the city at this point of time, and the aspect it exhibited in the palmy days of its greatness and splendour. And that this was his real meaning we may gather from the further details of the actual state of the city. He describes the walls, hanging gardens, colleges, and other buildings, as still standing; and it may be submitted, that while so much accommodation and shelter, and such effective defences existed, it is extremely unlikely that there should have been no dwellings and no inhabitants to take advantage of them.

Reasoning from the analogies presented by similar events in other parts of the world and in other times, it is not even probable that the migration to Seleucia left no Jews behind in Babylon,—that it comprehended the totality of the colony. Certainly the subsequent massacre of the Seleucian Jews did not amount to an extirpation; for we know that they swarmed in the neighbouring regions down to a much later age. Under such circumstances, it is very probable that after the frightful injuries inflicted on them by the Seleucians, many of that people

resorted to Babylon to escape the persecutions of the latter, as their predecessors had done to escape those of the Babylonians. It is moreover notorious that down to the middle of the second century, if not long afterwards, a vast colony of Jews was settled in the province of Babylonia; and that in the reign of Hadrian (A.D. 117 to 138) they signalised their hatred of their Roman and Parthian masters by frequent and sanguinary insurrections. The great numbers and the stability of their religious and political establishment in Babylonia within three centuries after Christ are attested by the transfer of the great school of rabbinical learning to that region, and the subsequent composition of that marvellous monument of "human industry, human wisdom, and human folly," as Dean Milman has so aptly described it (*History of the Jews*, vol. iii. p. 171), the *Babylonian Talmud*. Those who are at all acquainted with that voluminous and elaborate production must be convinced, not only that a long period of learned leisure and tranquillity was necessary for its composition, but likewise that the minds of the compilers could not have settled down to a work of such magnitude, if the inducement of a numerous school of auditors and scholars had been wanting; if, indeed, there had not been a numerous people to be indoctrinated, and if that degree of repose and social dignity had not existed which, we are authentically informed, the Jews of Babylonia for ages afterwards enjoyed under the patronage of the Parthian and Persian sovereigns.

It is always a critical matter to give due weight to the accounts of exterminations, massacres, and slaughters we read in ancient — even in modern — historians. It is very difficult to believe in the extinction of whole nations, or even of large or isolated sections of any people, by the hands of their enemies. The annals of the Jews exhibit accounts of such exterminations, which the same records show to have been very incomplete. The Canaanites, for instance, were never wholly expunged from the list of the nations, nor even expelled from the very regions they had occupied previously to the Iraelitish invasion. Nations, it is true, often disappear for a time from a particular

spot; but it is only to re-appear on the same spot not long afterwards. The total destruction of Jerusalem by Titus was so far from preventing the return of the Jews to that city, that we find them in the reign of Trajan, that is, scarcely half a century after the catastrophe, again assembled there in great numbers. The slaughter of the Jews of Alexandria, Cyrene, and other places, about the period of the insurrection of Barcochab (A.D. 134) under Hadrian, did not prevent the re-assembling and domiciliation of the race very soon afterwards in the very localities in which those calamities had befallen them. A similar devoted attachment to the places where they had dwelt for any length of time, is conspicuous throughout the history of the Jewish people, from the Babylonish captivity down to the age in which we live. Thus, when invited by Zerubbabel, and encouraged by their Persian master, to return to the land of their ancestors, to resume their national independence, and to assemble round the temple of their God, the great majority of the people declined to quit the land of their adoption, and remained to share the fortunes of the heathen lords of the soil—Medes, Persians, Babylonians, Parthians, or Romans. The whole history of the Jews, from the earliest to the latest period of their existence, shows that though an expansive, they have never been a migratory people. Once settled in a particular locality, they remain there in defiance of civil and religious oppression,—in defiance of persecution, disabilities, and political outlawry. Where Jews have once been, Jews will be found. It may be doubted whether even the ruthless vigilance of the Spanish Inquisition has succeeded in extirpating them from that fatherland of ignorance, superstition, and cruelty.

Taking all these considerations together, it becomes in the highest degree probable that, as long as there remained a Babylon for Jews to dwell in, there Jews would be found. The probability therefore that within the first century of the Christian era that city had not fallen into such a state of hopeless decay as to preclude a possible residence of the apostle Peter within its walls, has, it is submitted, been satisfactorily established. Yet

even if it were not so, it is by no means an irrational supposition that, when he dated his letter from Babylon, he intended not so much to designate the city, as the region of which it was still the reputed capital; from which, in fact, that region derived its name. Thus the Jewish "Babylon" might include the colonies of Seleucia and Ctesiphon, as well as those of Neerda, and perhaps of Nisibis and other settlements. When, therefore, to this we adduce the preponderant probability that the apostle of the circumcision would take up his abode where the peculiar objects of his mission were collected in the greatest numbers,—in the stronghold, that is, of Rabbinism, the nursery of that mass of spurious learning, vulgar superstition, and inveterate formalism he was specially commissioned to encounter and to overthrow,—it must, we think, become clear to candid inquiry, that the apostle wrote his first epistle general from the Mesopotamian Babylon; and that if he suffered not in that city or its vicinity, but travelled to Rome to receive there the crown of martyrdom, he must have undertaken that long and laborious journey in the closing days of his life, and as far as he was concerned, without any adequate motive; and we must accept the fact *in the absence of any direct or positive contemporary evidence.*

It may, however, not be unimportant to the more complete justification of the writer's views upon this important point, to take notice of an allegation frequently—and even triumphantly—urged by a numerous class of divines of the Churches of England and Rome. These persons are in the habit of appealing to what they choose to term the *notoriety* of St. Peter's preaching and martyrdom at Rome in the earlier ages of the Christian Church. What though, say they, neither Clemens, nor Ignatius, nor Irenæus, nor Justin Martyr, nor Tertullian, directly and in positive terms affirm these facts, it was because they were matter of such general conviction, that every body who read their writings must have taken them for granted; and that they could have required no statement of particulars regarding them. It will be seen at once that this argument involves

a gross fallacy. It is not denied that a *tradition* existed that Peter had preached at Rome at some time of his life. But when we inquire into the origin of the tradition, we find that nothing like authentic evidence is produceable. Every rational inquirer must pronounce a tradition to be spurious, when he finds contemporaries, eye-witnesses, actors in the scene, know nothing about the facts on which it rests. The maxim, that *de non apparentibus et non existentibus eadem est ratio*, is as sound a principle in history as it is in law. Though, therefore, the absence of direct testimony may not *disprove* the fact alleged, yet it imposes almost insuperable difficulty upon those who maintain the affirmative. Tertullian and Dionysius of Corinth *may* have believed the tradition. There is no doubt that three centuries after the event Eusebius did believe it. But though we are not called upon to prove a negative, yet if we can assign a reasonable origin of the tradition, and which may be consistent with the vague allusions of the writers quoted to some supposed personal presence of Peter in Rome, it would unquestionably strengthen our claim upon those who undertake to prove the affirmative.

Now we know that there existed in the earliest ages of Christianity a strong mental association of the two constituent parties in the body-corporate of the Church,—the Jewish and the Gentile churches formed together the one great dispensation; so that, in accordance with the symbolising habit of the age, more especially of the Oriental Christians, when the foundation of the churches was treated of, the names of the two great teachers who, by special appointment, represented these two sections, were associated both in thought and expression as the concurrent sources of the true Christian revelation. But it happened that before the extinction of the apostolic college, a disagreement had arisen between the Jewish and the Gentile converts upon points connected with the observance of the ceremonial law. Paul was regarded as the advocate of a more liberal treatment of the Gentile converts; Peter, as the patron of a severer adherence to the Mosaic or-

dinances. The church in Rome consisted of a large majority of Jewish converts,[b] anxious, doubtless, to sustain the credit of their appointed leader. And, in fact, we learn that at a very early point of time certain writings made their appearance in Rome, under the name of Peter, encouraging a popular belief in the personal presence of the apostle at Rome; and representing him not only as in direct verbal communication with their earliest elders or bishops, but as actually dictating a series of rules and ordinances for their future government as of divine authority. Although the date of these writings is unknown, and although they were treated by the subsequent ages as pious fictions, these circumstances form no argument against their popularity at the time of publication; nor would the facts and events recorded in them be less a matter of popular belief. We have, indeed, no sure guide to the precise period at which these writings were published; but the work called the "Preaching of Peter" (*Κήρυγμα Πέτρου*) is believed to be of a very early date; probably also the "Revelation" and the "Itinerary" of Peter; and it is equally probable that the "Recognitions" and "Clementines," as well as the "Apostolical Constitutions" and "Canons," existed in a much more primitive and less elaborate form, than that in which they now lie before us. In all these writings Peter figures either as the sole speaker and instructor, or as the president and prolocutor of the apostolic college; Clement, one of the earliest presiding elders of the Roman church, is the chosen recipient of the Petrine ordinances; and the scene throughout is laid in Rome. Now, there is no valid reason to think that any belief or report of the presence of Peter in that city at a date antecedent to the publication of these writings, existed in the Roman congregation; and we are entitled to ask whether, in the absence of any direct contemporary statement to the fact of such residence, it is not just as reasonable to suppose that the tradition took its origin from the writings in question, as that the latter sprang from a previously accredited tradition?[c]

[b] Book I. c. i. pp. 3, 4.

[c] Conf. Book I. c. ii. pp. 28, 48, 49.

II. The writer of this work has been censured for entertaining an opinion respecting the structure and character of the primitive church-constitution adverse to that of the most learned divines of the churches of England and of Rome. He is informed that there is but "one Church of God;" that the institution is in itself "divine;" and that the Christian church is no other than the Jewish church, with the addition of the Holy Ghost; consequently "that there has always been a priesthood and a sacrifice." He takes, however, the liberty to observe, that these propositions are either matters of a direct revelation vouchsafed to the Church at large, or to some particular church; or that they must be supported upon authentic historical fact. There is no escape from the alternative. The writer has not presumed to meddle with these doubtless very orthodox propositions, any further than as it was necessary to show the bearing of the evidence upon them. It is not his fault, if, when that evidence is faithfully produced, it is found to afford a very qualified or doubtful support to the pretensions of the Christian Church to a *jus divinum* in any respect comparable to that which properly belonged to the Levitical dispensation.

It is obvious to all men that the idea of a special revelation operating throughout all ages, and gradually unfolding a church-constitution endowed with all the privileges of the Mosaic ordinances, is not a subject of historical proof. There is nothing either in the instructions left behind them by Christ or his Apostles, or in the conduct and practice of their immediate followers, which can attach a *jus divinum* to any particular outward form of church-government, discipline, or ritual. In dealing, therefore, with the evidence touching the character and functions of the primitive Christian ministry, the writer submitted to his readers that there was no sufficient evidence to prove that the master-builders of the Church contemplated an outward structure in any respect resembling, or claiming an authority analogous to that of the Levitical priesthood; he saw nothing to the point of a positive or definite character in the ministry

established by the Apostles and their immediate successors; he saw no altar, no victim, no sacrificing priest, no definite orders, no spiritual aristocracy, no high-priest but the One above and over all, in short, no single provision for a household of God having the remotest analogy to the Mosaic platform.

But does this observation in any degree contradict the proposition that a Christian church is a divine institution? We think not. The question, as far as its history is concerned, is whether the Divinity resides in the outward form or the inward substance—the faith and the hope of the Church—or in both. It is joyfully conceded that in the latter resides the whole divinity of the Founder—*that* is his work: as to the former, he did no more than send forth ministers to preach his gospel; he established no rank or order among them; he gave them no special commands as to the ordinary outward means of propagating the faith; all these things he left to their discretion. Neither did these, his immediate emissaries, bind down their followers by any such precise or stringent ordinances as might interfere with that freedom of action which is essential to sustain the zeal and activity indispensable to so wide, so universal a mission as theirs. Their commission was out of all analogy to that of the Mosaic priesthood. The latter might tolerate proselytism; the former commanded, made it the first duty of its ministers, to convert all nations, to bring all, who were willing to come, within the pale of the Church. They appointed preachers, it is true; they gave them directions how to conduct themselves morally and religiously; they specified the qualifications requisite to the due performance of their duties; and they cautioned them against hasty and inconsiderate appointments. But here the evidence stops short; and upon this state of the facts no method of induction can substantiate a *jus divinum*, properly so called, on behalf of any outward form of church-government, discipline, or ritual. There is, indeed, one mode of arriving at such a result; but with that mode history has no concern. The Roman and the Greek churches have wisely and consistently adopted the alternative alluded to. Both these

bodies claim a continuous revelation; both construe the promised presence of the Lord with his Church to extend to the external form as fully as to the substance of his religion: and though bystanders may be struck with the aspect of two conflicting rights divine, the members themselves are spared the trouble of choice, and find rest for their souls in firm reliance upon the saving formularies which vouch their membership of the "one Church," out of which there is no salvation.

To avoid misconstruction, the writer here observes, that there is another and a different *jus divinum*, which, with its corresponding obligation, presses heavily on the conscience of every Christian. The whole Christian association — the universal Church — has a divine right to call upon every one of its members to give all diligence to search for, and to adopt, the best outward means of maintaining and propagating the religion of Christ in the world. In full view of this obligation, he believes that he is not at liberty to discharge from his consideration the example or the precept of the apostles of Christ; but that he is free to consider them with reference to the state of the Christian association at different periods of its existence, and under the variety of circumstances in which it may from time to time be placed. The earliest form was that of apostles, presbyters, and deacons; and immediately succeeding it came that of bishops, or presiding elders, with presbyters, deacons, and a variety of other functionaries, springing out of the spiritual impulses or necessities of the times. These are weighty facts; and unless there be preponderant reasons for departing from them,—that is, unless the circumstances of the times render their adoption impossible, without danger to the vital interests of religion,—we think they ought not to be departed from. There *have* been such times in ecclesiastical history. The Albigensian churches, a large section of the Lutheran persuasion, and all the reformed churches of France and Switzerland, rejected the episcopal form,—some from necessity, others from deliberate choice; and to this rejection we think we have a right to ascribe the feebleness of their resistance to the

encroachments of the episcopally organised church of Rome. We think it highly probable that, with that enlightened view to the requirements of the future, which must be conceded to men thus divinely commissioned, the Apostles and their disciples would recommend a general form of outward government applicable to all times and circumstances; and when we reflect that an analogous structure of secular government has been productive of an amount of power and prosperity hitherto unexampled in the history of the world, we feel all the more strongly inclined to do homage to the wisdom and foresight of our inspired teachers; and should be disposed to depart from their ordinances —as far as we can comprehend or apply them—with a far more sensible reluctance than that we should feel in changing or abandoning the most salutary political scheme.

As the best means, therefore, of maintaining and propagating Christianity in the world, we regard the constitution of bishops, priests, and deacons as obligatory. Fortified as it is to a certain extent by apostolical example and primitive practice, and strengthened by the adoption of eighteen centuries, we think it requires no *jus divinum* to recommend it to our choice. Yet its history discloses to us that it cannot be exalted into an article of belief; that it was not intended to present a perfected form; nor—as was the case with the Mosaic priesthood—is there in that history any thing to *identify* it with the moral or dogmatic teaching of the Church. Regarding the institution *as an instrument* with the highest reverence, we do and say all that the facts connected with its first institution warrant us in doing and saying. And if we go an inch further, we are inevitably involved in the dogma of a perpetual revelation, and driven to search for the particular body in which that revelation resides, —a task which lies far out of the beat of the historical student. But, irrespective of any such inquiry, the duty remains the same. No further stimulus is requisite to the right-minded Christian to abide by that scheme of outward discipline which enjoys such extraordinary recommendations, and has hitherto been productive of such excellent results.

But the author of these sheets submits the foregoing remarks purely as impressions derived from the history and experience of the past. They are laid before his readers only with a view to dissipate misconstructions which may affect him personally; but not in any degree to control the judgment of the public, or to engender the idea that he has any particular theory to maintain, any special object to write for, any desire beyond a full and fair disclosure of the truth, as far as the materials at his disposal shall enable him to arrive at it. The work entitles itself a "political" history; the writer therefore meddles with dogmatic theology only where his subject propels, or his censors drive him into it. Thus, when the *jus divinum* of the Anglican, the Roman, or any other outward church-constitution is urged upon him as a matter of *faith*, he can only refer to the facts, and bid the reader make of them what he can on behalf of his own theory; yet without renouncing the legitimate liberty of the historian to point out the palpable bearing of such facts upon the several subjects of investigation. Dogmatism has no legitimate place in history. Every inference arrived at must be supported upon the authority of ascertained fact, but not beyond it. The rest is conjecture; more or less probable according to the greater or less credibility of the testimony upon which it is founded. Elaborate argumentation is out of place in narrative; and if, after a clear statement and proper arrangement of his materials, the historian thinks fit to indicate his own views, he will be the last to find fault with the reader for drawing a different conclusion from the same premises. This, the writer has been informed, has occurred to some of his readers; and he is glad of it, so far as it shows that he has afforded them a fair opportunity of testing their own convictions, and to that extent of doing justice to the candour of the statement.

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Confusion of form and substance in religion.

The special end or purpose of institutions, political or religious, is very commonly confounded with the means adopted for their establishment and maintenance. In this way principle and practice are

no longer distinguished in our minds; the means are mistaken for the end; and we lose sight of the latter in our over-estimate of the former. Thus likewise form and substance are made to flow into, and mutually obscure one another, until the very faculty of distinguishing between them is lost, and men feed upon the husk in preference to the nourishing fruit it was intended to protect and mature. But principles are not properly the subject of change, while the machinery for their practical application is capable of infinite variety and perpetual improvement. The error of confounding them with each other has led to much mischief in the management of human affairs, religious and political. The managers of all exclusive systems in either department have always conceived their interests to lie in promoting this misconception; and have never felt themselves safe against external interference or pressure until they had extinguished in the minds of the subjects of government the capacity to discern the difference between the form and the substance—between the end and the means—between the principle and the practice. Thus it has been the almost universal habit of the managers of political institutions to lift the *forms* of government into at least equal importance with the welfare of the state and people, the extension of industry, knowledge, and general civilisation. So likewise in the case of religious establishments, the priesthood have invariably striven to invest the outward forms—church government, discipline, and ritual—with the same authority as that upon which the religion itself was established. But Christianity—unlike many ethnic systems—deals with principles only. The Founder of our religion contented himself with inculcating the duty of carrying those principles into practical operation throughout the world; leaving the methods to be pursued—the entire machinery of his Church—to the piety, zeal, and discretion of his disciples. Yet it is an established truth, that the powers assumed by the Christian hierarchy at the close of the fifth century, and more especially those which Rome had at that period appropriated to herself, were not only founded upon assump-

tions of fact unknown to the primitive churches as they came from the hands of the evangelists and apostles, but that those powers were now placed on the same basis, and invested with the same authority, as the revelation itself. And, indeed, in any other view the manifest inconsistency between the facts and the theory of ecclesiastical powers must have operated to the overthrow of the whole scheme of church-government. There was no remedy for the weakness of this position but in the establishment of a *representative church*, endowed with all the powers of the Saviour himself, more particularly the right to legislate for the Church in his place and on his behalf. These powers might, it was believed, be deduced from his promise that "he would be present with his disciples even unto the end of the world."[a] Here was a principle and a power of development ostensibly derivable from the same authority as that by which the religion itself was established. Though the command and the promise related solely to the principles and the practice he had while on earth personally enjoined upon all his followers, yet the Christian priesthood had appropriated both the command and the promise to themselves exclusively, and interpreted them to justify any superstructure which they, in their representative capacity, might think fit to erect upon them. Neither Christ nor his apostles had left any express provision for a definite framework of church government, discipline, or ritual. But it was soon perceived that the Mosaic forms presented both a convenient model and an authoritative precedent for the new edifice; hence the zeal and alacrity with which that model was resorted to, and the close analogy of the forms and powers adopted with those of the Levitical priesthood.[b]

The *representative church.*

But an oligarchical hierarchy like that of the Christian churches of the fifth century, was altogether wanting in that unity which was of the very essence of the Mosaic scheme. There is reason to believe that this defect was generally felt and acknowledged. Rome boldly took the remedy

The representative unity; Rome the representative church.

[a] *Matt.* xxviii. 18-20.

[b] Book I. c. vi. passim.

into her own hands, and proposed herself to the Christian world as the representative of that visible unity which was wanted to complete the ecclesiastical edifice. In this enterprise she started from a far more advantageous position than had fallen to the lot of any other Christian community. The greatness of the city as the capital of the empire; her central position and preponderating influence; her close alliance and communion with the civil government; her independent organisation; and her reputation as the see of Peter,—placed her in advance of all competition. In her origin she was, in the opinion of all Christendom, pre-eminently apostolical: the myth of the cathedra Petri was established as an article of undisputed tradition; and the world, confounded by the indefinite latitude of the powers incident to this attribution, was not prepared to investigate with any degree of discernment, or to resist with any confidence, the extensions which the Roman pontiffs might from time to time think fit to impart to it. But in the theory of the chair of Peter there lurked a principle of development at open warfare with that of oligarchical government in the Church. According to the prevailing theory, each particular hierarch was both priest and king within his own diocese or parish.[c] But as in the great celestial hierarchy, and in its representative image the Levitical dispensation, there was but one monarch, one high-priest, so the whole analogy of the scheme founded upon it required that there should be one supreme representative priest and king upon earth. Thus the ground was at once struck from beneath the feet of the government of many. In that scheme there could be no real and visible representation of the celestial high-priesthood of Christ. He was one; they were several: as represented by one, he *might* be visibly present with his Church in his oneness; if his powers were divided with others, the question must always arise, "Where is the Christ?" and the Church might thus find itself destitute of a distinguishable visible head either in heaven or on earth. A representative headship of any

Impersonation of Christian unity in the Roman pontiff.

[c] Conf. vol. i. c. vi. pp. 146-148.

kind, therefore, necessarily implied a *unity of personal representation*. The perception of this difficulty, it is obvious, had weighed heavily upon the spirit of the Church from the time that the theory of visible representation had got afloat; and this perception disposed them to listen with awe, though it might be with secret aversion, to the exclusive pretensions of the single pontiff of Rome. The church of Constantinople was more immediately affected by these pretensions; and was, by her peculiar position, brought into closer conflict with them. Unwilling to admit a principle which must have brought her under subordination to Rome, yet unprepared to deny or to assert on her own behalf the dogma of a *single representative priesthood*, she found herself involved in a war of principle in which there was no good defensive position to fall back upon. On the other hand, the struggle brings out in full relief the advantages derived on behalf of the Roman prerogative; the skill, the perseverance, the political courage and discernment displayed in the management of the contest: but more especially that bold and definite character which it imparted to the Roman claims: a true conception of which is so necessary to a right understanding of the progress of the papacy towards the spiritual autocracy to which she now undisguisedly aspired.

The state of the Italian churches must now for a while engage our attention, with a view to the domestic influence of Rome in the ecclesiastical affairs of Italy itself.

Simplicius pope.

Pope Hilarus died in the year 467,[d] and, as already observed, was succeeded by Simplicius, a native of Tivoli, the son of one Castinus:[e] more is not known of his origin or pretensions. But his pontificate reveals some not unimportant particulars relative to the growth of the pontifical authority within the confines of Italy itself. The ordinary jurisdiction of the bishop did not extend beyond the Provinciæ suburbicariæ, or original vicariate of Rome;[f] and even in regard to this do-

[d] See vol. i. Book II. c. vii. p. 448.

[e] *Tillemont*, Mém. Eccl. tom. xvi. p. 287.

[f] Conf. Book I. c. viii. pp. 188 and 192.

mestic jurisdiction we learn little or nothing prior to this pontificate. Yet the amount of influence now brought to bear upon the Italian churches cannot but have been of long standing; no institution of recent growth would have borne the rough hand of Pope Simplicius.

Deposition of Gaudentius of Aufina.

About the year 472[g]—perhaps a year or two later—the pontiff, on the relation of three provincial bishops, arbitrarily deprived Gaudentius bishop of Aufina[h] of the rights of ordination, cancelled the orders previously conferred by him, and confiscated three-fourths of the revenues of his see, transferring them to the management of a stranger.[i] About the same time—be it a year or two earlier, or some time afterwards—John archbishop of Ravenna had deprived one Gregory, a presbyter of his church, of his canonry or benefice at Ravenna, and forcibly and against his will ordained him bishop of Modena. For this offence the pope reprehended the archbishop with great severity. "He who was capable of such an abuse of his powers, he said, deserved to forfeit them altogether: but to so harsh a measure he was disinclined from considerations of mercy to the delinquent; nevertheless Gregory should now be withdrawn from the spiritual jurisdiction of the archbishop, and all causes both for and against him be henceforward submitted to the arbitrament of Rome."[j]

Simplicius censures John archbishop of Ravenna.

The practice of ordaining persons of eminent piety or of popular reverence in opposition to their own wish, and even by a species of gentle violence, to the episcopate, was not uncommon in that and the preceding ages. But in the case of Gregory, the motive appears upon the papal charge to have been a covetous desire on the part of the arch-

Relation of the see of Ravenna to Rome.

[g] The dates of the Epistles of Pope Simplicius are very ill ascertained. See *Tillemont*, c. xvi. p. 287. But little depends upon their chronological order.

[h] The modern town or village of Ofena in the Abruzzi, therefore within the provinciæ suburbicariæ.

[i] Epp. *Simplicii* Pap. Conc. tom. ii. p. 804. It is clear from the terms of the letter that the pope acted exclusively upon the relation of the three bishops (Florentius, Equitius, and Severus). *Tillemont* (ubi sup. p. 288) is shocked at this proceeding, and charitably suggests that the pope must have heard the bishop's defence in council.

[j] *Conc.* tom. ii. p. 803; *Baron.* ad Ann. 482; *Fleury*, H. E. tom. vi. p. 619. Conf. *Bower*, H. of the Popes, vol. ii. pp. 166 et sqq.

bishop to possess himself of certain lands enjoyed by his presbyter, which he hoped to appropriate by the forcible elevation of the owner to the episcopal bench. The sentence of the pope was communicated to the archbishop by a bishop-delegate from Rome; but, it should appear, without canonical trial or opportunity of defence. It is, however, a matter of doubt whether John of Ravenna took any such view of his own position in the Church as that adopted by the pope. The Emperor Valentinian III. had transferred the imperial residence from Rome to Ravenna, and thereby raised her to the civil as well as the ecclesiastical rank of a metropolitan city. The same cause which had liberated Constantinople from the jurisdiction of Heracleia,[k] had exempted Ravenna from that of her former metropolitan of Milan, and probably assigned to her an eparchal or patriarchal district of her own, conterminous with the province of Æmilia, of which she was the most important city. Though lying beyond the limits of the provinciæ suburbicariæ, Simplicius obviously conceived himself invested with the same powers with regard to Ravenna as those he exercised within those limits—powers destitute of any apparent canonical forms or limitations,[l] and controllable only by considerations of expediency or mercy. He might, he observed, for this offence have sequestered the archbishop from all episcopal function; but, to avoid scandal, he should in this instance content himself with exempting the bishop of Modena from his jurisdiction and taking him under his own protection; commanding him at the same time to restore the lands he had so nefariously usurped to the church of Ravenna.[m]

Of the result of this affair we have no account; but further light will probably be thrown upon the ecclesiastical relations of the see of Ravenna at this period by her resistance to the supremacy claimed by subsequent

[k] Conf. Book I. c. viii. p. 193.

[l] The tone of both letters presumes an arbitrary visitatorial power; a right to inquire into, to condemn, and to punish ecclesiastical delinquents; subject to considerations of mercy rather than to any regular or canonical forms of trial or precept of law.

[m] This harsh jugdment, as *Tillemont* observes (vol. xvi. p. 289), did not prevent Archbishop John from being honoured by the Church as a saint.

pontiffs, and the pretension to autocephaly (self-government), to which we shall hereafter have to advert.

Simplicius appoints Zeno of Seville apostolical legate in Spain.

The earliest of the few extant letters of this pope conveys the appointment of Zeno archbishop of Seville, in Spain, to be the pontifical legate for that kingdom.[n] "He had heard, he said, from many persons, how that, by the special grace of the Holy Spirit, Zeno had so piloted the vessel of his church as to steer clear of the dangers of shipwreck with which she was beset on all sides;"[o] and he admonished him in nowise to permit the decrees of "apostolical institution," or the "ordinances of the holy Fathers," to be overstepped.[p] The peremptory assertion of a general visitatorial power over the whole Church by Leo the Great[q] clearly pointed out the track to be followed; and his successors did not fail to pursue it with perseverance and success. Among the means adopted, none was more promising than the appointment of vicars or representatives of the holy see in all the more important churches to which the bishops of Rome had access. Notwithstanding, however, the frequency of the practice, we are still left much in the dark as to the point of view in which those commissions were accepted and acted upon by the bishops and churches to which they were addressed.[r] We have, in the case before us, no hint as to the light in which the papal appointment was considered by the archbishop of Seville—whether it was accepted as a proof of pontifical favour and confidence, or as a legal delegation of powers he did not possess before, and regarded as proceeding from a lawful superior.

The vicariate.

[n] *Harduin.* Concil. tom. ii. p. 803; *Baron.* Ann. 482, § 46.

[o] "Comperimus . . . . . fervore Spiritus Sancti ita te ecclesiæ gubernatorem existere, ut naufragii detrimenta, Deo auctore, non sentiat." The "detrimenta naufragii" here alluded to, were, no doubt, the disturbed state of public affairs in Spain at this time, but more especially the contact with the Arianism of the Gothic conquerors.

[p] *Fleury* (H. E. tom. vi. p. 618) and Father *Pagi* (ad Baron. in Ann. 482, § 26) agree that by this admonition Simplicius intended simply to inculcate a careful observance of the canons of the Church. But we think that at least as early as the pontificate of Innocent I. (A.D. 402 to 417), the popes had been in the habit of including among the "apostolical decrees" all ordinances issuing from the "apostolical" see of Rome, whether relating to doctrine, discipline, or ritual. See the Decretal to Ducentius, Book II. c. i. p. 282.

[q] Conf. Book II. c. iv. pp. 348 et sqq.

[r] Conf. Book II. c. i. p. 280.

In general, it may be affirmed that we have, up to this point of time, no sufficient historical ground to determine the question, whether the submissive respect with which the mandates of Rome were generally received by the Western churches proceeded from a sense of strict ecclesiastical duty, or whether it denoted no more than that reverential deference for the chair of Peter which might still leave them entirely their own masters except in cases of extraordinary doubt and difficulty, or of emergencies in which, by a voluntary submission to her authority, they bound themselves to abide by her decision. But it was of little consequence to Rome whether this obsequious spirit proceeded from the one motive or the other. Armed with an admitted right of interference, she felt herself at liberty to adopt that explanation of the conduct of foreign churches which was most favourable to her claims; with the advantage of having it to say that she had at no time kept them back or dissembled them.

Oriental churches.

Reverting to the state of the Oriental churches at the accession and throughout the pontificate of Simplicius, we encounter a prospect of the most gloomy and revolting character. The definitions of Chalcedon had answered no purpose but to exasperate the existing dissensions. The Eutychian party, so far from yielding to or accepting, had rejected those decrees with tenfold fury and animosity. The churches of Alexandria and Antioch became the principal *foci* of religious agitation. In the former, as we have seen,[s] the orthodox prelate Proterius had been deposed and murdered by a Eutychian mob, under the direction of Timotheus Ælurus, a zealot of that profession. Ælurus occupied the see of Alexandria from the year 457 to 460, when he was driven from his usurped chair by the Emperor Leo at the solicitation of the orthodox and pacific Gennadius, the successor of the slippery Anatolius of Constantinople.[t] The orthodox party were now at liberty to elect a patriarch; and their choice fell upon Timotheus Solifaciolus, a man of peace. Under

Timotheus Ælurus.

Timotheus Solifaciolus.

[s] Conf. Book II. c. vi. pp. 428 et sqq.

[t] Conf. ubi sup. p. 433.

him the Church looked forward to a long period of tranquillity; but in the year 474 the orthodox Emperor Leo the Thracian died, and was succeeded by his son-in-law Zeno, surnamed "the Isaurian." The new emperor professed Eutychian tenets; the scene was suddenly changed; and now, under the sinister auspices of that profligate adventurer, a gloomy futurity loomed upon the orthodox churches of the East. Two years afterwards, Zeno was deposed by his brother-in-law, the base and profligate Basiliscus, and compelled to take refuge among his predatory countrymen, the mountaineers of Isauria. Basiliscus stood forth as the declared champion of Eutychianism, and initiated his reign by an edict declaratory of his rejection and condemnation of all creeds or definitions of faith excepting those of Nicæa (325), Constantinople (381), and Ephesus (431), but more especially of those of Chalcedon and the letter or tomus of Pope Leo to Flavian; he commanded that all such creeds, confessions, and writings, wherever they might be found, should be destroyed, and that all bishops within his dominion should signify their adhesion to his decree by their subscriptions, on pain of deposition, banishment, and forfeiture, if they should at any time use or teach any other creed than that of Nicæa, confirmed as aforesaid, or in any manner advert or recur to the heretical ordinances or tenets of the pseudo-synod of Chalcedon."

Zeno, the Isaurian emperor.

Solifaciolus of Alexandria, deserted by the court, which had hitherto extended its protection to him, and exposed to the violence of a party in his own church he had no longer the means of controlling, retired to his monastery; and the turbulent and blood-stained Ælurus was forthwith recalled from banishment, and replaced by his elated partisans upon the throne of Alexandria. But his triumph was of short duration. His spiritual throne partook of all the infirmities of that of his temporal patron Basiliscus. In the year 471 the saintly Gennadius of Constantinople had been succeeded by Acacius under the influence

Restoration of Ælurus.

Acacius patriarch of Constantinople.

" *Evag.* Schol. lib. iii. c. iv., set out by *Baron.* A. 476, § 30 et sqq. Conf. *Fleury*, H. E. tom. vi. p. 596.

of Zeno, who three years afterwards himself succeeded to the throne of the East.[v] Whether he had adopted the creed of his patron, is not very clearly established; the connection was probably sufficient to expose him to the jealous suspicions of the severer adherents of the Chalcedonian confession. Yet his first public act after the usurpation of Basiliscus would seem to rebut any presumption adverse to his orthodoxy. Acacius boldly protested against and rejected the decree of Basiliscus. He had influence enough to raise the monks and populace of the capital, and the skill to stir up such a storm of agitation against the feeble tyrant as to compel him to retract his decree, and even humbly to sue for pardon at the feet of the patriarch and his able assistant, the rigid enthusiast Daniel Stylites.[w] But this transaction appears to have revealed to the friends of the exiled Zeno the extreme weakness of the usurper's position; the former emerged from his mountain-home, marched with a few followers upon the capital, and was joyfully hailed by all parties. The luckless usurper took refuge in the cathedral church; but was delivered up to his enemy by Acacius, and condemned, together with his whole family, to a lingering death by starvation in a distant castle in Cappadocia.[x]

Restoration of Zeno.

During the short reign of Basiliscus, the orthodox clergy of Constantinople had kept the pope fully informed of the enormities committed by Ælurus and his friend Peter Mongus at Alexandria, as well as of the misdeeds of the Eutychian bishop of Antioch, Peter the Fuller (Gnapheus). Hearing nothing from Acacius himself about these fatal disorders, Simplicius wrote to the patriarch, urging him to resist to the utmost all changes in the established creed of the Church; and,—in real or affected ignorance

Correspondence between Rome and Constantinople.

[v] *Tillemont*, tom. xvi. p. 286.

[w] See an amusing life of this singular fanatic in *Tillemont*, Mém. Eccl. tom. xvi. pp. 439 et sqq. Like his friend and prototype, Simeon the Syrian Stylite, he had succeeded in eliminating all the carnal, and with them, not improbably, all the human elements of his nature.

[x] Conf. *Gibbon*, tom. v. p. 4, ed. Sm. and Milm. The historian of "The Decline and Fall" is extremely meagre upon these transactions. Conf. *Tillemont*, Mém. Eccles. tom. xvi.,—Vie d'Acace, art. vii. and xi. pp. 295 and 302.

of the sentiments of the usurper Basiliscus,—exhorting him to represent to the emperor in the strongest terms the guilt and the danger of neglecting the punishment of the crimes committed by the heretical intruders.[y] He acknowledged at the same time the zeal of the metropolitan clergy, and thanked them for their intelligence.[z] But after the reinstatement of Zeno, Simplicius entered into more intimate relations with the emperor and court of Constantinople.[a] The monarch immediately addressed the pope, announcing his restoration, and in return received the congratulations of Simplicius. Acacius himself despatched a detailed statement of occurrences in the East; and received in reply the warm thanks of the pontiff for the welcome intelligence of the final expulsion from their usurped sees of Peter the Fuller of Antioch, Paul of Ephesus, a certain Antonius whom he designates as the standard-bearer of tyranny, and John of Apamæa—all leaders of the Eutychian movement in the Asiatic and Syrian dioceses.[b] Ælurus, however, was permitted to occupy the chair of Alexandria until his death, which occurred not many months afterwards.[c] That event, and the restoration of the legitimate patriarch Solifaciolus, was promptly reported by Acacius to the pontiff;[d] and in the following year the latter, by autograph letters both to the emperor and the patriarch, signified his satisfaction at the intelligence received; calling at the same time for the expulsion and punishment of Mongus, and the erasure of the names of the heretical teachers from the sacred lists.[e]

Almost every step taken by the court of Constan-

[y] Conc. tom. ii. p. 806.

[z] Simplicius is also reported to have written twice in the year 476 to Basiliscus himself, entreating him to expel the intrusive bishop of Alexandria, Ælurus, and to maintain the Catholic doctrine of the incarnation, as his predecessors Marcian and Leo had done. See *Jaffé*, Regist. Pont. Rom. p. 50.

[a] See abstract of his letter to Zeno, from *Mansi*, Conc. tom. vii. p. 980, ap. *Jaffé*, u.s. p. 50.

[b] Simpl. ad Acac. ap. *Holsten*. Coll. Rom. i. p. 194. See also *Mansi*, Conc. tom. vii. p. 995,—ap. *Jaffé*, p. 50.

[c] *Evag.* Schol. lib. iii. c. xi.

[d] Ep. Acac. ad Simpl. ap. *Hard.* Concilia, tom. ii. p. 804. After the death of Ælurus, Peter Mongus had, it seems, seated himself for a short time upon the chair of Alexandria; but was soon dispossessed in favour of Solifaciolus, by the orthodox party.

[e] Ex *Mansi*, Conc. tom. vii. pp. 983, 984,—ap. *Jaffé*, p. 50. See also the letters in pari materia, ap. *Mansi*, loc. cit. pp. 985, 986, 987.

tinople against the prevailing heresy in the East had been thus anticipated by the pope. He had pointed out the means to be adopted for the purification of the churches; he had designated, probably by name, the bishops to be expelled, the heretics to be punished; and thus appropriated the lead in the ecclesiastical revolution which restored the ascendency of the Chalcedonian confession in the East. The orthodox churchmen were thus accustomed to look to Rome as the standard-bearer of the faith, without troubling themselves to inquire whither she might lead them, so long as she served their present turn, or afforded a strong *point-d'appui* against their domestic enemies. But a very few months after the restoration of Zeno, the pope was no less surprised than shocked by the startling intelligence that the emperor had issued an edict for the regulation of many important ecclesiastical matters, on which he might at least expect to have had previous notice, if not a consultative voice. The offensive ordinance was addressed to the prætorian prefect Sebastian; and, after many provisions for maintenance of the orthodox doctrine, the precedency and privileges of the bishops in their several ranks, the orders of the clergy, and the estates of the Church, it proceeds to confirm all the honours, dignities, and prerogatives of the church of Constantinople, in as ample a form as they had ever been enjoyed under any of his predecessors; more especially the rights of ordination, and the precedency before all the bishops of the empire; expressly grounding this declaration of right on the *political dignity and importance* of the metropolis of the empire; and thereby once more reoccupying the very ground from which his predecessor Marcian had been driven by the successful audacity of Pope Leo the Great.[f]

Ascendency of Rome in the East.

Disturbed by the decree of Zeno in favour of Constantinople.

[f] Conf. Book II. c. v. p. 118. See the Edict in *Cod. Justin.* lib. i. tit. ii. l. 16. Though the xxviiith canon of Chalcedon is not named in this law, it was doubtless intended to confirm that and every other title of the church of Constantinople to the primacy of the Eastern empire. It is to be noted, that this ordinance expressly grants or confirms the primacy "regiæ urbis intuitu."

Protest of Pope Simplicius.

But although, for the sake of peace, Marcian had consented to cast a veil over the obnoxious xxviii^th^ canon of Chalcedon, and to stifle the resistance of Anatolius, there is no reason to believe that the church of Constantinople ever regarded herself as bound by the act of her patriarch. It suited, indeed, Pope Leo to affirm that the bishop in such wise represented his church, that his official act must be construed to be the act of the body corporate; but the rule was by no means so well understood, or so generally established, as to pledge the latter to terms of which it may have had no previous knowledge, and to which certainly there is no evidence of its ever having given a corporate assent. Pope Simplicius, however, immediately despatched Probus bishop of Canusium to the court of Constantinople to protest against this alleged outrage upon the *Ordinances of the Fathers*. "Such usurpations," he declared, "were altogether inexcusable: ecclesiastical dignities were by no means dependent upon the magnitude or the *rank* of the cities to which they might be attached; but could be regulated solely by *ecclesiastical dispensation*, as determined by the 'traditions of the Fathers.'"[g] It is hardly necessary to observe, that by this time those "ordinances" and "traditions" were all summed up in the Roman version of the vi^th^ canon of Nicæa, with the arbitrary construction put upon it by Leo the Great,[h] and supported by him upon the supposititious prefix extant in that version, and in that version only. The alleged ordinances and traditions of the Fathers were at the same time all comprised in, and made dependent upon, the one *primary* tradition of St. Peter's chair; and in this combination they had furnished Rome with a plenary justification for rejecting the adverse decrees of two general councils on behalf of the rival see. And, indeed, the vi^th^ canon of Nicæa could in

Papal theory of ecclesiastical privilege.

[g] This protest, it should be observed, is collected from a letter of Pope Gelasius I., as extracted by *Baron.* A. 472, § 6, p. 312. In § 2 the cardinal tells us that the edict was issued by the Emp. Leo the Thracian in 472; but he is corrected by Pagi, who rightly traces it to Zeno, A.D. 477. He is followed by *Tillemont*, Mém. Eccles. tom. xvi. p. 306.

[h] Conf. Book II. c. v. pp. 400, 401, 402, 406.

no imaginable mode but this be made to support the Roman scheme of ecclesiastical privilege.

In this state of the controversy, we find the battle-field between both parties, independently of all other considerations, fairly defined and marked out. On the one side it was to be contended that the "ordinances and regulations" of the Fathers were satisfied by the attribution of prerogative and jurisdiction to the *rank and dignity* of the cities upon which they were conferred; and on the other, that by these very "ordinances and regulations," political rank or position was absolutely excluded as a ground of ecclesiastical privilege; and that as to the sees of apostolical pedigree, such as Rome, Antioch, Alexandria, and others, no law, whether founded upon conciliar enactment, or usage of any antiquity, could avail to change their position in the Church, consequently must be inoperative to impart to Byzantium any other station among the churches of Christendom than that which she occupied as the humble suffragan of the metropolitan of Heracleia. Antagonistic theories of privilege.

But for the present the voice of altercation was silenced by the dangers which threatened the orthodox parties in the East. After the restoration of Solifaciolus in Alexandria, the Eutychian faction elected Peter Mongus, the friend of Ælurus, and the supposed accomplice of all his misdeeds, in opposition to the orthodox patriarch. But his attempt to possess himself of the patriarchal throne appears to have failed. Solifaciolus soon regained the ascendency, and Mongus slunk for the time into obscurity.[i] The influence of Acacius at the court was at this moment predominant; and Zeno, in spite of his compromising disposition, was impelled to those measures of severity against the turbulent Orientals to which we have already adverted. The governor of Egypt received instructions to protect Solifaciolus by the military force of the diocese, and to punish Mongus and his accomplices.[j] Some degree of Disturbances in the Eastern churches.

[i] *Evag.* Schol. lib. iii. c. xi.; *Liberatus*, Breviarium, c. xvi.,—ap. *Tillemont*, tom. xvi. p. 310; and *Vales.* in not. ad loc. Evag.; and conf. *Hard.* Conc. tom. ii. p. 805.

[j] *Evag.* Schol. loc. cit. says with death:

tranquillity was thus restored in the Alexandrian church, and the aged patriarch continued in quiet possession of his chair till his death in the year 482.

Death of Solifaciolus, and election of Johannes Talaia at Alexandria.

His demise, however, was the signal for a renewal of the religious disturbances in his church. The Eutychians once more drew Mongus from his concealment, and reinstated him upon the patriarchal throne. On the other hand, the orthodox party chose Johannes Talaia, the friend and archdeacon of the late patriarch. But Talaia, it is said, had disqualified himself for the appointment. Before the death of Solifaciolus, and at the personal solicitation of Talaia, as the envoy of his church, the emperor had restored to the Alexandrians the right freely to elect their own bishop as soon as the see should fall vacant. But Zeno, suspecting that Talaia was intriguing at court to procure his own nomination, exacted from him a solemn oath that he would neither solicit the suffrages of the clergy, nor accept the dignity of patriarch of Alexandria if offered to him.[k] Disregarding, however, both his oath and the displeasure of his sovereign, he exerted all his influence to procure his own election, and was accordingly seated by his friends as legitimate bishop.[l] It may be surmised that Zeno at this point of time had already entertained the idea of putting an end to the civil and religious disorders which gave so much trouble to his government, by means of a compromise by which all parties might be persuaded to lay down their arms; and that he regarded Talaia as a person not at all likely to assist him in his well-meant but hazardous design. And, in fact, the latter appears, from the very first steps in his career, to have defied both the court and patriarch of Constantinople. He not only neglected the ordinary but essential forms of announcing his election, but enhanced the offence by an insulting contrast in his demeanour towards the pope, to whom he sent special

Valesius contests the reading which would convey that meaning. In fact, nobody appears to have suffered.

[k] *Evag.* Schol. lib. iii. c. xi. cum not. Vales.

[l] *Evag.* (loc. mod. cit.) says, upon the authority of his informant Zacharias, that he purchased this support by money.

delegates to report his accession to the apostolical chair of Alexandria, and (probably) to request the papal confirmation.[m]

Acacius negotiates with Peter Mongus.

It is suggested that Acacius was the first to suspect Talaia's designs upon the see of Alexandria, and that he communicated those suspicions to the emperor. Whichever way the truth may lie, the two prelates became irreconcilable enemies. It is probable that both the patriarch and his master were by this time bent upon their scheme of union, and that both were prepared to sacrifice former friendships and enmities for the attainment of their purpose. It was obvious that the new patriarch of Alexandria could not be prevailed upon to engage in any scheme which might compromise him with Rome and the more rigid supporters of the Chalcedonian profession in the East. Mongus, on the other hand, was withheld by no similar scruples. He flattered himself that, with the imperial support and a little management on his own part, he might satisfy his Eutychian partisans that his formal reconciliation with the court and patriarch of Constantinople implied no sacrifice of principle; and that he could succeed in persuading them that no measures he might propose for their adoption would be of a nature to bind them to the obnoxious decrees of Chalcedon, or to compromise the consistency of opposition. Mongus was not troubled by any scruples in the accomplishment of his designs.[n] Acacius, on the other hand, had deeply pledged himself against the enemies of Chalcedon; and against none of these—with the exception perhaps of Peter the Fuller of Antioch—had he lifted up his voice more loudly than against Mongus himself.[o] Pope Sim-

[m] Conf. *Baron.* Ann. 482, §14, p. 403; and Pagi's note, p. 406. The letter of Simplicius in Baronius is not in the collection of Harduin. The privilege of confirmation by patriarchs or metropolitans was not confined to Rome, but was the common right of all of equal degree. This lays bare the sophism of the zealous cardinal, who would have us to believe that it was the exclusive prerogative of Rome to assent to and confirm all episcopal elections, and that Talaia acted under that conviction.

[n] *Evagrius* (lib. iii. c. 17), a writer not generally ill-disposed towards the Eutychians, describes him as a person of so crafty and versatile a genius, that he could at pleasure assume any disguise that suited his purpose.

[o] In a letter to Simplicius of the year 477, upon occasion of the first intrusion of Mongus, therefore five years only

plicius may have accepted these denunciations as a positive pledge of antagonism; but in the mean time circumstances had undergone a great change, and Acacius might reasonably allege the prospect of peace in the Church, and the advantage of gaining over so important an adversary, as a sufficient plea for the accommodation proposed. He therefore consented to the nomination of Mongus to the vacant chair of Alexandria, upon condition that he should agree to certain terms to be proposed by the emperor for the eventual union of all parties in the Church, and the restoration of religious and domestic tranquillity. Mongus readily accepted those conditions; and the emperor wrote to Pope Simplicius a letter explanatory of his motives for rejecting Talaia, and for preferring Mongus as a proper successor to the orthodox Solifaciolus.[p]

Pope Simplicius condemns the election of Mongus.

Meanwhile Talaia had retired to Rome,[q] where he was well received, and acknowledged by the pope as legitimate patriarch. But upon the arrival of the imperial missive, Simplicius for the moment retracted the confirmation of Talaia's election, "inasmuch," he said, "as in so important an affair nothing ought to appear to have been done in a hurry." He added, that indeed that election had given him the sincerest pleasure; but that upon the arrival of the imperial letters he had learnt with surprise that the new patriarch lay under the charge of perjury, and was therefore not deemed a fit person to occupy the chair to which he had been raised: at the same time, however, he had heard with still greater astonishment that it was intended to promote Peter (Mongus), an associate, nay, a chief of heretics, and long since an outcast from all catholic communion, to the government of the great church of Alexandria; and that this had been done with the knowledge and consent of Acacius, to whom the life and character of Mongus could be no

before the second, he thus describes that person: "Qui Petrus, noctis existens filius, et operum diei lucentium alienus apparens, omnino tenebras ad latrocinium peragendum congruus, earumque cooperator, inveniens," &c. *Hard* Conc. tom. ii. pp. 804, 805. Conf. *Baron.* Ann. 478, §§ 2-4.

[p] Conf. *Tillemont*, tom. xvi. p. 325.

[q] Conf. Not. *Vales.* ad *Evag.* Schol. lib. iii. c. 15.

secret. To this man the emperor, he was informed, had proposed terms of communion, though a person with whom no terms of any kind could be made, no association permitted, until he should have been reconciled to the Church by due canonical penance—one who even, when reconciled, was canonically incapacitated from holding any ecclesiastical dignity or preferment: this man now aspired to rule over that catholic flock from which he had long since been expelled—for what purpose, but that he might make them the instruments for the propagation of his infamous doctrines, by the introduction of discord among the orthodox, who could never live at peace under heretical domination? The pope concluded his address by an earnest exhortation to the patriarch to be instant in season and out of season, with a view to divert Zeno from his unhallowed project; and in the mean time to omit no opportunity of informing him (the pope) of the state of affairs in the East, and of taking council with him as to the measures necessary to avert the impending calamity from the catholic Church.[r]

Acacius appears to have paid as little attention to the papal rescript as the emperor had thought proper to bestow upon a letter addressed to himself personally by the pope to the like effect.[s] The patriarch, it seems, was too intently engaged in the composition and publication of the celebrated instrument called the "Henoticon," or Compact of Union, to attend to his relations with Rome. That document was prefaced by a fervid eulogium upon religious union, and a vivid description of the spiritual and temporal evils, disturbances, seditions, and murders, which had resulted from the late dissensions in the Church; it adopts the Nicene creed as confirmed and explained by the synods of Constantinople (381) and of Ephesus (431); it condemns the opposite errors of Nestorius and Eutyches; it confesses that Jesus Christ is God in the flesh, veritably consubstantial with the Father as touch-

Publication of the "Henoticon," or Act of Union; its substance.

[r] *Baron.* Ann. 482, §§ 13 to 18.

[s] Four months, or thereabouts, after the last two letters, the pope again wrote to Acacius, rebuking him for his silence, and urging him to renewed exertions to thwart the late measures of the court. *Hard.* Conc. tom. ii. p. 806.

ing his godhead, and with us men as touching his manhood; that He came down from heaven, and was incarnate of the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, *Mother of God;* that He is one Son, and not two Sons; the same also which suffered for us in the flesh: it adopts the Twelve Anathemas of Cyril,[t] but is *silent as to the letter of Leo* to Flavian: it denounces all who divide or confound the two natures in the Christ, or hold a mere semblance of an incarnation; and it anathematises all *who, at Chalcedon or at any other council,* have otherwise believed and taught, more particularly Nestorius and Eutyches and their followers. The edict concludes with an earnest injunction to all men faithfully to adopt and maintain the articles of union therein set forth.[u]

Equivocal conduct of Peter Mongus.

To Mongus these articles offered several advantages; for while it left him in full possession of the Twelve Anathemas of Cyril[v]—the text-book of the Eutychians—it passed over in silence, or with such censure as that silence might well be construed to imply, the Leonine Tomus, the text-book of their antagonists. The dark shade cast upon the council of Chalcedon by the terms of the edict might furnish him with a plausible plea for keeping it out of sight, and thus far gratifying the implacable animosity of a large portion of his supporters. His slippery reputation might, however, give colour to any reports of compliances, which might seem requisite to maintain his equivocal position. And, in fact, he was soon accused of having publicly anathematised the council of Chalcedon and the Leonine edict, and thereby not only broken faith with the emperor and the patriarch of Constantinople, but deranged the entire scheme of the Henoticon.[w] It was further alleged against him that, with the like intent, he had struck out from the sacred diptychs, or tablets of his church, the names of the orthodox prelates Proterius and Solifaciolus, and inserted those of the condemned heretics Dioscorus and Ælurus. Acacius re-

[t] Conf. Book II. c. iii. p. 329; and c. iv. pp. 358 et sqq.
[u] *Evag.* Schol. lib. iii. c. 14.
[v] Conf. Book II. c. iii. p. 327.
[w] *Evag.* Schol. lib. iii. c. 16.

ceived the intelligence of the misdeeds of his new ally with dismay. Mongus lost not a moment in contradicting these reports; he assured the patriarch that he had always felt, and still professed, in public and private, the most profound reverence for the holy synod of Chalcedon; but that such was the turbulent and unmanageable disposition of his people, "who rather governed him than he them," that wild monks and other disorderly folk ran about spreading all manner of evil reports respecting himself, and endeavouring, by every kind of falsehood, to disturb the peace of the Church and sow discord among the people.[x]

Death of Pope Simplicius.

But though Acacius may have found it convenient to accept the apology, no such disposition could be expected to exist at Rome, where Talaia and his friends were in full possession of the papal ear. The very appearance of the Henoticon,—the ambiguity of its language, the apparent slight put upon the council of Chalcedon, and above all the studied neglect of the canonical letter of Leo, standing, as it did, foremost upon the records of that council,—denoted not merely a secession from the standard of Roman orthodoxy, but an intentional insult to the chair of Peter. Yet we are not in possession of any public act of official recognition of the claims of Talaia, nor indicative of any open breach with the court or patriarch of Constantinople, during the pontificate of Simplicius. That pontiff died in the month of March 483, after a reign of fifteen years, five months,

[x] *Evag.* Schol. lib. iii. c. 15. But Mongus, in this letter, does not deny in direct terms that he had "anathematised the decrees of Chalcedon." He only desires that negative to be implied. He asks, "How could I, after so many solemn protestations of adoption, be supposed to have so belied my professions?" There is at least an unfortunate air of insincerity or mental reservation in the defence of Mongus. *Leontius* of Byzantium, a rather voluminous writer on ecclesiastical subjects, who lived at the end of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century, gives a very probable solution of the difficulty. He says that the Acephali, a body of monks in Alexandria, had seceded from Mongus, because he maintained the validity of the council of Chalcedon; that, fearing a total loss of his popularity, he had endeavoured to arrest the secession by a public condemnation of the council; but without success, inasmuch as, having once embraced its decrees, he was held to have irremediably committed himself to that confession, and disqualified himself to be the head of its opponents. He was "neither fish nor flesh" to them. See the extract ap. *Baron.* Ann. 482, § 42, p. 410.

Accession of Felix III.

and ten days;[y] and was succeeded by Felix III., a Roman priest, and a person of a more energetic and vehement nature than his immediate predecessor. Under him the warfare of the Henoticon partook of a fiercer character, and soon assumed more than the ordinary venom of ecclesiastical disputes.

Acacius not the enemy of Chalcedon.

Throughout the transactions hitherto noticed, the conduct of Acacius and his patron appears rather in the light of an error in judgment than of an intentional attack upon the orthodox faith of the Church, as charged against them by their adversaries. The choice of Mongus as an instrument for carrying out their plan of union, was a serious mistake. This choice, in the actual state of men's minds, necessarily reflected the suspicion of insincerity and deceit upon his protectors; it served to give colour to all the obloquy justly or unjustly cast upon the latter by their opponents, and to fling their slanders back upon the scheme itself as well as its authors and contrivers. The conduct of Acacius in this respect naturally exposed him to the charges of levity and insincerity: this sudden adoption into his communion of one whom, but five years before, he had publicly censured as a "heretic and a child of perdition;" this unprepared exchange of ancient fellowship for a hostile alliance,—could not but startle the orthodox both in the East and West, and dispose them to regard the advocates of peace and union as the covert enemies of the faith, and the scheme itself as a cunningly devised plot against the Chalcedonian confession. But with all this, there is no valid ground to believe that Acacius and his patron were animated by any other than an anxious desire for religious peace and unanimity in Christendom; or that in the method they adopted they intended to weaken the established standards of the faith they had themselves uniformly professed.

Correspondence with Rome.

The language of Simplicius to the rival patriarch, though moderate in its tone, was still that of a superior to his responsible officer. He takes it for granted that the completeness of all ecclesiasti-

[y] According to Anastasius the librarian, ap. *Baron.* Ann. 483, § 4.

cal title depends upon the papal confirmation.[z] Throughout the correspondence, he assumes the responsibility of Acacius to the see of Rome as a matter understood and admitted. We notice the same matter-of-course reference to Rome as the ultimate dispenser of all ecclesiastical powers as that we have observed upon in the intercourse of his predecessors with the churches of the East, of Gaul, Spain, and Africa;[a] and though, perhaps, in the letters of Pope Simplicius, the tone of rebuke is softened down, and the usual spiritual courtesies somewhat more carefully observed, yet all acts done, or to be done, in conformity with the expressed wishes or expectations of the pope, are as carefully put upon the footing of dutiful homage to the moderatorial authority of the holy see as in the correspondences of his predecessors. And in this tone the intent to humble Constantinople could hardly be mistaken. It conveys a practical commentary upon Pope Leo's rejection of the xxviii[th] canon of Chalcedon—an offensive denial of the "equal privilege" solemnly adjudicated to that church, and a pregnant proof that peace with Rome was to be obtained only by an unqualified abandonment of that station in which, by the consent of Christendom, she had been solemnly installed.

Apology for Acacius.

To avoid the threatened peril, no course remained to Acacius but to act for the future entirely upon his own conciliar authority, and to rely upon the support of the government. He lay under no definitive engagements with the see of Rome; and he might reasonably decline to be fettered by language held by him

[z] Thus, announcing his approval of the election of Talaia, he says: "Nihil omnino restare videbatur (that is, to its canonical validity), nisi ut . . . . *apostolicæ quoque moderationis assensu votivam sumeret firmitatem.*" It may here be noticed, that Card. Baronius desires it to be understood that Simplicius had constituted Acacius his vicar for the affairs of the East. He draws his inference as well from the tone of the pope's letters to Acacius as from an incidental expression in one of these letters:—"proinde *delegatum tibi munus* impendens," &c., which he construes into an allusion to his appointment as ordinary vicar of the holy see, imposing the duties of an inferior officer to his chief, and of course implying a negation of that spiritual equality claimed by all Christian bishops. There is, however, no pretence for any such delegation. The "munus" alluded to denotes simply the office of the bishop, whose duty it was to discourage and suppress heresy. Conf. *Baron.* Ann. 482, § 13.

[a] Conf. Book II. c. ii. pp. 299 et sqq.; *ibid.* p. 300; *ibid.* pp. 310, 311; *ibid.* c. iii. pp. 331, 335; *ibid.* c. iv. pp. 351, 361, 374; *ibid.* c. v. pp. 395, 403, 410, 415, 416; *ibid.* c. vi. pp. 440 et sqq., p. 445.

under a very different state of circumstances. He had embraced in one broad view the great spiritual and temporal interests of the sovereign and his states. The political object of the Henoticon was strictly consistent with the cause of true religion; it involved no contradiction to the universally received doctrine of the Church; and it pointed out the means of assuaging those exasperating controversies, those tumults and civil dissensions which had so long distressed the government and destroyed the peace of society. And in this view of its tendency, the Henoticon of Zeno was joyfully accepted by all who felt more concerned for the maintenance of Christian fellowship than for success in a controversy upon which nothing is clearly revealed in Scripture, or decisively defined by council or synod within the first four centuries of Christian history.[b]

Acacius attacked both by Catholics and Eutychians.

But this view of the Henoticon was in a great degree unintelligible to the parties to whom it was addressed. The orthodox persisted in representing that instrument as conveying a rejection and condemnation of the council of Chalcedon; while their adversaries denounced it because it left that acceptance or rejection an open question. They could be satisfied with nothing less than a total renunciation of the obnoxious decrees. A more formidable objection, weighing equally with both the extreme parties, was that it was *the work of lay hands*—a daring attempt to smother a question of vital importance to religion—a sacrilegious intrusion upon the sacerdotal office.[c] These views bound both parties irrevocably: the orthodox, to the rigid maintenance of the council of Chalcedon; the ultra-Eutychian party, to its unconditional rejection and abrogation. The middle course proposed by Zeno and Acacius was equally fatal to both views. On the one hand, if accepted universally, it manifestly tended to enfeeble the spiritual influence of Rome, and to strengthen that of Constantinople in the East; while on the other, it must strike the ground from beneath the feet of the powerful party

[b] Conf. *Cent. Magd.* c. v. pp. 1206-1208; *Neander*, Kirch. Gesch. p. 1127.

[c] Conf. the vehement invectives of *Baronius* Ann. 482, §§ 31, 32.

which had up to this time pretty equally divided the conscientious allegiance of the Oriental churches with the orthodox. Both factions therefore agreed in stigmatising the Henoticon as a device of hell for the extinguishment of true religion. Acacius had been all along regarded by the Monophysites as their bitterest enemy, while the orthodox branded him as the associate and accomplice of heretics; his rigidly orthodox profession of faith was treated as a fraudulent pretence; he was at once a conspirator and an impostor, one who, under false pretences, drew away those who adhered to his scheme into an adulterous connection with the damned, and thereby involved them in the like condemnation.[d] Such was the position of the controversy when it fell into the hands of Felix III., a person very well disposed to make the most of it.

Remonstrance of Pope Felix to Acacius.

At Rome, the Henoticon had become an object of profound fear and abhorrence. Within the first year of his pontificate, Pope Felix assembled a synod of his subject provinces to deliberate with him upon the best mode of dealing with that perplexing instrument and its adherents. In the result a mission, consisting of two bishops, Vitalis and Misenus, with the presbyter Felix, was despatched to Constantinople with letters to the emperor and the patriarch from the pope and his synod, conveying a solemn protest against the Henoticon and all proceedings under it. Such was the professed object of the embassy; and had it rested there, little objection could have been taken to the papal communication. The tone of the monition addressed to Acacius was not unbecoming a Christian pastor whose interest in the welfare of the whole Christian family fully entitled him to a respectful hearing. He reminded Acacius of his obligations as a prelate of the catholic Church, and of the devout respect due to the decrees of an œcumenical council like that of Chalcedon. He reproved him in gentle terms for his unaccountable silence respecting the state

[d] Conf. *Tillemont*, tom. xvi. pp. 362 et sqq. Tillemont has ably and effectively summed up the articles of accusation brought by his church against Acacius and the Henoticon. Baronius is as usual violent and declamatory; Tillemont quiet, but venomous: both are equally partial.

of the Alexandrine church; he urged upon him that the Christian pastor who keeps any terms with heretics must be deemed an accomplice of heretics, and that when the truth is dissembled by its appointed guardians, it is in reality betrayed by them: that such conduct on his part could not but cause well-founded suspicions of his orthodoxy; for that he who consorts with the very criminals whom it is his duty to punish cannot, and ought not, to escape the charge of participating in their evil designs.[e]

—to the Emperor Zeno.

To the emperor, Felix addressed at the same time an earnest supplication on behalf of the Alexandrine church: he implored him, in the name of the Apostle Peter, to have a care lest the emblematic garment of Christ be rent by schism; he reminded him of his former meritorious struggle for the faith against the tyrant Basiliscus; of his restoration of the orthodox Solifaciolus, and the condemnation of the convicted heretic Mongus; and remonstrated with him upon the inconsistency of his late proceedings, in upholding the cause of one whom but shortly before he had condemned and banished as a malefactor.[f]

Papal citation and precept to Acacius.

If Pope Felix III. had stopped here, he might perhaps have made a plausible case for renouncing the communion of the emperor and patriarch, or even for procuring a like renunciation by all who adopted the maxim that they who communicate with heretics must be presumed to participate in the heresy. But, besides these documents, it appears that the legates were intrusted with two others. The *first* of these was a *formal citation* addressed to Acacius, setting out *a judicial appeal* to the chair of Peter by Johannes Talaia against Acacius, on account of injuries suffered by the legitimate patriarch and church of Alexandria by his procurement or connivance; and commanding him, by the supreme power to bind and to loose conferred by Christ on the Apostle Peter and his successors, without loss of time to present himself at Rome, and there, before a bench of his brother bishops, to purge himself of the offences laid to his charge. The *second*

[e] *Hard.* Conc. tom. ii. pp. 811 et sqq.

[f] *Hard.* Conc. tom. ii. p. 814.

document was in the shape of a monition *to the emperor*, calling upon him to compel the appearance of Acacius, to answer the complaint and appeal in question, "*before the holy Apostle Peter and his episcopal brethren.*"[g]

Character and intent of the citation.

Such a citation could not but be inexpressibly offensive to the metropolitan patriarch, and very irritating to his imperial patron. It was not merely an outrage upon all known ecclesiastical law, but implied a direct infraction of the decrees of that very council in defence of which the pope professed to do battle. The xxviii[th] canon of Chalcedon imparted equal privilege to Constantinople with that enjoyed by old Rome: the Oriental bishops had taken no notice of the proud rejection of that ordinance by Leo the Great, it was therefore still *res integra* upon their statute-book; and as long as Constantinople maintained the lofty position adjudged to her by a general council of the Church, she could acknowledge no single bishop, however exalted his position, as her legitimate judge. Rome, therefore, never ceased to press for a *practical* abandonment of a law which struck at the root of her power. And now, if Acacius could be prevailed upon, either by persuasion or intimidation, to answer the appeal of Talaia, —whether in person or by deputy mattered little,—the cause of Rome was won, and Constantinople must sink at once from the eminence so solemnly assigned to her to the insignificant position of a suffragan, or parochial church. And whatever the success of this daring attempt, the position of Pope Felix could not be endangered, though it might well serve the purpose of shaking that of his adversary. Rome, or rather the bigots of orthodoxy, had many stanch partisans in Constantinople and the East; and although the Henoticon had been very generally subscribed by the Oriental prelacy, the elements of dissension were still in active operation, and required little more than able management to fan them into a flame that must sweep the last vestige of religious fellowship from the hearts and memories of the several parties of the Christian world.

[g] *Hard.* Conc. tom. ii. pp. 829-831; *Evag.* Schol. lib. iii. c. 18.

Rome and the Acœmetan monks of Constantinople.

Some unexplained delays appear to have retarded the journey of the papal legates, so as to afford to Pope Felix time to communicate with them before their arrival in the imperial city. Thus it happened, that after their departure envoys arrived at Rome from Cyril, archimandrite, or abbot of a certain monastic colony at Constantinople known by the name of the Acœmetan monks,[h]—a community wholly devoted to the formal orthodoxy of Chalcedon,—urging fresh complaints against Acacius; more particularly charging him with a criminal connivance and participation in heretical communion. In consequence of these communications, Felix changed his plan of operations, and directed his legates to take no step towards the accomplishment of their mission till they should have conferred with and taken the advice of Cyril as to what was further to be done in the matter.[i] The court, it appears, had obtained information of this underhand design,

Defeat of the papal project.

and took the alarm. Upon the arrival of the legates at Abydos, they found themselves under arrest; their papers were taken from them, and the attempt of the pope, through his legates, to combine a formidable body of opposition to the court and patriarch before committing himself to the decisive attack meditated in the letters of citation, was at once detected and defeated.[j]

Seduction of the legates of Felix III.

But in the game of double-dealing the Greeks were too well versed to be at a loss how to retort it upon their enemies. The patriarch found the legates Vitalis and Misenus—possibly already subdued by their imprisonment, or not inaccessible to bribes—ready to give at least a silent consent to, and even by their personal presence to sanction his communion with the adherents of the Henoticon. It was customary in the liturgical ritual of the Eastern churches to recite the names of the emperors with those of the living prelates

[h] Ἀκοίμητοι, or "sleepless" monks, so called because the services in their church were kept up night and day without intermission by relays of monks; whence they got the reputation of never going to sleep.

[i] *Evag.* Schol. lib. iii. c. xix.

[j] Ep. Fel. Pap. ad Acac. ap. *Hard.* Concil. tom. ii. p. 832.

of the superior sees and the predecessors of the reigning pontiffs, in token of Christian fellowship and communion. All who attended such services were considered as acknowledging religious communion with the persons so named.[k] The legates, in direct contravention of the papal instructions, allowed themselves to be prevailed upon on several occasions to communicate publicly with Acacius and the legate of Mongus himself, and to permit the recitation of the prohibited names of that person and other condemned heretics in their presence without objection or protest.[l]

Synod at Rome, and condemnation of the legates.

Cyril and his monks lost no time in informing the pope of the treason of his legates. They dwelt upon the mischievous consequences of their defection from the faith; they said that a general impression would thereby be produced that the arch-heretic Mongus had been received into the communion of the holy see of Rome; and they urged that unless the promptest measures were adopted to dissipate that impression, the cause of orthodoxy in the East must suffer irretrievable injury.[m] Pope Felix, who had all along acted upon the advice of the Acœmetans, comprehended at once the difficulty of his position, and the necessity of prompt and decisive action. An immediate disavowal of their acts, and the exemplary punishment of his legates, was, he perceived, the appropriate mode of purging the chair of Peter from the foul blot of heretical communion. A full synod of sixty-seven bishops was instantly convened; the recreant legates were put upon their trial, condemned, excommunicated, and degraded from all order or rank in the church;[n] and the promptest notice of these proceedings was despatched to the friends and agents of Rome at Constantinople and in the East. The synod then proceeded to take in hand the special charges against Acacius and Mongus. No distinction was even thought of between the cases of the

[k] From a list recited in the diptychs, or sacred tablets of the particular church.

[l] *Evag.* Schol. lib. iii. c. xx. Conf. *Tillemont*, tom. xvi. pp. 348, 349.

[m] *Evag.* Schol. ubi sup. Conf. *Tillemont*, ubi sup.

[n] Ep. Synod. Eccl. Rom. ad Clericos et Monachos Orientales, ap. *Hard.* Conc. tom. ii. pp. 853-856. Conf. *Tillemont*, ubi sup. pp. 353 et sqq.

declared heretic and his protector; both were involved in the like condemnation, and were deemed to have incurred the like penalty. Acacius had indeed treated the papal citation with that contempt which so informal and anomalous an instrument deserved.[o] He and his patron Zeno had proceeded with zeal and activity in the promulgation and execution of the Henoticon in every province of the East. While the pope was assailing the defenders of the Henoticon in the West, several Eutychian subscribers were raised to the episcopal bench; the archbishopric of Tyre was conferred upon the reputed heretic John of Apamæa; Peter the Fuller was confirmed in the see of Antioch, to the prejudice of the orthodox Calendion;[p] and Martyrius bishop of Jerusalem was persuaded to send letters of communion to Mongus of Alexandria. The scheme of Zeno prospered beyond expectation, and the prospect raised a storm of wrath and alarm in every orthodox bosom. It was manifest that all chance of defeating the imperial project by negotiation, persuasion, or intimidation had vanished. Rome felt that she must finally cast off the flimsy veil which, in deference to the still unsubdued spirit of oligarchical independence in the greater churches, she had hitherto consented to wear, and display her prerogative in its full proportions, even at the risk of offending the weak vision of some of her own supporters. Felix therefore resolved upon the ultimate step, by which he hoped to give confidence to the orthodox, to inspire a salutary fear into all waverers, and to carry the standard of open warfare in the very centre of the enemy's quarters. He passed the irrevocable sentence against Acacius of Constantinople in terms best suited to dissipate all doubt both as to the scope and extent of the power of the chair of Peter, and as to the person in whom that power was lodged. After reciting the manifold transgressions of the offender,—his

Success of the Henoticon in the East.

Pope Felix passes sentence of excommunication and deposition upon Acacius.

[o] There was no mode by which the jurisdiction of Rome could be established, except by the adoption of the Leonine principle of the "superabundant power" (conf. Book II. c. iv. p. 348) of the chair of Peter; a principle certainly never recognised by Constantinople, nor, that we can find, by any canon or council of the East or the West.

[p] *Evag.* Schol. lib. iii. c. 16.

heretical promotions; his rejection of all orthodox (recusant) candidates; his alliance with the convicted and condemned heretics, Mongus, John of Antioch, Martyrius of Jerusalem, and others; the expulsion of the legitimate patriarch Talaia; the seductions practised upon the legates,—the sentence concluded by announcing to him that he (Acacius) thereby stood condemned by him (Felix), acting for and by the authority of the holy see and of the blessed Apostle Peter, to eternal seclusion from the communion of the faithful every where, and final privation of all sacerdotal or ministerial function.[q]

Apologetic manifesto of Pope Felix.

We observe that this step of Pope Felix III., though it exhibits several novel features, was in reality a perfectly legitimate sequence to the Leonine theory of the cathedra Petri. And it was so in the most absolute sense and in the purest form; for it would be hard to discover a single scrap of proper church-legislation or canon-law upon which he could have ventured to rely for the validity of his proceedings. Felix himself was indeed sensible of this dangerous defect of jurisdiction; following, therefore, the example of his great predecessor, he eagerly seized upon the vain and spurious prefix to the sixth canon of Nice.[r] "As often," he says, in his synodical epistle to his friends in the East,—"as often as within the precinct of Italy the priests of the Lord are assembled for ecclesiastical deliberation, the custom is observed, that the successor of the bishops of the apostolic see doth, in his own person, officially represent the whole prelacy, and shall do and constitute all things by himself, because he is the head of all,[s] according to the word of the Lord to Peter, saying, 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my Church.' . . . . *In obedience to which words, the three hundred and eighteen holy fathers assembled at Nicæa did decree the confirmation of the state and au-*

[q] See the act at length, ap. *Hard.* Conc. tom. ii. p. 831. Conf. generally, upon these transactions, *Baron.* ad ann. 482, 483, and 484, passim, with Pagi's notes.

[r] Conf. Book II. c. v. pp. 406 et sqq.

[s] A pretension which would of itself sufficiently explain the anxiety of Pope Leo the Great to assemble the great council against the Eutychians, which afterwards met at Chalcedon, within the confines of Italy. Conf. Book II. c. v. p. 383.

thority of the holy Roman Church; which state and authority they (the pontiffs) and their successors to this day have, by the grace of Christ, preserved inviolate."[t]

Defect of ecclesiastical law, how supplied by the pope.

A doubt might perhaps be raised whether this strange exposition of the vi[th] canon of Nicæa was not, in the mind of the writer, restricted to *Italian* bishops in an *Italian* synod. But the reason given for the jurisdiction claimed—"because, according to the word of the Lord, *he is the head of all*"—is universal; and the application to Acacius himself follows in the next sentence.[u] But this is the *sole* ground Pope Felix could have chosen. There was, in truth, no provision of existing ecclesiastical law which could bring a patriarchal prelate within any canonical jurisdiction, unless by some means he could be brought down to a subordinate position in the Church. Hence the eager desire of Rome to reduce the patriarch of Constantinople to the status of a suffragan of Heracleia, and to deprive him of all ecclesiastical rank above that of a dependent and responsible provincial prelate. The v[th] canon of the Nicene decrees, even in their spurious conjunction with the Sardican resolutions, established either no jurisdiction at all over a metropolitan patriarch, or it contemplated a tribunal of a totally different character.[v] The popes, therefore, had nothing to rely upon but this spurious canon, as expounded by Leo the Great, though labouring under the peremptory contradiction of a general council of the whole Christian world.[w] A plea in favour of the arbitrary pretension of Rome upon the ground of an acknowledged deficiency of ecclesiastical law,[x] as it affected more eminent delinquents, cannot be sustained. Rome herself was so doubtful of the success of such a plea, that she eagerly snatched at the shadow of canonical authority adumbrated in her own spurious addition or com-

Rome resorts to the spurious exposition of the vi[th] canon of Nicæa.

[t] *Hard.* ubi sup. p. 856.

[u] "Quod ergo placuit sanctæ synodo apud beatum Petrum Apostolum, et beatissimus vir Felix (the pope) caput nostrum, papa et archiepiscopus, judicavit, in subditis continetur." Then follows the sentence.

[v] See Book I. c. ix. p. 203 note (o); *ibid.* pp. 205-208. Compare with these quotations what is said in Book II. c. ii. pp. 300, 301, 306 et sqq., and chap. v. pp. 400, 401.

[w] See Book II. c. v. pp. 400, 401.

[x] Conf. Book II. c. iv. p. 346.

mentary—it is doubtful which—to the vi[th] canon of Nicæa. And in fact, upon the two great occasions on which it had been put forward, it had been deliberately set aside. The Africans in the fourth, and the Fathers of Chalcedon in the fifth century had reproved and rejected it.[y] But whatever its merits, the argument drawn from the canon in question in its Roman form was not really necessary to sustain the power claimed by the pontiffs. That power rested not upon conciliar enactment, but upon antecedent and independent authorisation—upon the alleged grant from the Saviour to his apostle Peter, and through him to his presumed successors the pontiffs of Rome. The failure of the attempt to add a title by conciliar recognition to that of an original divine grant, served rather to weaken than strengthen the cause of Rome against the episcopal oligarchy. The later popes very wisely relinquished it, and took up their position under the shadow of the cathedra Petri.

Novelty and illegality of the proceedings against Acacius.

But up to this point of time the bishops of Rome had not ventured upon any such startling exercise of the arbitrary jurisdiction claimed under that authority as that assumed by Pope Felix III. in the case before us. Though his predecessors had frequently secluded refractory bishops of other dioceses from their own communion and that of the churches properly subject to their own domestic jurisdiction;[z] yet up to this point of time we do not know of any instance in which, by their own mere authority independently of episcopal or canonical assent, they had ventured to cast out the meanest individual from the bosom of the Church-catholic, much less to degrade a brother patriarch from all spiritual rank and function without so much as a locus pœnitentiæ.[a] In all the more important acts done by them in the exercise of their presumed visitatorial powers, we have been accustomed to see the provincial and diocesan synods established by the "holiest of councils" treated with some degree of respect. No bishop of Rome

[y] See the quotation from the Second Book of this work, ubi sup.

[z] Conf. Book I. c. vii. p. 165.

[a] Conf. the conduct of Innocent I. in the case of Chrysostom, Book II. c. i. pp. 278 et sqq., especially note (g), p. 279, col. 2.

had hitherto ventured to substitute his own despotic fiat, attested only by the signatures of a packed committee of his Italian dependents, for those deliberative and responsible bodies to which the public law of the Church had consigned the trial of spiritual offenders.

State of the canon-law applicable to the trial of bishops.

It may perhaps be alleged, that the Nicene canons forbid the reception of any excommunicated bishop or person into the communion of other churches. But the canon applies only to the sentences of prelates or synods having canonical jurisdiction over the subject. In the case of Acacius, no pretence can be set up to such a jurisdiction upon *canonical grounds*. *Nicæa* recognises no courts for the punishment of spiritual offences but the semestral synods established by its *fifth canon*.[b] The problematical ordinances of Sardica would indeed warrant a qualified interference on the part of Rome; but they prescribe a mode of procedure totally unlike that now under review.[c] The Fathers of Constantinople (371) expressly condemned foreign interference in the domestic government of the churches.[d] The first synod of Ephesus (431) inhibited all the bishops from invading the diocese or province of any other, and declared it to be the duty *of* all to preserve *to* all the quiet enjoyment of their respective rights and liberties.[e] The most numerous of all synods, that of Chalcedon, scrupulously defined the tribunals for the trial of ecclesiastical offences; referring the churches in all cases of dispute to the ancient and well-known customs which had hitherto prevailed, to the exclusion of all innovation.[f]

Special canonical defects of the proceedings against Acacius.

The only security, in short, for the rights and liberties of all churches provided by the existing law of the universal Church, was that established by the v^th^ canon of Nicæa, viz. trial by *comprovincial synod*. Hitherto it was an undeniable principle of law that no bishop could be accused or attainted of any offence whatever, though it were by his

[b] Conf. Book I. c. viii. p. 191.
[c] Conf. Book I. c. ix. p. 206.
[d] Conf. Book II. c. i. p. 256.
[e] Decree of the synod of Ephesus in the cause of the Cyprian bishops, *Hard.* Concil. tom. i. p. 1619.
[f] See particularly *Cann.* ix. x. xix. xx. *Hard.* Conc. tom. ii. pp. 605, 610.

own metropolitan, without the intervention of a synod of the province. But in the proceeding against Acacius, although the sentence pronounced was signed by sixty-seven prelates, yet the synod itself was convoked in a *foreign diocese*, and consisted wholly of *foreigners*, presided over by a *foreign* priest having no canonical authority in the cause; therefore a tribunal out of all analogy to any known ecclesiastical judicature. At the same time it should be noticed, that the case brought forward by Talaia against Acacius was not an appeal, but an original complaint, triable, if at all, only before the council of the East, or the provinces of the vicinage. But no such trial had taken place; there was therefore neither judge nor decision to appeal from. Consequently Rome was not even in a condition to resort to her own self-imputed appellate jurisdiction; the act was thus reduced to a naked infraction of all ancient rights and privileges, and could be defended only on the ground of the supreme "visitatorial powers"—the "superabounding" authority —*i.e.* the altogether exceptional prerogative of the see of Peter. Nor is this all: the members of this nominal synod were scarcely a deliberative, certainly not a judicial body; the adjudication and the sentence was the pope's, not theirs: and thus it occurred, that when some not unfriendly members of the Oriental church accidentally present in the assembly complained to Felix of the irregularity in the proceedings arising out of the absence of any prior canonical trial and sentence, it was answered, that in an Italian council the pope was always supreme; and that as the representative of all ecclesiastical authority and general visitor of all churches, he was empowered to determine and promulgate all such things in his own name and as of his own mere motion.[g]

The reconciliation of Acacius with Peter Mongus had

[g] See above, p. 31 of this chapter. Conf. *Pagi*, Crit. ad *Baron.* Ann. 484, § 5. According to the Roman exposition of the vi[th] canon of Nicæa, it was held to give power to the universal primate to reduce the customs of all dioceses to a conformity with those of Rome (conf. Book II. c. v. p. 408; ch. vi. pp. 436, 438). In this view of the matter, we can easily understand the process of reasoning by which Pope Felix may have persuaded himself that his explanation ought to be received as a satisfactory solution of the doubts of the objectors.

Reinstatement of Peter the Fuller in the see of Antioch.

naturally exposed the former to the gravest imputations. But his share in the restoration of Peter the Fuller, the chief of the Monophysite party in the Syrian diocese, gave the finishing blow to his reputation among their opponents. Peter had, partly by favour of the Emperor Zeno, and partly by the occasional ascendency of his party in Antioch, succeeded in obtruding himself three several times into that see; and thrice he had been expelled by the efforts of his adversaries. Subsequently two bishops of the Chalcedonian confession had held the see for a term of three years under the patronage of Acacius. The last of these, Stephen, had been assassinated by an Eutychian mob at the foot of his own altar. Acacius interfered to put an end to these disgraceful disorders; and in the year 482, by his influence, Calendion, a rigid advocate of Chalcedon, was consecrated to the vacant chair. But Calendion was found an unfit instrument for the imperial purpose; he not only resisted all solicitations to subscribe the Henoticon, but entered into a close understanding with Talaia of Alexandria and the pontiff of Rome against the imperial project. Calendion was accordingly deposed; and Peter the Fuller, whose influence with the Eutychian party in Syria was not inferior to that of Mongus in Egypt, was reseated upon the throne of Antioch. Not even Mongus himself had in times past incurred more vehement censures from Acacius than this person. The glaring inconsistencies involved in these proceedings were eagerly seized upon by the zealots of both parties; both agreed in branding him as a false friend, an impostor, and a cheat. No ingenuity could now rescue him from the false position in which his mode of conducting it, rather than the design itself, had placed him.

Effect of the reinstatement of Peter the Fuller.

At Rome the reinstatement of Peter the Fuller was regarded as a gross aggravation of the many offences of Acacius. Felix III. forthwith caused the sentence delivered against Peter Mongus to be republished, with the name of his friend and associate in guilt included; and both were, "*by au-*

thority of the apostolic see, ejected from the episcopate and cut off from the communion of the faithful." Every attempt that monastic cunning could devise was made officially to serve the patriarch himself with a copy of the sentence, and to give it the utmost publicity in Constantinople. But the Acœmetan monks, to whom that dangerous duty was assigned, were assailed by the indignant populace; some of them were slain outright, and others thrown into dungeons.[h] Acacius himself resented the attempted outrage by causing the name of Felix to be struck out of the sacred diptychs of his church; and by that act formally cut off the pope from his own communion and that of the church over which he presided.[i]

The name of Pope Felix struck out of the diptychs.

These reciprocal acts of defiance completed the schism, and revived the spiritual warfare which the Henoticon had for a time appeased. The success of that scheme was now more distant than ever. Rome had always less to fear from open war than from peace upon any terms not dictated by herself: she had drawn all the advantages that could be derived from the prevarications and inadvertencies of her opponents; and she had, by an assertion of prerogative with a plainness and to an extent hitherto unexampled in ecclesiastical history, established her own position, impressed both friends and enemies with an imposing idea of her power to protect or injure, and taken her stand upon an eminence from which no extent of jurisdiction or authority in the Church seemed beyond her reach.

Roman management of the controversy.

Reckoning from the close of the great council of Chalcedon, the conflict of claims and interests between Rome and Constantinople had lasted for a term of twenty-two years. Yet during all that time we are surprised to find that it had not occurred to a single writer of that age—

Contrasted position of Rome and Constantinople in the struggle for power.

[h] One of these devoted persons, we are told, had the hardihood to pin a copy of the sentence to the pallium of the patriarch as he entered his cathedral to say Mass, and the good luck to escape detection. *Baron.* Ann. 484, § 35.

[i] *Baron.* Ann. 484, §§ 31, 34, 35. Conf. *Niceph.*, as quoted by *Cent. Magd.* cent. v. p. 1210.

that no advocate of the rights of the great metropolitan church had started up—to inquire into the historical foundation of claims which now unequivocally threatened to swallow up every other ecclesiastical power or authority. But when we reflect how very probable it is that few churches were in possession of copies of the councils, or of any documents likely to throw light upon the past history of Roman prerogative; that in the dearth of written record, tradition,—vague, unauthenticated, fictitious,—constituted the body and the bulk of historical testimony; that such records as already existed were in many instances of very questionable genuineness and authenticity; that, moreover, theological scholars could reap little credit with the world but by outbidding each other in the subtlety of their argumentations or the boundless fury of their zeal,—we are no longer surprised to find Greeks, Asiatics, Syrians, Egyptians, alike destitute of the weapons necessary to defend their common independence. And in fact, to all but Constantinople, Rome lay too far away for any direct interference with their domestic government; and the ever-varying movements of faction so absorbed their attention, that a legion of emissaries, armed with all the power of the Church-catholic, could not have aroused them to a sense of their common interests, or of the necessity of combined resistance to a common enemy. Among such elements, Rome's task required only minute information and clever management. Constantinople stood foremost in the list of foes to be encountered; and she stood almost alone. She was, indeed, supported for the present by the civil government; but within her own bosom, and in every province subject to her jurisdiction or influence, she nourished a numerous and determined faction in close alliance with her great adversary. At perpetual feud with her own subjects or dependents, she could count upon no more solid basis of defence than the precarious favour of the civil government. The sequel will show how this reliance served her turn in the time of need.

In the year 488 Acacius died, and was succeeded by Fravitta: a person described by one class of writers as

a hypocritical pretender; by others, as a man of undoubted piety and ability. But he gave in his adhesion to the Henoticon, and for that act incurred the envenomed hatred of Rome and her partisans. His pontificate of barely four months would perhaps have escaped attention, if he had not been marked out by the opposite faction for posthumous persecution. He was succeeded by Euphemius, an Alexandrian by birth, and a presbyter of the church of Constantinople. His creed was unimpeachable, and his character beyond suspicion; he professed inviolable allegiance to the Chalcedonian confession, and testified on all occasions his abhorrence of the Eutychian error. Soon after his accession he strove to discharge his chair from the odium incurred by communion with its now notorious champion Mongus of Alexandria; he struck the name of that adventurer out of the sacred calendar of his church; and, without publicly renouncing the Henoticon, strove to mitigate the evils of which that unfortunate document had been the occasion. In proof of his earnest desire for the restoration of union, he entered into correspondence with Pope Felix III.; and as a preliminary step to the restoration of peace, he reinstated the name of that pontiff in the diptychs of his church, from which it had been struck out by Acacius. But the latter sternly refused to listen to any overtures of reconciliation until the names of the deceased patriarchs Acacius and Fravitta should have been doomed to the ignominy of a public erasure from the sacred calendar. Euphemius was unwilling thus to disgrace his own church; and probably, if willing, was unable to carry a measure alike insulting to the court and dangerous to the peace of the metropolis. Felix was, however, inaccessible to all entreaty to admit to his communion any one who, directly or indirectly, professed sympathy or spiritual fellowship with excommunicated heretics. He contended that the sentence of the apostolic see attached to the whole ecclesiastical status and character of the deceased prelates; he asserted that condemnation and deposition by that authority was destructive of all rank or

Death of Acacius: Fravitta and Euphemius his successors.

Attempted reconciliation with Rome.

place in the Church; and that those who still upheld them must be deemed accomplices and participators of those errors for which they had already suffered the spiritual death.[j]

Anastasius I. emperor; death of Felix III.; Gelasius pope.

In the year 491 the emperor Zeno died, and the senate proclaimed Anastasius I.; and in the following year Gelasius, an African by birth, and the secretary and confidential friend of Pope Felix III., succeeded that pontiff upon the papal throne. The new pope united the zeal of Augustine with the integrity of Leo the Great, together with every spark of that pride of power and station that had ever animated the occupants of St. Peter's chair. But this pontificate ushers in a new phase of the great controversy between Rome and Constantinople—a contest, on the one hand, for universal spiritual dominion; and on the other, for existence as an independent patriarchate.

[j] *Baron.* Ann. 489, §§ i. et sqq. Conf. *Nicephor.*,—ap. *Cent. Magdeb.* cent. v. pp. 1214, 1270.

CHAPTER II.

PAPAL PREROGATIVE UNDER POPES GELASIUS I. AND SYMMACHUS.

Anastasius emperor—His disposition towards the litigants—Pope Gelasius I. renounces the communion of Constantinople—Euphemius patriarch—His pacific disposition — Mission of Faustus and Irenæus — Monition of Gelasius to the emperor Anastasius —Claims of Gelasius—Papal sophistry—Constructive subjection —Letter of Gelasius to the emperor Anastasius—Analysis of the letter —Gelasius and the bishops of Illyricum—The Illyrians entertain an erroneous notion of the Roman claims—Roman synod and declaration of the pontifical prerogative—Letter of Gelasius to the Illyrians—He impeaches Acacius of rebellion, &c.—Analysis of the letter, &c.—Epitome of the Gelasian declaration of prerogative, &c.—Scope of the document—Its results—Death of Gelasius I.—Anastasius II. pope—His pacific character—Death of Anastasius II. —Symmachus and Laurentius — Contested election — Domestic state of the church of Rome at the close of the fifth century—Government interferences in the election of popes—under Odovaker—Law of Odovaker against the alienation of church funds—offensive to the clergy—Its effect—Religious faction in Rome—Contest between Symmachus and Laurentius referred to King Theodoric—He decides in favour of Symmachus—Law against canvassing, &c.—Impeachment of Pope Symmachus — How dealt with by Theodoric — The Synodus palmaris — Symmachus retracts his submission to the synod — Plea of Symmachus—The synod declares its own incompetency to try the pope—Ennodius on papal impeccability—Synod of the year 502—Repeal of the laws of Odovaker — Re-enactment of the law against bribery — Synodal encroachments upon the civil legislature—Remonstrance of the Gallic prelates—Synod of the year 503—Adoption of the Ennodian doctrine of papal impeccability, &c.—Declaration of episcopal privilege—Summary of ecclesiastical privilege, &c.—Rights of civil state declared—Anomalous relation of the Church to the State in the age of Theodoric the Great.

Ariadne, the daughter of Leo the Isaurian and the widow of Zeno, on whom the choice of a successor to her late husband devolved, without delay nominated their common friend Anastasius; and within forty days of the demise of Zeno crowned and married the new emperor, with the hearty concurrence of the senate and people of Constantinople. As a temporal ruler, the balance of testimony is in his favour; and those qualities which had contributed to his elevation maintained him upon the throne for the unusual period of

Anastasius emperor.

twenty-seven years.[a] But Anastasius appears, as far as the testimony of his adversaries may be trusted, to have pledged himself to the Eutychian party prior to his elevation; and for the same cause Euphemius of Constantinople is reported to have vehemently opposed his elevation, and to have consented only upon receiving from him a promise in writing to maintain the catholic profession, to permit no innovation in the Church, and to adopt the rule of the council of Chalcedon in all things touching the faith.[b] It is not alleged that the promise was ever withdrawn; and indeed little active partisanship in matters of religion is imputed to this prince. The Roman pontiff, at least in the outset of his reign, treated with him rather as with a friend than a foe;[c] and Evagrius assures us that he was the devoted advocate of peace, an enemy of all innovation, and intent only on banishing from his states all occasion for religious or civil strife.[d] It is, however, pretty clear that the policy of Anastasius inclined in favour of the Henoticon of his predecessor; that he endeavoured to hold the balance between the various sects and factions[e] into which the Eastern churches were split up, and to preserve to all the right to put their own interpretation upon that instrument, provided they should grant the like liberty to the rest. He appears to have indifferently protected those who adhered to, and those who rejected, the Chalcedonian decrees and the expositions of faith appended to them. But the methods of conciliation and mutual toleration lay beyond the comprehension of that age; the experiment was eminently unsuccessful, and Rome remained the only gainer by all that was lost to the true interests of Christian faith and practice.

His disposition towards the litigant parties in the Church.

In Pope Gelasius I. the church of Rome found an able advocate and a resolute champion. He declined

[a] See the testimony for and against the character of Anastasius very fairly set out by Father *Tillemont*, Hist. des Emp. tom. vi., Vie d'Anastase, arts. iii. and iv. pp. 535 to 539.

[b] This incident is derived from the Byzantines Theophanes and Cedrenus. *Tillemont*, ubi sup. p. 533.

[c] Conf. *Gelas.* Pap. Ep. iv.,—*Hard.* Concil. tom. ii. pp. 893 et sqq.

[d] *Evag.* Schol. lib. iii. c. 30. And with this agrees the extract of Valesius (ad Evag. loc. cit.) from the Breviarium of Liberatus.

[e] Conf. *Evag.* loc. mod. cit.

to announce his election to the patriarch of Constantinople until assured of his submission to the terms prescribed by his predecessor. Thus when Euphemius of Constantinople complained that Gelasius had omitted to send him the usual synodal letters announcing his election to the see of Rome, he promptly replied that "though it was customary to give such notification as a mark of favour to those prelates who cherished the communion of the holy see, yet that it was in no degree obligatory upon the latter; and though a matter of strict duty on the part of all other churches in their ordinary intercourse with the first see of Christendom, there was *no reciprocity* of obligation, nor was the supreme pontiff of Rome in any way bound to announce his accession to the inferior sees of Christendom."[f] And it must be admitted, that a custom springing from the original equality of all bishops was wholly inconsistent with the novel position assumed by the see of Rome. That Christian fellowship, that free communion denoted by the mutual delivery of synodal letters by the bishops upon their election, or on other important occasions, had become an anomaly in the scheme of the Roman primacy. Pope Gelasius therefore took care to divest these documents of their primitive significance, and to place them upon the footing of acts of special grace and favour towards those whom his church might deem worthy of such a distinction.[g]

Pope Gelasius declines episcopal communion with Constantinople.

The anxiety which Euphemius took no care to conceal for the communion and support of Rome, served only to reveal the weakness of his position. He apologised to the pope for his participation in the imperial scheme of union: he had, he said, been driven into compromise for the sake of peace, but had never swerved from the orthodox faith of the Church; and he mildly remonstrated with his brother patriarch for objecting to the retention of the names of his predecessors in the sacred diptychs as a condescension in itself immaterial, yet necessary to the

[f] Ep. *Gelas.* ad Euphem., *Hard.* Conc. tom. ii. pp. 879, 880: see the passages "non arbitramur," &c. and "cum autem dicis," &c. Conf. *Baron.* Ann. 492, §§ 10 and 14. But neither of these passages is very clearly expressed.

[g] Conf. *Baron.* ubi sup. § 7.

attainment of the great end in view—peace and unity in the Church.[h] Gelasius replied, that by permitting his name, with that of the pope and other orthodox prelates, to be associated with the name of the condemned heretic Acacius,[i] he had placed himself in the false and humiliating position in which he now stood; and that if he (Gelasius) should connive at such a course of proceeding, he should himself become a sharer in the spiritual disgrace attending it: that therefore, unless Euphemius should without delay obliterate all traces of communion or sympathy with heretics and heresy, by the erasure of the names of the delinquents from the liturgies of his church, he could not consent to restore him to the communion of the holy see.[j]

Double aspect of Roman church-policy.

If it had been the single, or even the principal, object of Pope Gelasius, in repelling the advances of the pacific patriarch, to save the reputation of his church and to avoid the contamination of heretical communion, some apology might be suggested for the course he adopted. But it is undeniable that the main intent of the pope was to establish in himself the character of supreme ecclesiastical judge; a motive of conduct different in its nature from that defensive attitude to which no just exception can be taken.[k] Yet the orthodox churches of the East may reasonably be supposed to have regarded the conduct of Gelasius from this latter point of view, and to have looked up to him without suspicion as the single-minded defender of the orthodox faith. With this feeling on their minds, they could not be expected to distinguish accurately between the defensive measures to which they were well disposed to give their support, and that *offensive* warfare waged by the see of Rome against every rival judicature in the

[h] According to *Baronius* (Ann. 492, §§ 7, 8, 9), two letters were written by Euphemius to Pope Gelasius: the above facts are extracted from the reply of the latter to the second letter, sent by the hand of his deacon Sinclitius.

[i] Pope Gelasius, it appears, did not take the distinction between a heretic and a schismatic which Cardinal Baronius discovers, with a view to explain the address of Gelasius's letter to Euphemius: "Dilectissimo *fratri* Euphemiano," &c. The highest charge that could be brought against Acacius was that of schism.

[j] Ep. Gelas. ad Euph.,—*Hard.* Conc. loc. sup. cit.

[k] Conf. Book I. c. vii. pp. 161-163.

Church. Thus, on the one hand, the Roman advocate might feel himself at liberty to discern in each act of acquiescence or submission a fresh proof of the acknowledged universality of the papal jurisdiction; while on the other, the unreflecting, the unwary, or the ignorant might be unconsciously ensnared into dependence where they intended no more than Christian trust and fellowship.

Rome admits no distinction between communion and subjection.

And there is no room to doubt, that by this time the see of Rome had succeeded in so commingling and confounding the ideas of communion and subjection, that she was probably herself hardly sensible of any distinction. Certainly she admitted none such in her intercourse with foreign churches. At this juncture a simply political event afforded to Pope Gelasius an opportunity to lay before his friends in the East a full and explicit statement of his reasons for rejecting the application of Euphemius, and of placing the prerogative of St. Peter's chair in a light so broad and clear that no one could thereafter plead ignorance of the terms of Roman communion, or hope to obtain it but by the absolute surrender of all corporate or individual privilege.

Mission of Faustus and Irenæus.

King Theodoric the Great had occasion to send two Roman envoys, Faustus and Irenæus, to the court of Constantinople upon certain secret negotiations of importance. These persons possessed the confidence of Gelasius, and, without reference to his lay character, he selected Faustus to be the bearer and publisher of his mandates in the East; a step, it must be observed, hitherto unprecedented in the annals of ecclesiastical intercourse.[1] Euphemius had closed his correspondence with Rome in anger and disgust. He was probably now disposed to let things take their course, and to trust to time and his own exertions to counteract the growing influence of Rome among the fanatical adherents of the Chalcedonian confession. But neither the traditional policy of his see nor a sense of his duty as he conceived it permitted Pope Gelasius to tolerate such a state of qui-

[1] Faustus had been, it appears, in the first instance intrusted with verbal instructions from the pope. The *commonitorium*, or written instructions, were sent to him afterwards, upon receiving his report of the state of things at Constantinople.

escence; suspension of intercourse must not be allowed to imply even a truce with the enemies of the faith, or the gainsayers of the supremacy of its divinely appointed guardian and dispenser. From the report of Faustus he learnt that Euphemius, so far from exhibiting a disposition more favourable to the demands of Rome, was drawing away his party from the papal communion. He therefore despatched to the former a "commonitorium," or instruction, embracing every point of the existing controversy, with a view to furnish his friends in the East with the most effective argumentative artillery against the "hypocritical prevarications" to whose machinations he imputed the daring rebellion of the patriarch and his party.[m]

Papal instructions to Faustus.

The emperor Anastasius had, it seems, complained to the envoys that the censure passed upon his religious profession had caused the senate to refuse to communicate with him. Gelasius denied that he had ever reflected upon the emperor's religion; "but if," he added, "it should please him to make common cause with the damned, he had no right to blame him for the consequences; more especially as, by renouncing his connection with heretics, he might not only escape the like condemnation, but acquire a title to the affectionate regard and communion of the holy see:" that the senate of Constantinople should have declined religious intercourse with him, was no ground of complaint; for they were fully justified in avoiding the contamination of heresy, whereby they must have forfeited the favour of the apostolic see: "but," said the indignant monitor, "these folk demand in one breath that I should pardon the unrepentant and hardened malefactor—him who hath died in mortal sin—in order that they may be received into our communion; and in the next they threaten to withdraw themselves from that communion. A valiant threat indeed! For have they not long ago most effectually renounced our communion?

Monition of Pope Gelasius to the emperor Anastasius.

[m] *Baronius*—ostensibly from Cassiodorius, whose works I have not immediately at hand—tells us that Euphemius was found by Faustus "majorum rixarum fomenta miscere," &c. Ann. 493, § 9.

Did they not know that Acacius was damned already by the very terms of the Chalcedonian decrees, in that he took under his protection that error which, among many others, was therein specially condemned? But Acacius, forsooth, was sentenced without trial! What need of trial in the case of one already under condemnation? Is it not manifest that all the abettors of his heresy were thereby condemned, in the same manner and form as was also every other heresy since the foundation of the Church; and that my predecessor (Felix III.) was but the hand by which that judgment was executed, not the originator of any new process? And this proceeding is within the competency not of the holy see alone, but of every bishop; for they are all at liberty to separate from their communion any one, whoever and whatever he may be, who hath participated in any heresy already condemned by the Church-catholic."

Pope Gelasius claims *canonical exemption* from all canonical restrictions.

The Greeks, it appears, had shown a disposition to inquire too curiously into the grounds of the Roman claim to this universal jurisdiction. They had put forward the decrees of the four general councils of the Church for securing the liberties of the individual churches against foreign encroachment.[n] The case of Acacius was manifestly not that of a judicially convicted heretic, as the pope assumed it to be. The offence of the deceased patriarch, if any, amounted at the utmost to that of schism; and it was surely a matter of inquiry whether that offence had indeed been committed, and whether it could be brought within the description of any of the heresies condemned by conciliar enactment. To that law, therefore, the Greeks had very reasonably appealed. They had presumed to quote the canons against the arbitrary act of Felix, and thereby drew down upon themselves a storm of pontifical wrath. "They fling the canons in our teeth," said he: "verily they know not what they are talking about; for they are themselves the very first to break through these canons, *by the mere act of refusing obedience to the primate of all the chairs:* for it is by vir-

[n] Conf. chap. i. of this Book, pp. 42, 43.

tue of these very canons that an appeal to the chair of Peter lieth open to all and every portion of the Church-catholic; the same law constituteth Rome the supreme judge over the whole Church, though herself amenable to no earthly tribunal; from her decrees there is no appeal; her sentences are irreversible and binding upon the whole world."[o]

Papal sophistry.

There is here an apparently calculated confusion in the language of Pope Gelasius. There was really no appeal in the case. The complaint of Talaia to the pope could not come before him by way of appeal; but must, in conformity with the decision of Pope Siricius in the case of Bonosus, and, we may add, that of Innocent I. in the case of Chrysostom,[p] be first adjudicated upon by the synod of the province or diocese where the reputed delinquent resided. It was no answer to the objection, that the difficulties in the way of assembling such a synod were insuperable, and therefore that the pope might dispense with that preliminary, and treat the cause as if it had come before him in the ordinary canonical form of an appeal from the decision of a competent ecclesiastical tribunal.[q] In this daring appeal to the canons, Pope Gelasius, however, does not venture to fix upon any single ordinance among them on which he grounded his proud assumption of jurisdiction and universal immunity. But we are by this time sufficiently familiar with the mode in which the Roman pontiffs connected their claims with the canons of the Church. As we have more than once repeated, the vi[th] canon of Nicæa, with its spurious Roman prefix, was the only scrap of canon law she could allege with any chance of a hearing from the Christian world. And if, in the case before us, the traditional position of the

[o] See the whole document ap. *Hard.* Conc. tom. ii. pp. 884-887; *Baron.* Ann. 493, §§ 13, 14, 15.

[p] See Book II. c. i. p. 266; and Book II. c. i. p. 279 note (s).

[q] Acacius, even if treated as simple bishop of Byzantium, must have been tried before the comprovincial bishops of the Thracian diocese. As patriarch, it is indeed difficult to say to what court he was by law amenable in the first instance. But though his case were a "casus omissus," the pope could upon no principle of law or common sense thereby acquire a right to deal with it either as an original or an appeal cause in his own court.

pope had not been much stronger than his law, he could hardly have escaped the reprobation or the derision of Christendom.

But at the close of the fifth century the myth of the chair of Peter was so far established, that no verbal contradiction was to be apprehended; and Pope Gelasius was prepared with a series of precedents and admissions against Constantinople, which might at all events serve to perplex his antagonists and to give confidence to his own supporters in the East. "It was obvious," he said, "that the late proceedings against the heretics Timothy Ælurus, Peter Mongus, Peter (Gnapheus) of Antioch, John of Apamæa, and divers others, originated with, and were the spontaneous act and deed of, the apostolic see: that in all these causes Acacius had solicited and received his instructions from Rome; and that he acted in all things only as the willing official, the obedient minister and agent of the holy see for the due execution of the sentences pronounced by the pope (Felix III.). These sentences," he added, "were promulgated and authenticated in due synodal form; consequently no one—least of all the agent himself—could be at liberty to recede from them, or again to take the condemned delinquents to his bosom: neither could Acacius himself complain if he were dealt with in the same manner as they had been, for having fallen back into fellowship with the men whose condemnation he had served and promoted. And yet," exclaimed the pope, "the apologists of this person have dared to allege against us those canons which they themselves have so grossly infringed, to serve the interests of their own exorbitant ambition!"

Co-operation with the see of Rome a constructive acknowledgment of subjection.

It is almost superfluous to point out to the reader that, as far as the evidence before us goes, Acacius himself had not the remotest intention to do homage to the chair of Peter while consenting to act with Rome in pursuit of a common purpose. It is true that he had approved the censures passed upon the heretics Mongus and his associates;

Forced construction of the acts of Acacius by the pope.

but he had not been an original party to the quasi-judicial proceedings at Rome against those persons, nor had he acknowledged their validity so as to bind himself as a party to the sentence. While Rome restricted her pretensions to the right of excluding them from her own particular communion, Acacius might indeed approve the act; but when told that such verbal approval not only bound him as a party to the process, but degraded him to the position of a simple minister or agent for its execution, he and his apologists had a full right to ask upon what canonical grounds such a demand was based. The expulsions of Ælurus and Gnapheus from their sees, indeed, appear to have been altogether arbitrary: no synods had been convoked to decide between them and their opponents; the acts by which they lost their chairs—like those by which they regained them—were rather popular and tumultuary than judicial: there was therefore no record by which Acacius could be so far bound as to convert a verbal approval into a conclusive engagement such as that alleged against him by the pope.

Rome presumes a universal assent to her supremacy.

Yet there was enough in his conduct throughout these transactions to fix him with the charges of inconsistency and subterfuge; though perhaps in no greater degree than must necessarily be incurred in all cases of compromise with former antagonists. But after making the most of these inconsistencies, Gelasius found himself at last thrown back upon the canons. It was important to impress upon the Oriental world that Acacius had adopted the Roman construction of those canons: and to that end, when acting in concurrence with Rome, he is treated as her submissive agent and servant; when in opposition, as a mere traitor and a rebel. His acts are valid to prove submission and dependence, but worthless to excuse or explain resistance. But this process of proof could be of avail only upon the supposition that the law or the custom regulating the relation of the sees of Christendom to that of Rome had received the universal assent affirmed by the pope: otherwise the mere joint pursuit of a common purpose could furnish no evidence at all to show the legal subjec-

tion of the one jurisdiction to the other. Rome could claim no other than a *legal* supremacy; nor could she put her own construction upon isolated acts until she had settled the law applicable to those acts—until she should have shown that that law was known to and admitted by the actors, and that they intended to be bound by it. But for this she had not a fragment of an admission to exhibit . . . . the alleged law was unknown to, and unacknowledged in any shape by, the prelacy of the East: if they acted *with* Rome, they did so for their own purposes, but without the remotest intention of professing themselves the agents and subjects of Rome.[r]

Papal dealing with existing canon-law.

It is, however, tolerably clear that Pope Gelasius had in his own mind identified and incorporated the prerogative of St. Peter's chair, as he found it upon the records of his church, with the corpus of ecclesiastical law. The canons to which he appealed were in truth made up of the traditional commentaries of his predecessors—more especially those of Leo the Great—upon the vi[th] canon of Nicæa, and the subsequent *ex-parte* declarations of prerogative arising out of them; and he was therefore fully prepared to treat all resistance to that prerogative as a sacrilegious outrage upon the operative ecclesiastical law. Hence his indignant invective against Euphemius and his patron for rejecting the decisions of the late Roman synods: "They had dared to sit in judgment upon the chair of Peter; they had presumed to dispute the authority and to question the powers of the apostolic commission; the bishop of a see which *by the canons* (!) hath no place among the spiritual thrones of Christendom,[s] hath ventured upon his own judgment to gainsay the *canonical* rights of the apostolic see,[t] as affirmed by the holy synods." An indirect attack had in fact been made upon the fundamental

[r] For further illustration of some of the points contained in the last two paragraphs,—particularly as to the mode of dealing with the canons so frequently resorted to by the Roman pontiffs,—the reader is referred to the following passages in the first two Books of this work, viz. Book I. ch. viii. pp. 191-193, and ch. ix. pp. 202, 203; Book II. c. ii. pp. 300-311, ch. iv. pp. 374-376, ch. v. pp. 390-392, 400, 401, 406-411.

[s] It will be remembered that the iii[d] and iv[th] canons of Constantinople (371) and the xxviii[th] of Chalcedon were waste paper at Rome.

[t] The vi[th] of Nicæa was passed before Constantinople was in existence.

doctrine of the chair of Peter; the Roman exposition of the "Tu es Petrus" was in danger. Gelasius felt and acknowledged the challenge; and it drew from him the fullest, plainest, and most instructive declaration of the papal prerogative that had ever issued from the papal oracle.

Letter of Pope Gelasius to the emperor Anastasius.

This remarkable document was drawn up in the form of an apologetic letter, addressed to the emperor Anastasius, with a view to convey a full and frank exposition of the relation between the Church and the State, and of the reciprocal obligations incident to their independent character and free alliance. In the exordium Gelasius professes absolute submission in all matters of lawful obedience. But the world, he observes, is ruled by two powers, the *pontifical* and the *royal*; the more grave and important of the two is that which appertains to the priesthood; for they it is who must hereafter render an account unto the Lord for the deeds of kings themselves. "You cannot be ignorant, most gracious son,[u] that though you rule over men in the world, yet, as a devout prince, you are in duty bound to submit in spiritual concerns to your prelates, and to look to them for the means of your salvation; that as to the administration of divine ordinances you are not a ruler, but a subject; that in such concerns you have no right to command; that it is you that are dependent upon them as your spiritual pastors; that it is not for them therein to consult your will, or for you to obtrude it upon them."

Paramount dignity and authority of the pontificate.

The pope indeed graciously excepts civil government from the competency of the priesthood, and admits that obedience to the lawful commands of the sovereign cannot be refused by his bishops without incurring a heavy debt of sin. But this topic soon vanishes from his view, and Gelasius addresses himself with fervour to the contemplation of the *graver of the two powers* by which the world is ruled—that power before which even princes must veil their heads in humble submission. "But among all the sacerdotal principalities,

[u] The first time this mode of address to princes occurs in the papal writings (?).

where," he asks, "is that which is comparable in dignity to the power which God himself had placed on an eminence high above all—that *which is acknowledged* by the universal Church—which was erected by the *word of Christ himself*—that power which, though often assailed by the kings of the world, still, like the rock on which it is founded, stands invincible and impregnable—the *primacy of the Roman church?* For as by virtue of this commission the Roman pontiff becomes the *gage and pledge to God for the soundness of the whole body of the Church*, if the apostolic see should even in the minutest matter betray its trust, or deal falsely by the faith, the whole fabric of the Church, which is built upon the *single foundation* of St. Peter's confession, must be shaken to its base. There can be therefore no peace or compromise with her until the very seeds of perversity, the very roots and fibres of error, be first wholly destroyed and exterminated; in her bosom there can be no communion or sympathy with heresy. If it be once believed that the Eutychian dogma may stand side by side or be made to agree with the catholic faith, that heresy is thereby published and affirmed. So if any man make common cause with the *patrons* of heretics, he must be deemed an abettor of heresy. For by all human state-law the harbourer of the thief becomes involved in the guilt of his confederates; nor can *he* be regarded as innocent who, though not himself directly implicated in the crime, yet hesitates not to admit the criminal to his intimacy. By such a course it was that Acacius had become involved in the guilt of his confederates; and was therefore of necessity cut off from the communion of the catholic Church and of the apostolic see, lest that see might, even by the remotest appearance of connivance, seem to contract some taint of the like perfidy."

Pontifical argument.

Papal impeachment of Acacius.

But in dealing with the more direct assault of the Greeks upon the alleged prerogative* of St. Peter's chair, the pontiff did not think fit to face the objection. No foreign church, he intimated, could lawfully reopen or discuss a subject

Demands implicit obedience as preliminary to conciliar inquiry.

* See p. 47 of this chapter.

settled from all antiquity; nor could any but the general voice of all Christendom be competent to instruct the chair of Peter upon the scope and meaning of the Nicene decrees: until therefore that voice should be heard, the duty of obedience remained in full force. "First," he exclaimed, "let the abhorred names be blotted from the memorials of the Church; and when that is done, let any one that *dares* stand forth and impeach in due form the *venerable decrees of the Fathers:* it shall then appear which party hath faithfully kept the traditions of the elders, and which hath, by irreverent impeachment, become as a thief and a robber in the Church."[v] In the same peremptory tone he set aside all considerations of political expediency against the erasure of the obnoxious names from the diptychs: "What if it should happen that the erasure of those names should be followed by popular tumult or disturbance of the public peace? That," he said, "was the emperor's peculiar care; for was it not obvious that if he should at any time find it necessary to make use of the public force to carry an unpopular law into execution, he would not hesitate to exert his lawful powers for that purpose; how much more, then, was it incumbent upon him to put those powers in motion when called upon to reduce his people to obedience to the *divine precept!*"[w]

Repudiates the plea of political expediency.

Such, at the close of the fifth century, was the case set up on behalf of the Petrine primacy by one of its most learned and most resolute advocates. But Gelasius was a man of prompt and decisive action—one to whom compromise was an abomination—one who knew no middle path between precept and practice; between the right to command and the duty to obey. The bishops of Illyricum Orientale—a diocese which had for ages past been regarded by Rome as within her special superintendence[x]—had hesi-

Gelasius and the compromising bishops of Illyricum.

[v] See the entire document, ap. *Hard.* Conc. tom. ii. pp. 893 to 896. Conf. *Baron.* Ann. 493, §§ 10 to 21, with the cardinal's running commentary; also Ep. ad Orientales, *Hard.* tom. ii. p. 924.

[w] Conf. Ep. *Gelas.* ad Anastas.,—ap. *Hard.* Conc. tom. ii. p. 896.

[x] Conf. Book II. ch. i. pp. 279, 280; and ch. ii. pp. 310-313.

tated to make the erasure of the names of Acacius and Fravitta from their registers a condition of church-fellowship among themselves. Many of them had, indeed, struck those names out of their own services; but had not declined communion with their metropolitan of Thessalonica, who resolutely retained them. Others, it appears, were still upon friendly terms with Euphemius of Constantinople, but at the same time anxious not to forfeit the communion of Rome. Gelasius hastened to convince them that such a position was untenable. The archbishop of Thessalonica was put out of the Roman communion for his obstinate sympathy with Constantinople. But it was of importance that this act of power should be unconditionally adopted by all whom the voice of Rome could reach. Gelasius therefore summoned a commission, or synod, consisting of seventy bishops of his Italian dependencies, for the publication of a solemn declaration of right, embracing the whole prerogative of the see of Peter and the duties which the relation thus created entailed upon the universal Church and all its members. The Illyrians, it appears, had fallen into the error of supposing that the see of Rome, like all others, was bound by existing canons in adjudicating upon ecclesiastical causes, and were therefore at a loss to comprehend by what public law or ecclesiastical custom a single patriarch, without the intervention of a regular synodal inquiry and sentence, pretended to excommunicate and depose a bishop of equally exalted rank. This was dangerous ground; and Pope Gelasius resolved to convince them of their mistake on the two points which the objection embraced. It was indispensable that they should be made to understand *first*, that the holy see was not bound by the ordinary rules of synodal proceeding where it saw good cause for departing from them; and *secondly*, that the bishop of Constantinople not only stood beneath the see of Rome, but beneath all other patriarchal and metropolitan sees; that, in fact, his church could pretend to no canonical place, rank, or authority of any but of the lowest degree among the sees of Christendom.

Error of the Illyrian churches as to the alleged jurisdiction of Rome.

Roman synod, and declaration of pontifical right.

Whether the declaration of right published by the seventy Roman prelates preceded or followed the remarkable epistle of Gelasius to the Illyrian prelates to be next adverted to, is of small moment. It furnishes the best commentary upon the scope and design of that epistle, and may be treated as an appropriate prelude to it. "We think it requisite," said the assenting fathers, "to make known to all, that as there can be but one bride-chamber of Christ, the holy apostolical church of Rome does not owe its high pre-eminence above all other churches *to any synodal law or constitution;* but that it was conferred upon her by our Lord and Saviour in his gospel, when he pronounced the words, 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it;' and again by the words, 'I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and whomsoever thou shalt bind upon earth shall be bound in heaven, and whomsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven:' . . . . therefore the Roman church of the blessed apostle Peter . . . *is the primate over all.* The *next to her in* ORDER is the see of Alexandria, consecrated in the name of Peter by his disciple and evangelical secretary Mark. The *third* see is that of Antioch, likewise rendered illustrious through the name of the blessed Peter, seeing that he dwelt there before he inhabited Rome, and because there the followers of the new religion were first called Christians."[y]

Scope and purpose of the declaration of right; letter to the Illyrians.

This deduction of title, it will be seen, at once cleared the field from all the intricacies and impediments with which a canonical derivation—if such were possible—was encumbered, and wonderfully assisted the pope in dissipating the doubts of the Illyrians. The object, it will be borne in mind, was to convince them that the deceased patriarch Acacius was not entitled to a canonical trial; that no inquest as to his participation in the guilt of heresy was necessary; that he was self-condemned, and

[y] See Conc. Rom. i. can. i.,—ap. *Hard.* Conc. tom. ii. p. 938. Conf. *Baron.* Ann. 494, §§ 20, 21.

that whatever deficiencies might be alleged in the proceedings against him were properly supplied by the unbounded prerogative of the holy see. By thus shaping his case, the pope got rid of all the material questions both of law and of fact involved in it. The pope, he says, was, in virtue of the primacy of the Roman see, invested with full authority to carry into execution all such conciliar decrees as should have received his concurrence and confirmation; consequently the questions whether Acacius was personally chargeable with Eutychian heresy, and whether a person not so chargeable could contract the guilt of heresy by holding intercourse or communion with heretics, were matters triable by the pope in his capacity of universal bishop, without the concurrence of any council, general or special. It was, he declared, the invariable practice of the holy see to hold those who professed heretical tenets, without judicial inquiry into the particular facts, as condemned already by the simple tenor of the decree which defines the error. The chair of Peter he affirmed was endowed with the sole moderatorial and executive power for the due administration of ecclesiastical law; that is, in each case to declare the fact, and to apply the law upon its own arbitrary judgment.

Gelasius then passes on to the articles of impeachment against Acacius. In all antecedent proceedings, said the pope to his correspondents, against the heretics Ælurus, Mongus, and others, Acacius had acted as the self-professed agent and servant of Rome; he had not only concurred in the condemnation of those delinquents, but had actively assisted in executing the sentences passed upon them by the holy see: but that after that he had suddenly discontinued his dutiful intercourse with Rome; he had withheld information, wrapped himself in guilty silence; and at length he, the official executor of the papal commands, was found to have renewed his connection with the very men whom he had but a short time before denounced and punished. In addition to these offences, he had been guilty of a contempt of the most flagrant

Gelasius impeaches Acacius of prevarication and rebellion.

character, in declining the jurisdiction of the bishop-primate of Christendom when summoned to answer before him by the pontiff of the second see.[z] For all these delinquencies the pope assumed that he had a full right,—upon his own inquest, by his own judgment, and in strict pursuance of the decrees of the synod of Chalcedon,[a]—to condemn and depose Acacius, and to expunge his name from the hearts and memories of the faithful, as a heretic and the friend and associate of heretics.

"And," continues Gelasius, "what in all this hath Acacius or his posthumous comforters and abettors to complain of? Was he not himself the foremost to condemn these his new friends and allies? Hath he not, by so connecting himself, pronounced his own doom? Have we not letters under his own hand, convicting him of all we charge against him? Surely, with such testimony before us, there can be no need of further inquiry; more especially after he hath wilfully thrown away the opportunity afforded him of exculpating himself—after rejecting the summons of the second see to clear himself before the pontiff of the first see, to whom he is *canonically* amenable. That he is so amenable, is a matter of universal notoriety. All the world knows that *the holy see hath power to revise and reverse all ecclesiastical sentences; to sit in judgment, in the last resort, upon all churches; and that no pontiff or person is competent to call her judgment in question:* and *this* in such wise, that if at any time the canons of the Church should be alleged against her, it is answered that there *lieth no appeal to the canons*, for that she is the sole judge of their import and application.[b]

Takes the charges against Acacius *pro confesso.*

The holy see the sole judge both of the law and the fact.

"But, passing by all this, let Acacius be judged by

[z] The pope takes for granted the validity of the election of Talaia to the see of Alexandria; a question of fact which Acacius might have good ground for disputing. But this, it seems, was one of the facts determinable by Rome at her own discretion, though raising a most material issue in the case. For if Talaia's election was irregular, he was not competent to cite Acacius according to the pope's own principle, and then there would have been no question to try.

[a] Which, however, neither defined the particular offence charged against Acacius, nor pointed out the persons of any delinquents.

[b] Judge both of the law and the fact.

his own conduct. Let his advocates inform us by what authority he deposed bishops canonically elected, and instituted his own creatures in their places. What synod did he convoke? Or by what right did he interfere in these matters? Of what see is *he* the bishop? Of what metropolitan church is *he* the primate? Let them show, if they can, that he stands one step higher in rank than that of a dependent parochial bishop of the diocese of Heracleia; or that he hath power to convoke synods, or to do any ecclesiastical act implying such a power. Such acts are a manifest invasion of the prerogative of the greater sees, and therefore in themselves altogether nugatory and void. And this more emphatically so, when it is remembered that no synod hath any validity without the approbation of the holy see; and that *that* see hath the power, *even without synod, of reversing all conciliar decisions*, of absolving those who may have been synodically condemned, and condemning those who ought to be condemned.[c] We therefore laugh to scorn," exclaims the indignant pontiff, "those who would assign authority to Acacius because he was bishop of the imperial city. Have not emperors on many occasions resided at Ravenna, at Milan, at Treves? and have those cities claimed any additional dignity on that pretence?[d] And surely," he adds, "if the

Acacius estopped by his own irregularities.

[c] The pope here alleges the cases of Athanasius, Chrysostom, Flavian, and Dioscorus, as instances or precedents of this sole self-action of the holy see,—with what propriety may be seen by reference to the first vol. of this work, Book I. c. ix. pp. 200 et sqq.; Book II. c. i. pp. 274 et sqq., *ibid.* c. iv. pp. 373, 374, 375. She alone, Gelasius assures us, decreed and convoked the great council of Chalcedon; in that council she, of her sole authority, granted her pardon to many bishops who had been implicated in the proceedings of the "ruffian synod" (Ephesus II.), and rejected those who continued obdurate; which *sole power* was admitted and acted upon by that council, to the intent that nothing should stand firm but what the holy see approved; thus establishing the principle that what had been decreed by a false and wicked synod (Ephesus II.) might be reversed by a legitimate council, supported by the approval of the holy see; *but only with such support, and to the extent to which that support was granted.* This is added to save the rejection of the xxviii[th] canon by Leo the Great; a canon fatal to one of the most material points in the pope's argument, and therefore carefully kept out of sight throughout this document.

[d] A temporary residence of the prince certainly does not constitute a capital. But Rome and Constantinople were the legal and chartered capitals of the empire. Ravenna, Milan, and Treves were residences for the convenience of provincial government, the conduct of wars, or security against invasion. But Gelasius chooses to forget that these œcumenical councils had adopted the very ground for the attribution of power to Constantinople which he "laughs to scorn."

question of right to do all these things which Acacius hath done should be made to turn upon the dignity of the cities, then the dignity of the three great patriarchal sees is superior to that of the city, which not only hath no name or place among those sees, but hath not even metropolitan rank or right of any kind. And again, when men talk of a royal city, its rank or prerogative, they ought to be reminded that the power of secular royalty is one thing, but the distribution of ecclesiastical dignity a totally different thing. For as even the most insignificant place of residence could not derogate from the imperial prerogative, so neither can the imperial presence alter the measure of religious attribution.[e]

Repudiates the apologies put forward on behalf of Acacius.

"The patrons of Acacius," he continues, "cannot be permitted to allege either that he had no means to resist the authority of the emperor in the disposal of episcopal sees, or that the emperor had reason or right to voice or power in any ecclesiastical matter. He could not resist, forsooth! He had no powers of remonstrance! He could lift no warning voice! He could not rebuke, as Nathan rebuked King David, or as the holy Ambrose rebuked the emperor Theodosius the Great! But he *could* resist the tyrant Basiliscus when it suited his purpose, and even compel him to relinquish his nefarious designs. And shall it be believed that he could not in the same way have rebuked and resisted Zeno in his evil scheme of union with excommunicated heretics? And, above all other considerations, if he really felt himself so feeble, why did he not take counsel of the Roman see, *whose delegate he was*, and from whom he notoriously derived all the authority he possessed over the regions he governed?[f] But his conduct exhibits the reverse of all this;

[e] The pope supports this proposition upon the submission of the emperor Marcian and the penitence and obedience of Anatolius in the affair of the xxviii^th^ canon of Chalcedon, but always without naming that abomination. See vol. i. Book II. c. v. pp. 416 et sqq.

[f] There are here and there obscure hints in the writings of this pontiff of a kind of vicariate, or delegation of authority from Rome to the bishop of Constantinople; of which, however, there is no further evidence. I believe the delegation here alluded to denotes no more than the generally derivative character of the episcopate so fondly cherished by the see of Rome. See Optatus of Milevis on the Petrine primacy, Book II. c. ii. pp. 294, 295.

for he was, and must be reputed to be, a principal delinquent, whether it be on the ground of connivance at the crimes of others, or as himself an active participator and accomplice."

Synods only a mode of publishing the decrees of the holy see.

With a view to dissipate all remaining doubt in the minds of his Illyrian correspondents, Gelasius condescends to apologise for the Roman synods he had convoked to adjudicate upon the whole relation between the holy see and that of Constantinople. "Not," he said, "that any synod was necessary to determine a matter *already decided* by authority of the holy see; but because that proceeding appeared requisite to give publicity to her sentences and to clear away the impediments her adversaries might throw in her way; finally, because no other mode was open to her, inasmuch as there were no orthodox bishops in the East, but such as were deprived of all liberty or independence. The holy see therefore was left to act—as *she had at all times and under all circumstances a right to do—upon her own authority; when she could, where she could, and in conjunction with any persons she could, in the execution of the laws of the Church, committed to her charge.*"[g]

Epitome of the Gelasian declaration of right.

The laboured attempt of the pontiff to reconcile the *ex-parte* proceedings of Rome against Acacius with the laws of the Church could be successful only by establishing the prior fact, that the delinquent was *ex confesso* a heretic and an associate of heretics. But of this there was no judicial proof. Gelasius felt that without a judge there could be no judgment; and with all his ingenuity he could find no way out of the dilemma but by the broadest assertion of irresponsible prerogative. Driven forwards by the nature of the case under his hand and the arbitrary maxims of his predecessors, he soon relinquished the weak ground of law, and struck boldly into the broad path of privilege.

[g] See the document at length, ap. *Hard.* Conc. tom. ii. pp. 905-916. It is extremely prolix, full of repetitions, and here and there abundantly obscure; but often cogent in argument, and sometimes eloquent. The abstract in the text conveys the general sense rather than the precise expressions used. Conf. *Baron.* Ann. 493, 494.

Divested of the fringe of professions—regard, for instance, for the rights of the episcopacy, the homage due to the canons, the dignity of the more ancient patriarchates, the respect to be paid to the ordinances of general councils—Chalcedon in particular—we have no difficulty in detecting the broad proposition that the *will of the pope is the law of the Church.* This proposition he developed and defined under the five following heads:

1. The Roman church is invested with a primacy antecedent to, and independent of, all church legislature, whereby she is constituted *guardian* and *general executor of the canons,* the supreme judge and visitor of all churches.

2. No church legislation, *canons,* or conciliar decrees are valid to deprive her of any part of that *original jurisdiction* which she derives under the commission of Christ to St. Peter.

3. No such canons or decrees are of force for any purpose affecting the rights of the holy see, but such as shall have received her *express or implied sanction.*

4. No temporal power or consideration of a secular nature can confer any rank or station in the Church but that which is acknowledged by the Roman pontiff: consequently no council, general or particular, is competent to confer it, or to withdraw any church from his visitatorial and executive jurisdiction; so that, any canon or ordinance to the contrary notwithstanding, Constantinople must still stand in this respect as a dependent suffragan church of the province of Heracleia.

5. When any illicit or unauthorised assumption of spiritual character in derogation of the Roman primacy, or of any other acknowledged power in the Church, shall take place, and the pope shall see no prospect of suppressing the usurpation by the ordinary ecclesiastical judicatures, he is fully empowered to effect that purpose by *the employment of any means* at his command.

Scope of the document.

Thus, as far as the broadest and plainest implication can amount to affirmation, Gelasius I. affirms that the pontiff of the see of Rome is endowed, as of divine right, with the fullest powers to supersede,

at his own discretion and upon his own sole judgment, all other church legislation, and to dispense with all enacted law or canon whenever that law stands in the way of the antecedent and paramount primacy; and that if he consent at any time to be bound by conciliar law, it is rather from considerations of expediency or deference for the great ecclesiastical constituency, than from any respect of religious obligation. All the elements of spiritual autocracy are wholly contained in these propositions; and henceforward history has in fact little else to do than to mark their progress, and to show how they worked their way into that full practical development arrived at in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[h]

Result.

The Illyrian churches were much attached to Rome; their addresses abounded with expressions of duty to the holy see; and though we are without precise information as to the effect of the papal explanations in removing from their minds the difficulty of reconciling the conduct of the pope with the familiar principles of church legislation, it is, upon the whole, more probable that ground was gained than that any advantage was lost. Subsequent events, we think, show that Rome retained throughout her controversy with Constantinople a powerful body of devoted friends in that important diocese.

Death of Gelasius I.

But the pontificate of Pope Gelasius was too brief to bring this vast autocratic scheme to maturity. He died in the year 496, after a reign of scarcely four years and nine months,[i] and was peaceably succeeded by the Roman ecclesiastic, Anastasius II. The new pontiff appears to have in some respects recoiled from the daring measures of his predecessor. He is even reported to have regarded the retention of the names of Acacius and Fravitta in the

Anastasius II. pope; his pacific character.

[h] The culminating epochs—those of Gregory VII. and Innocent III. The former stated and established the Gelasian propositions in their naked form, and divested of all reserves; the latter hedged in and fortified them by a strong scheme of temporal checks and counterpoises against the private conscience and the dangers of private judgment. He established the *Inquisition*.

[i] *Baron.* (Ann. 496, § 1) counts four years, eight months, and twenty-one days. *Pagi* (Annot. ad loc. Bar.) inclines to the term of four years, eight months, and eighteen days.

Oriental calendars—now the only ostensible cause of quarrel between the two churches—as too trivial a ground of schism. He took no notice of the more than suspicious orthodoxy of the emperor; and with all gentleness of speech and spirit strove to induce him quietly to drop the name of Acacius from the diptychs.[j] But neither emperor nor clergy could be prevailed upon thus to compromise the honour of the metropolitan church. The pope finding that the Henotic clergy apprehended a design on the part of their opponents to vacate the holy orders conferred by Acacius, declared all such orders to be good and valid: he even went so far as to insinuate *a possibility that the condemnation of that prelate might have been informal*; and he sent his friend, the patrician Festus, then at Constantinople upon a political errand from the Gothic king Theodoric the Great, instructions of a latitude which appears to have given serious offence to the high-church party at Rome. But before the return of Festus, Pope Anastasius II. died, and his project of union appeared likely to fall to the ground. Festus, however, made a bold push in favour of his patron's scheme, the particulars of which have not come down to us; and to that end promoted with all his influence the election of the archpriest Laurentius, a friend of peace, to the pontifical throne.[k] But his opponents were beforehand with him, and by a small majority carried the election of Cœlius Symmachus, a Sardinian by birth, to the papal chair, and installed him in the basilica of Constantine. On the other side, the friends of Laurentius inaugurated their candidate in the church of St. Mary the Greater;[l] and once more the streets of the city became the arena of one of those sanguinary election riots which had on several occasions polluted and disgraced both the church and people of Rome.[m]

Symmachus and Laurentius; contested election.

[j] Ep. Anast. Pap. ad Anast. Aug., *Hard.* Conc. tom. ii. pp. 947 et sqq.

[k] See the documents relating to the short pontificate of Anastasius II., ap. *Hard.* Conc. loc. cit.; *Baron.* ad Ann. 497, 498. Conf. *Fleury*, H. E. tom. vii. p. 97, and *Bower*, vol. ii. pp. 236-248. Anastasius II. certainly forfeited his place in the Roman calendar by a too apparent condescension to the Greek schismatics. His letter to the emperor stands in marked contrast with the fiery rhetoric of his predecessor Gelasius.

[l] See *Ciacone*, Vit. Pont. tom. i. p. 339.

[m] Conf. Book I. c. x. p. 223; and Book II. c. ii. pp. 314 et sqq.

But for the more complete elucidation of the domestic position of the Roman pontificate at this point of time, it is requisite to take a short retrospective survey of the relation in which the Italian churches and their chief were placed towards the new barbaric governments under which they had fallen by the overthrow of the Western empire.

Domestic position of the church of Rome.

It should be observed, that from the establishment of Christianity it does not appear that the emperors ever meddled seriously or offensively with the freedom of the electoral bodies; or that when they did interfere, it was for any other purpose than the maintenance of the public tranquillity. Peaceful canvass, though contaminated by bribery, corruption, intrigue, or even simony, does not seem to have afforded any proper ground for secular interference. Nevertheless, when the public interests were threatened, the imperial court knew of no article in its compact with the Church to take away or abridge the right of self-preservation. In such cases, the emperors did not hesitate to exercise a power of selection among rival candidates, with a view to put an end to the war of factions which disturbed the course of government. In this way the secular authorities interfered between Damasus and Ursinus, confirming the election of the former, and banishing the latter from the city.[n] And thus also the sanguinary schism which, in the reign of Honorius, preceded the election of Boniface I., was similarly dealt with by the court of Ravenna.[o] These precedents are the more remarkable, as they show the mode and measure of secular interference tolerated, if not solicited, by the Roman clergy at those periods. In neither case was any fault found with the imperial proceeding by the clerical body; the State entertained no doubt of its competency, as guardian of the public peace, to adjudicate upon the rival claims, and thus to exercise a direct influence in determining the discretion of the electors.

Government interferences in the election of the popes.

By the dissolution of the Western empire the whole power of the State devolved upon the

Under Odovaker.

[n] Conf. Book I. c. x. p. 224.

[o] Conf. Book II. c. ii. pp. 314 et sqq.

succeeding governments; and Pope Simplicius had acted on this presumption. Apprehending that on his decease the election of a successor might lead to a repetition of the irregularities which had so often disturbed the public tranquillity, he took the precaution of requesting Basilius, the prætorian prefect of King Odovaker, not to permit the electoral body to proceed to the choice of a pontiff otherwise than in his presence and under his control.[p] After the death of Simplicius, however, the clergy and people of Rome proceeded to elect a successor without giving due notice to the civil magistrate, in breach, it should seem, of a subsisting rule or custom on like occasions. Basilius went to the electoral assembly, and complained of the irregularity. "It was their duty," he said, "to give due notice to the representative of the sovereign power on so important an occasion, because to him it belonged to take all proper precautions to prevent those disturbances which might so easily arise—disturbances which were very apt to pass from the Church to the State, and therefore to be provided against by the authority intrusted with the preservation of the public peace."[q]

Law of Odovaker to prevent the diversion of church-funds.

But the right to adopt measures of this nature might be easily construed so as to limit the discretion of the electoral bodies themselves, and to authorise preventive precautions inconsistent with the freedom of election itself and the acknowledged privileges of the electors. And in the instance before us the civil power took a step not easily reconcilable with the rights of the churches, or with any antecedent custom. Hitherto the administration and expenditure of all church-funds had been in practice left in the hands of the clergy; but at this juncture we find that King Odovaker had felt the inconvenience arising from the frequent and habitual diversion of the wealth of the churches to the purposes of faction, and that he had determined, on his own authority, to dry up this source of uneasiness to his government. In pursuance of this re-

[p] Syn. Rom. an. 502, *Hard.* Conc. tom. ii. § 2, p. 977.

[q] The details of this transaction, and that which follows it, must be collected rather painfully from the record of the several synods held under Pope Symmachus in the years 499, 501, 502. See *Hard.* Conc. tom. ii. pp. 957, 967, 975.

solution, the prefect Basilius communicated to the electoral council a royal ordinance prohibiting all alienations of lands, sacred vessels, or other church-property; all such sales, or contracts of sale, he declared void, and the property so alienated liable to be recovered to the churches after any length of adverse possession. This ordinance he confirmed in episcopal form, denouncing anathema against all who should either buy or sell, give away or accept, any article of value that had ever belonged to the Church.[r]

Offensive character of this ordinance.

In every precedent of secular interference with the course of ecclesiastical government to which we have hitherto adverted, there were points in the highest degree offensive to the feelings and opinions of the high-prerogative clergy in Rome and Italy.[s] That body had begun to shrink from even the gentlest touch of the secular hand; they regarded the State as a thing unholy in itself, and to be purified only by the sanctifying hand of the Church. Yet that unhallowed power had presumed to tamper with the holiest, to meddle with the chair of Peter, to provide for the services, to interfere with the sacred property of the Church, and to prescribe at its own will and pleasure the mode and manner of its administration and disposal; lastly, it had in the later times passed on to the extravagance of sacrilegious presumption, by taking to itself the episcopal character, and usurping the awful power of the anathema.[t]

Effect of the ordinance.

But King Odovaker was not a person to be lightly opposed; his minister Basilius was temperate and firm, and the election of Felix II. passed off without disturbance. The inaugurations of the popes Gelasius I. and Anastasius II. were equally peaceable. But prior to the death of the former, Odovaker had succumbed to the energy and talents of Theodoric king of the Ostrogoths, of Epirus, and Pannonia (A.D. 493). At

[r] See *Baron.* Ann. 483, §§ 10 et sqq.; *Fleury*, tom. vi. p. 620. Conf. *Antonio de Dominis*, tom. i. p. 485; and *Bower*, vol. ii. p. 193.

[s] Feelings and opinions of which we perceive no trace in the Oriental churches.

[t] Syn. Rom. an. 502, *Hard.* tom. ii. pp. 977, 978.

the decease of the latter, the Ostrogothic power had not acquired that solidity which the talents of Theodoric afterwards imparted to it; and the death-bed of Anastasius became the signal of a sanguinary civil war in Rome.

Religious faction in Rome.

Festus and his party, in defiance of the priority of Symmachus and the majority of suffrages in his favour, installed their candidate Laurentius, as already observed, in the church of St. Mary the Greater. That basilica and the hall of Constantine became respectively the head-quarters of the contending factions, from whence they issued forth, clergy and laity in mixed bodies, to the fray; and the streets of the city became the arena of bloody conflicts, in which many persons of both conditions lost their lives.[u] (A.D. 499.)

Claims of Symmachus and Laurentius referred to Theodoric the Great.

Both parties at length agreed to refer their pretensions to King Theodoric; though he had not as yet visited the capital, and was therefore imperfectly acquainted with the temper of its inhabitants. The reference of an ecclesiastical dispute of such moment to a temporal prince, and that prince himself an Arian heretic, was a sore mortification to the high-church party, whom Symmachus represented. It was, indeed, resorted to under the pressure of dire necessity alone, and Theodoric dealt with it entirely as a secular affair. Without meddling with the merits, personal or professional, of the candidates, he looked to the majority of votes as the test of the election; and as soon as it was made clear to him that Symmachus had the advantage of his rival, both in time and numbers, he threw his sword into the scale: the clamour of sedition was hushed, and the storm subsided as suddenly as it had arisen. The Gothic prince, in truth, thought of little in the whole affair but the restoration of public order; he was loth, both from disinclination and policy, to mix in the religious broils of his new subjects; but he demanded of them an effectual security against the sanguinary broils by which they had lately disgraced themselves and the government.

In compliance with this reasonable demand, a council

[u] *Paul Drac.* in Hist. Miscell., ap. *Muratori*, Rr. Ital. So. vol. i. p. 101.

Law against canvassing for the papacy.

was assembled by royal precept to inquire into and adopt the best means for preventing the recurrence of the like cabals, intrigues, and rivalries for the future. The synod, when assembled, numbered no fewer than seventy-three bishops, sixty-seven presbyters, and seven deacons. The pope stated the object of the meeting to be the necessity of providing a remedy against the disorders that had occurred at his own election; and, upon his proposal, the assembly adopted the following resolutions: *First*, That if in the lifetime of the reigning pontiff, and without his knowledge, any presbyter, deacon, or clerk, should canvass for or solicit votes for the pontificate, or make or exact any promise, oath, or other engagement, or should for such purpose hold any private consultation to deliberate on or decide any common measures, he be degraded from his office and excommunicated. *Secondly*, That if any person should, in the lifetime of the pontiff, be convicted of canvassing for or soliciting the papacy, he should incur the penalty of the anathema. *Thirdly*, That if the pope should die so suddenly as *to have no time to take order for the choice of a proper* successor, the absolute majority of the votes should decide the election, unless the candidate came within the penalty of the foregoing resolution. *Fourthly*, That any person, even though he be himself an accomplice in any of the above-named offences, who should freely denounce, and by reasonable testimony convict, his associates of any such cabals or intrigues, or other participation in the forbidden practices, should not only go free from all punishment, but be handsomely rewarded for his trouble.[v]

But the low-church, or conciliation party, with the patrician Festus at their head, continued for some time

[v] Syn. Rom. sub Symm. Pap., *Hard.* Conc. tom. ii. pp. 959, 960; and conf. *Baron.* Ann. 499, §§ 6–9. The cardinal is a good deal startled at the idea of a pope choosing his own successor. But the wording of the resolution hardly admits of any other interpretation: "Si transitus papæ inopinatus evenerit, ut de sui electione successoris non possit *ante decernere*," &c., *then* the majority is to decide. The word "decernere" in this connection can be no otherwise rendered than by the terms, "to appoint or decide upon." The phrase must therefore stand thus: "If the reigning pontiff should die so suddenly as not to have had time to *appoint* a successor, the majority of the electors shall appoint."

Impeachment of Pope Symmachus.

longer to agitate the Roman populace. In the following year (500) they impeached Symmachus before King Theodoric of divers crimes and misdemeanors, and procured from him an order to have the charges inquired into by a synod of bishops. In the city of Rome, disorders of every kind, murders, and pillage, had broken out afresh; and Festus persuaded the king that his only remedy lay in the appointment of an ecclesiastical commissioner, who, in conformity with the precedent established in the reign of Honorius,[w] should supersede the pope, and take order for his trial upon the articles to be exhibited against him; and in the mean time to perform the sacred functions as if the see were vacant. Yielding to this advice, Theodoric, who knew very little, and probably cared less, about the state of parties in the church of Rome, named Peter bishop of Altinum in Venetia as *ad-interim* administrator of the holy see; but with instructions to conduct himself with all due consideration and respect towards the pope. Peter, however, in apparent disregard of these instructions, proceeded, upon his arrival in Rome, to sequester Symmachus from all his functions without seeing or hearing him in his defence. This inconsiderate step added fuel to the flame of popular discontent, and the state of the capital became at length so critical as to require the presence of the king. Theodoric entered the city, accompanied by a sufficient escort of his own trusty Goths; and the seditions which had now for nearly two years deluged the streets of Rome with blood ceased as by the touch of magic. The king devoted all his energies to obliterate every vestige of recent outrage, to bring the populace into better humour, and to improve their condition, before he proceeded to deal with the delicate and irritating inquiries to which he had pledged himself.

Peter of Altinum administrator.

Dealing of Theodoric with the church and clergy.

The advantages conferred upon the Italian provinces by the government of Theodoric the Great have been adverted to at the close of our Second Book. The perfect freedom of religious

[w] Conf. Book II. c. ii. pp. 315 et sqq.

opinion and practice is proved by the free movements of the ecclesiastical body during the greater part of his reign. Within the first years, no fewer than seven synods are said to have been held at Rome;[x] and his general conduct on these occasions, we think, furnishes good evidence that he thoroughly comprehended the position in which he was placed as successor to the imperial power, and that he adhered as closely as circumstances permitted to the terms of the ancient compact between the Church and the State,[y] saving only those contingencies in which the exigencies of the moment might call upon the government peremptorily to put the ecclesiastical powers in motion, or to check and control their movement when their action became so abnormal or violent as to be inconsistent with the public welfare. Some length of time was allowed to elapse before matters were thought to be in a proper train for the inquiry into the articles of charge against Pope Symmachus.[z] The royal precept for the convocation of the synod had been met by unexpected delays; the bishops hesitated, or quitted Rome: a second and a third summons appear to have met with more ready obedience. Theodoric took pains to reassure them as to any intended interference on his part beyond what was necessary to protect them from interruption, and to ensure a speedy suppression of the dangerous and vexatious broils which had arisen out of the disputed election.[a] The bishops of the Italian and suburbicarian provinces at length met at Rome to the number of one hundred and fifteen. With a view further to assure them of their independence, he himself removed to Ravenna, leaving only a sufficient force, under his household officers, Gudela, Bedulph, and Arigern, to keep the peace and watch over the safety of the meeting. The assembled prelates, in the first instance, called upon the pope to ap-

Theodoric convokes a synod to inquire into the charges against Pope Symmachus.

The "Synodus palmaris."

[x] *Pagi*, in Baron. Ann. 500, not. vi. ad §§ 2 and 9.

[y] Conf. Book II. c. iv. p. 354; ch. v. p. 378; and ch. vi. p. 436 of this work.

[z] It is a matter of some uncertainty whether the inquiry took place at the second or the third synod held in the pontificate of Symmachus, *i.e.* in the year 501 or 503. See *Pagi* and *Mansi's* notes ad *Baron.* loc. mod. cit.

[a] 'Præceptiones regis,' apud *Hard.* Conc. tom. ii. pp. 971, 972.

pear before the synod—it should seem—as his legitimate judges. Some members, however, intimated to the king that they entertained doubts as to their competency to sit in judgment on the successor of St. Peter; but Theodoric relieved their scruples by the assurance that the pope himself had called for the inquiry. Symmachus confirmed that assurance to the council in person; but he demanded that before he should be called upon to answer for himself, the royal sequestrator, Peter of Altinum, the friend of his enemies, should be sent away, and that he (the pope) should be restored to the full enjoyment of his functions and of the patrimony of his church. Theodoric, however, thought that such a course might look too much like an acquittal before trial, and refused to entertain the proposal. Neither pope nor council thought proper to press this question any further.[b]

Tumult in Rome,

Symmachus, it seems, had several times attended the preliminary meetings of the council, in which probably the question of competency had been discussed. The pope was popular in Rome, and had probably by this time ascertained his strength in the synod. On his last attendance he was escorted from the church of St. Peter to the hall of session by a large concourse of friends and partisans. The opposition party, conceiving that so great an assemblage conveyed a defiance to themselves, or that it was intended to intimidate the council, attacked and dispersed the pope's friends; several priests and laymen were killed in the affray; and Symmachus himself was with some difficulty rescued from the hands of the assailants by the Gothic officers of the king, who had hastened to the spot on the first rumour of the tumult.

and retractation of his submission by Pope Symmachus.

Shortly after this incident, the correspondents of Theodoric in the council reported to the king a message from the pope, peremptorily renouncing the jurisdiction. "He had," he said, "at his first meeting with the king, while he resided in Rome, hastened without hesitation to wave his prerogative, and to give authority to the council to proceed;

[b] Syn. Rom. Palmaris, ap. *Hard.* Conc. tom. ii. p. 967.

but that, according to ecclesiastical rule and order, he had demanded his reinstatement in his churches, but without success; that afterwards, and while he was proceeding accompanied by his clergy to the hall of session, he had been cruelly assailed and personally injured: that he therefore declined to submit further to the proposed inquiry; and that he placed himself in the hands of God and of his lord the king, to deal with him as he might think proper." The bishops added, that they had summoned the pontiff to attend the synod; that he had rejected their request; that they had then sent the royal minister Arigern to him, who would himself convey to the king the answer he had received; that they were, in fact, at their wit's ends, for that they found themselves destitute of all power to compel the pope to appear before them: and they suggested, that by the terms of the ecclesiastical law the pope, to whom all bishops have a right to appeal, is not bound himself to appeal to any one; if he decline, he can be dealt with neither in his absence nor for contumacy: that lastly, this was a novel case, inasmuch as there was no precedent for calling upon a pontiff of this see to answer before his own bishops. They concluded by assuring him that there was no prospect of bringing the subsising disputes to a close by a regular ecclesiastical decision: they could do no more than exhort all parties to peace; and that expedient having failed, it remained for the king to take such steps as he might think expedient for the redintegration of the Church, the peace of the city, and the quietude of the provinces.[c]

The synod declares its own incompetency.

Theodoric replied by reminding them that he had called them together under a just expectation that they would find the means of putting an end to the prevailing disturbances; that as long as they succeeded in that object, he cared very little about the mode of accomplishing it. He could, he said, with the help of his trusty nobility, have settled matters himself, so that neither the present nor any future age could find serious fault with his decision;

Theodoric throws the responsibility of the public peace upon the synod.

[c] 'Relatio Episcoporum,' ap. *Hard.* Conc. tom. ii. p. 974; Synod. Palm. ibid. p. 969.

but inasmuch as he had not thought it his proper duty to decide upon ecclesiastical subjects, he had deemed it expedient to refer the whole matter to them, that they might have the merit of restoring concord. Under the circumstances, it was now for them to decide in any manner they liked: all he required of them was, that they should, whether with or without discussion, come to such a decision as they could answer for before God; provided only that thereby peace be restored to the senate and people of Rome; so that when judgment should be given, it should have the effect of eradicating the seeds of sedition and discord: for by *that* test the world would judge of the soundness and integrity of their intentions.[d]

The papal plea for evading the inquiry.

The honesty of the pope's plea for his change of purpose may be suspected. The nature of the personal injury sustained by him is not stated;[e] and it might be supposed that the soldiery who rescued him from the danger could as easily have protected him against a repetition of the attack. He had had ample opportunity to sound the fathers as to their disposition towards him, and had every reason to believe that they had acquiesced with reluctance in the king's project of pacification. He was fully informed of the disinclination of Theodoric to drive them into compliance by violent measures; and with so inviting a prospect of evading the critical inquiry impending over him, the personal outrage he had suffered must have offered a strong temptation to retract a promise which mortified his pride, and threw an important advantage into the hands of his enemies. Be this as it may, the bishops eagerly embraced the opportunity to get rid of the whole inquiry. "Considering," they said, "the manifold incon-

[d] 'Præceptio regis,' *Hard.* Concilia, tom. ii. pp. 974, 975. The Fathers, in their report of the proceedings, put a stronger construction upon the words of Theodoric than they properly bear. "Ad hoc serenissimus rex . . . . In synodali esse arbitrio in tanto negotio sequenda præscribere; *nec aliquid ad se præter reverentiam ecclesiasticis negotiis pertinere*," &c. The king puts his non-interference more upon the ground of expediency than of obligation. Syn. Palm. ubi sup. See also *Baron.* Ann. 502, § 15. Conf. *Fleury*, H. E. tom. vii. pp. 104-109; *Bower*, vol. ii. pp. 252-260.

[e] He only says that the mob "eum crudeliter tractavit," cruelly entreated him.

veniences that must attend a further prosecution of the charges against the pope,[f] but more especially the transcendent character and authority of the see of Peter, they had resolved that, inasmuch as they considered themselves incompetent to pass a binding decree in the matter, the accused pontiff must go free and be discharged from all human responsibility, and be restored to all his functions and honours: and that the merits of the causes of accusation, whatever they might be, must be referred to the judgment of God."[g]

The synod declare the pope *irresponsible.*

It should be here observed, with a view to the future, that neither the pope nor the synod were disposed to deny their responsibility to the head of the State for any line of conduct which might endanger the peace of the community. In this respect they submitted themselves implicitly to the king as supreme. So far from pronouncing Symmachus "not guilty," they had simply declared their incompetency to try him: as they had no power to condemn, so neither had they any to acquit; there was, in fact, no provision of ecclesiastical law that could reach the chair of Peter, therefore the pope must go free of all ecclesiastical censure, and his religious guilt or innocence be referred to the divine tribunal as the only competent judgment-seat. But when it is considered that the civil and criminal law of the State still stood upon precisely the same ground as it had done under the empire, and that if the articles of impeachment against Symmachus had been of a civil or political as well as of a religious character, (which we have good reason to believe they were), he was strictly amenable to the ordinary criminal judicature, we have no difficulty in understanding the expression of submission employed by both pope and council, as well as those of Theoderic himself regarding his own authority in the cause, to have reference to that secular liability shared by the priesthood with the commonalty in all matters to which no legal exemption or immunity was attached in

Papal irresponsibility; its character at this period.

[f] It is remarkable, that these charges are nowhere specified in any of the documents relating to these proceedings.

[g] Syn. Palm., ap. *Hard.* Conc. tom. ii. p. 970.

behalf of the former.[h] The acquittal of Pope Symmachus (if so it may be called), and the unusual forbearance of the king, afford no grounds for believing that up to the close of the fifth century any altitude of ecclesiastical dignity or privilege imparted exemption from the judicature of the State in the cases provided for by the civil law as it stood at that period; or that such dignity or privilege was regarded as pleadable in bar of criminal actions against ecclesiastical delinquents of any rank.

Ennodius on papal *impeccability.*

Yet it must be admitted that the current of opinion among the high-church clergy of the Latin communion had already set-in in an opposite direction. Ennodius, the deacon and secretary of Pope Symmachus,[i] undertook officially to defend an opinion, which appears to have been extensively entertained by the Italian clergy, that the successor of the apostle Peter was, virtute officii, *impeccable.* This opinion had been impugned by the Laurentian or low-church party, as implying a perpetual license to sin in favour of the pope. Ennodius denied the inference: "We do not say," he declares, "as you tell us we do, that the Lord gave to Peter and his successors, by virtue of the office conferred upon them, a license to commit sin: what we affirm is, that Peter transmitted to his successors, together with the whole endowment of his own merits, likewise that of *hereditary innocence;* so that all that was granted to him (Peter) as the reward of his deserts, inures also to them, they being thereby illumined by the like brightness and purity of conversation. Who, then," he exclaims, "shall deny *him* to be a saint, who is exalted to so high a dignity? or that he who steps into the place of such a predecessor hath not all his own personal deficiencies amply compensated by Peter's merits? For such a station must always either find its occupant pure and illus-

[h] Conf. Book II. c. vii. p. 467. See the remarkable words of Theodoric: (Præcept. Reg., *Hard.* tom. ii. p. 974) "Cum si nos de præsenti ante voluissemus judicare negotio" (namely, the charges against Symmachus) "habito cum proceribus nostris de inquirenda veritate tractatu, Deo auspice, *potuissemus invenire justitiam,*" &c. And compare the concluding words of the papal message declining the council: "In potestate Dei est, *et domini regis,* quid de me deliberet ordinari." *Hard.* ibid.

[i] In the year 510 Ennodius became bishop of Pavia.

trious, or it makes him so."[j] It is easy to conceive the invincible repugnance of persons entertaining an opinion of this nature to the mere idea of human responsibility attaching to one endowed with the divine attribute of impeccability.

Relaxation of the powers of the civil government as against the Church.

But ever since the establishment of the barbaric governments in the West of Europe, we observe a strong tendency among the Latin clergy to dispute the jurisdiction of the State in all directions. Constantine and his successors entertained neither doubt nor scruple as to their right to interfere for the due regulation and administration of the funds, property, or even the discipline of the churches, as often as abuse or mismanagement called for the reforming hand of the civil power.[k] But when they had passed from the scene, the connection between the Church and the State had become greatly relaxed. The foreign princes and their military followers, aliens alike in language, religion, and habits, looked with little jealousy or apprehension upon the growth of ecclesiastical pretensions with which they had no sympathy. Thus, under the shadow of barbaric indifference, the churches learned to identify modes of acquirement, funds, possessions, administration, with their whole status, and to invest them with all their own personal privileges and immunities. Temporals and spirituals fell together under the one great class of ideas which constituted that of *the Church*, and gradually partook of the inviolable sanctity attached to the category as a whole: to lay hands upon one was a violation of the rest. The smothered indignation of the Roman prelacy when, in the year 483, Odovaker published his ordinance for preventing the alienation and misappropriation of church-funds to electioneering and other purposes, broke out at the third synod, convoked by Pope Symmachus at Rome in the year 502.[l] It is probable that the clamours of the

Synod of the year 502.

[j] *Baron.* Ann. 503, § 6. Extracted from a controversial work of Ennodius against those who had impugned the synod. The work was read before, and published in the acts of, the subsequent synod of the year 503.

[k] Conf. observations in Book I. c. vii. p. 178; c. viii. p. 181; c. x. pp. 226-228.

[l] I decline pledging myself to the precise accuracy of the dates assigned

Laurentian party had at the same time called the attention of the government to the abuses which that ordinance had failed to reform. But Symmachus himself had severely felt the inconveniences of the diversion of church-funds to the purposes of bribery and corruption. The special object, therefore, proposed by the pope to this synod was, to devise a remedy against those illicit misappropriations which had become so fatally prevalent, more especially in the church of Rome.

Repeals the laws of Odovaker on the papal elections and against bribery, &c.

There was now, however, a law in existence passed for the express purpose of putting an end to this evil; but that law was the work of lay hands, and was moreover, in its concoction, connected with a transaction extremely repugnant to clerical prepossessions. In the year 483, Odovaker's prefect Basilius, as already related, had been requested by Pope Simplicius, immediately after his decease to take measures for preventing those disorders which he apprehended might occur upon the occasion of a new election; and for that purpose that pope on his death-bed besought him not to permit the election to take place but by his consent and under his personal superintendence. The minute of this request, as it was stated by Basilius to the electoral council at the election of Felix III., was called for by the fathers of the synod now assembled, and immediately objected to upon the ground that, in fact, it superseded the clergy, and placed the election in the hands of the laity; that therefore it was wholly irregular and uncanonical. In like manner, the minute of the Basilian law for the prevention of clerical alienations was called for, read, and unanimously rejected. No layman, it was urged, had authority thus to meddle with ecclesiastical concerns: the ordinance had not been signed by the pope (Felix III.), nor even by a single metropolitan bishop; and even if it had been signed by all the bishops, *they* could not bind the pope; it was therefore a mere nullity. The synod, however, was satis-

to these Roman synods. The arrangement in Harduin is obviously wrong; that of Baronius is contested by his commentator Pagi with great learning; again, Pagi's dates are disputed by Mansi. The question is of little importance to our subject.

fied with this emphatic repudiation of lay interposition, and proceeded themselves to frame a law corresponding in all points with the ordinance of Odovaker. They declared all alienations of church-property, together with all contracts for sale or purchase, to be uncanonical and ineffectual; and they decreed that all such alienations, or contracts of alienation, should expose the parties to such acts to the penalty of the anathema; but if perchance that penalty should prove ineffectual, they further decreed that all such acts or contracts should be deemed altogether void, and the property conveyed liable to be reclaimed or recovered, together with the rents and profits, by the alienors, or by any other ecclesiastical person who might sue for it.[m]

They re-enact the law against bribery.

If it was the intention of the synod, as upon the face of their proceedings it appears to have been, to quash the Basilian ordinance, by which alone the remedy against the lay alienees of church-property could be made available, they had obviously exceeded their competency. They could neither enact a law to bind the laity, nor carry it into effect when made. We do not find that any antecedent law had made the acquisition of church-lands criminal, or even civilly reversible, as against lay purchasers or donees. Neither bishops nor any order of churchmen could make laws, hold courts, or try causes, except such as concerned the doctrine, discipline, or constitution of the Church, nor enforce their judgments by any but spiritual penalties.[n] If, therefore, the synod meant to repudiate the Basilian ordinance, they thereby surrendered the temporal remedy which it supplied. It would be, perhaps, erroneous or unfair to stigmatise this synodal decree as an intentional encroachment upon the State judicature; and we would notice the anomaly only with a view to illustrate the tendency of the Latin churchmen to encourage that confusion in men's minds between secular and religious obligations which has at all times proved so essentially conducive to the advancement of the priesthood, and enabled it gradually to draw within its own judicial

Synodal encroachment upon the civil legislature.

[m] *Hard.* Conc. tom. ii. pp. 975 et sqq. [n] Conf. Book II. c. vii. p. 468.

cognisance so large a portion of the public rights and interests.[o]

Remonstrance of the Gallic prelates against the proposed trial of Pope Symmachus.

When, a little before this point of time, the report of the intended proceedings against Pope Symmachus, at the instance of Theodoric, reached the Gallic churches, they were seized with alarming apprehensions for the safety of the whole state of the Church and ecclesiastical privilege. Avitus the archbishop of Vienne accordingly received a commission from the synod of Burgundy to remonstrate with the Italian prelates against the proposed inquiry. It was, he said, the unanimous opinion of the Gallic churches that the pope could not be tried by his bishops; he was the superior—the head and chief of the Church-catholic; they, his inferiors and subjects. Who had ever heard of a temporal prince having been judged by his own servants? How much less, then, a sovereign pontiff by those who, instead of accusing, were by the divine ordinances commanded to cherish and support him.[p] Every member was interested in the head; and if the head be smitten, the injury must be felt in every fibre of the body. Which of the bishops would be safe, if the see of Peter be thus exposed to the persecution of his inferiors? Or how, if the pope of the holy see be imperilled by those whose duty it is to protect him, were they, the bishops, to contend against the heresies and calamities with which they were surrounded on all sides? On these grounds, he implored them to proceed no further in the proposed inquest, and to hasten the return of their messenger with assurances of the restoration of unity and concord in the Church.[q]

Synod of the year 503.

Stimulated by this unanimous concurrence of so important a section of the Latin prelacy in support of the irresponsible dignity and authority of the Petrine chair, Pope Symmachus, in the year 503, convoked a fourth synod of the Italian churches, for the purpose of enregistering that opinion in legislative form.

[o] On this transaction, conf. *Baron.* Ann. 502, §§ 22-24, cum not. Pagi; *Fleury*, tom. vii. pp. 117, 118; *Bower*, vol. ii. pp. 263, 264.

[p] Quoting 1 Tim. v. 1.

[q] *Hard.* Conc. tom. ii. pp. 981 et sqq.

among the muniments of his chair. At that meeting the treatise of Ennodius, declaratory of the official *impeccability* of the pope of Rome, was read and enrolled among the acts of the council.[r] They decreed that the pope being, by virtue of the divine commission, the supreme judge on earth of all matters ecclesiastical and spiritual, could be made *responsible for his acts to God alone*. Furthermore, for the security of episcopal privilege, they decreed that though a bishop might be justly reprehendible, yet that he may not be taken to task by his flock; and that he should not be bound to make answer, even to a synodal impeachment, until he should have been fully restored to all property, dignity, or privilege of which he might have been deprived by his accusers; and that he should have ample space of time to verify and recover his losses to the satisfaction of the comprovincial prelates. These regulations they confirmed by the penalty of degradation and deposition against all clerical offenders, and of excommunication against laymen and monks. The synod proceeded to visit upon the enemies of Symmachus their late infractions of the imprescriptible prerogatives thus assigned to him. But after the solemn enrolment of such boundless immunity, the pope could well afford to be merciful. He therefore generously pardoned his adversaries; adding only, by way of caution, that they must take good care for the future more scrupulously to observe the "*ancient canons*;"[s] and that the flock should on no account presume to call their pastors to account, except for cause of heresy or of injury to individuals.[t]

In these successive synods a majority of the Latin

[r] The honest historian *Fleury*, tom. vii. p. 119, is anxious to get rid of the idea of personal impeccability. "It was," he says, "thought that God would not permit any one to ascend the throne of Peter but those whom He had predestined to be saints."

[s] It is remarkable, that on all the innumerable occasions upon which these "ancient canons" are mentioned and relied upon, we do not find a single instance (except that of the vi^th^ canon of Nicæa) in which the contents of any one of them are quoted, or even the sources from which they were derived indicated.

[t] Large items of exception, it must be admitted, more especially the latter! The "injury to individuals" is probably not that which might arise from official acts, but strictly private and personal wrongs, unconnected with any ecclesiastical privilege. See Syn. Rom., ap. *Hard.* Conc. ii. pp. 983 et sqq. This synod was attended by no fewer than 218 bishops of Italy.

Summary of ecclesiastical privilege as declared by these synods.

churches had therefore affirmed the following propositions:

1. That the pontiff of the see of Rome is absolutely irresponsible to every tribunal, whether ecclesiastical or temporal.

2. That the pope, in his official capacity, cannot be supposed capable of wrong; consequently he is under no circumstances chargeable with wrong.

3. That the temporal state is not entitled to any share or participation, direct or indirect, in the election of a Roman pontiff.

4. That no temporal power, law, or legislature hath, or ought to have, any authority to deal with or to interfere in the regulation of ecclesiastical property, because the temporal estate of the Church partakes of the same independent spiritual character as that which attaches to its possessors.

5. That as the pope is the head of all the churches, and therefore cannot be judged by his inferiors, so neither shall the bishop be called to account by any member of his flock; nor even by his own peers until satisfactory restitution shall be made to him of all damage or loss he may have sustained prior to, or in consequence of, the accusation.

Rights of the civil state asserted within the same period.

On the other hand, the State had within the same period as fully asserted its right to make the necessary orders and regulations to prevent and punish all breaches of the public peace which might occur by the abuse, or in the course of the exercise, of ecclesiastical functions. The government had claimed and enforced its right, 1st, to provide for the performance of ecclesiastical services when, by reason of a contested election or other popular disturbance, no properly-qualified ecclesiastic was at hand to take the duty; 2dly, to superintend the papal elections, with a view to the suppression of those cabals and riots which had so frequently and so fatally convulsed the whole frame of Roman society; 3dly, to prevent those misapplications of ecclesiastical funds which had been found to be productive of public crimes and disorders falling directly under the jurisdiction of the secular state, and which either

actually were or might reasonably be deemed the subjects of temporal punishment.

And it must be observed, that the clergy had not yet ventured in general terms to deny the power of the State to interfere for these purposes; but they had strenuously objected to each particular measure that might introduce the hand of the laity into the interior sanctuary—all that might operate as a check upon the unlimited liberty of election, the uncontrolled regulation of church-property, or the perfect immunity of the clergy from all secular responsibility in the exercise, regular or irregular, of their recognised functions. It is obvious, that in the actual state of the Roman church these conflicting claims admitted of no adjustment but that which the hand of power could bring to pass. The policy of Theodoric was, in fact, grounded upon military possession only. His Gothic followers looked with indifference or contempt upon the squabbles of churchmen; his bishops meddled as little with the affairs of the establishment as his military subjects with the civil administration. But with all this real or affected respect for the institutions and sentiments of the vanquished, Theodoric contrived to convince them that he entertained no idea of a lawful resistance to any measures he might think fit to adopt for the prevention of faction and disorder, however derogatory to the presumed liberties of the church and clergy. The pope, while repudiating the principle of lay interposition, took care to satisfy the demands of the king, by adopting the measures he recommended; measures, indeed, in which his personal interests were as much involved as those of the public. Theodoric cared for and asked no more. This isolation of government for the moment facilitated the maintenance of the truce between the antagonistic elements of which his power was compounded; but it afforded time and opportunity to the Church to mature and digest its pretensions, to extend its influence, and to sap the foundations of a throne based upon heretical religion, foreign habits, and anti-national prepossessions.[u]

Anomalous relation of the Church to the State in the age of Theodoric the Great.

[u] Conf. Book II. c. vii. p. 484.

CHAPTER III.

THE PAPAL PREROGATIVE UNDER HORMISDA.

State of the Oriental churches—Religious parties—Rupture of Anastasius I. and Pope Symmachus—Revival of Eutychianism—The patriarch Macedonius deposed—Timotheus patriarch—Address of the Orientals to Pope Symmachus—He repudiates all compromise—Hormisda pope—Triumph of Eutychianism in the East—Rome and the Illyrian bishops—Insurrection of Vitalianus—A general council proposed—Papal legation to Constantinople—Resistance of Anastasius and the church of Constantinople—Connection of the pope with the Vitalian insurgents—The emperor proposes the convocation of a general council—Reply of Hormisda—Defection of the Illyrian bishops—"Libellus" of Hormisda—Excommunication of Dorotheus of Thessalonica—Papal legation—Instructions to the legates—Arrest and deportation of the legates—Orthodox monks in the East go over to Rome—Rescript of Hormisda—His principles of church-government—Policy of Hormisda—Death of Anastasius I., and revival of orthodoxy in the East—The emperor Justin I. makes advances to Rome—Haughty reply of Hormisda—Libellus and legation of Hormisda to Constantinople—Submission of the Greeks—*Ostensible* character of the submission—Its *real* character—Religious advantage of Rome.

State of the Oriental churches.

WHILE in the West the Church was successfully paving the way for her final emancipation from the control of the State, her prospects in the East were obscured by the immitigable spirit of religious discord. The sovereigns of that division of the empire had never been able to hold the balance of theological opinion, though its periodical disturbances had been attended with great detriment to every public interest, and frequently with the destruction of property and loss of life. All these evils, however, called for and justified the constant interference of the secular power in the affairs of the Church. The Oriental sovereigns were unable to avail themselves of that natural neutrality of position enjoyed by Theodoric the Great. Their interests, opinions, prepossessions, were all intimately linked with those of their subjects. They were agitated by the same wayward passions; they followed the same pursuits; they

were possessed with the same disputatious spirit, the same love of cavil, sophistry, and chicanery. Instead, therefore, of standing proudly aloof from the vulgar theological brawls of the times, the sovereign and his court plunged headlong into the vortex of religious faction. Embracing by turns the most opposite dogmas, the contending factions looked for their advantage in a change of government or in the oscillating opinions of the court. The Church, as a body, lost all coherence, and became incapable of defending its liberties against the prince or the favourite of the day. Thus canonical elections were set aside or forestalled; patriarchs and bishops appointed or deposed at the pleasure or the caprice of the court. In all such cases, neither the clergy of the particular church nor the metropolitan of the province were consulted but for the purpose of giving a formal and often reluctant consent. On the other hand, whenever any religious party was for the moment too strong for court-management, or could contrive by bribery or intrigue to secure connivance, they never hesitated to commit the like outrages upon the liberties of neighbouring churches; the ecclesiastical bodies among themselves showed, in short, no more respect for the canonical rights of election and self-government than the sovereign and his ministers. This pernicious example was scrupulously imitated by the swarms of monks and anchorites which peopled the deserts of Syria, Palestine, Arabia, and Egypt. In all these regions persecution in its most odious forms, tumults, seditions, murders, disgraced the Christian cause, and perplexed and irritated the civil magistrates. In a community where all were engaged in wrong-doing, little could be said about rights; and thus, while the law and the discipline of the Western churches were with every year becoming more firmly consolidated, the whole organisation of the Eastern hierarchy was gradually falling into weakness and decay.

Religious parties in the East.

At the period now under review the Oriental churches were split up into four principal factions: 1. Of these the most consistent, and probably the most numerous, were the rigid *Catholics*, who rejected

with abhorrence the Henoticon of Zeno, accepted the whole council of Chalcedon, and professed religious sympathy with Rome; 2. The *extreme Eutychian*, or *Monophysite*, party, who rejected with equal detestation the council of Chalcedon and Zeno's act of union, and kept themselves steadily aloof from every middle course or compromise proposed; 3. The *moderate Eutychians*, who accepted the act of union, but rejected the decrees of Chalcedon; and 4. The *moderate Catholics*, who subscribed the Henoticon, saving always their devout allegiance to the Chalcedonian doctrine and discipline.[a] Besides these active bodies, the provinces and cities of the East swarmed with schismatics and heretics of various shades and denominations, chiefly Novatians, Nestorians, Arians, and Manichæans.

Decline of the moderate party in the Church.

The fourth of these sectional parties was, if not the more numerous, the more pacific and rational. At the head of this body stood the patriarch Euphemius; a person of opinions strictly orthodox, enjoying a high reputation for piety and probity, and animated by a sincere desire to heal the prevailing schism between the Latin and Greek communions. During the short pontificate of Pope Anastasius the prospect of accommodation had been flattering; but, as we have seen, the death of that estimable pontiff, and perhaps the impatience or ambition of the friends of union at Rome, frustrated all hope of compromise. The election of Pope Symmachus decided the downfall of the moderate catholic party in the West; a party which owed its existence in Rome to the political influence or the intrigues of the court of Constantinople, and was supported only by a pacific minority, who saw little danger to their orthodox profession from the adoption of the act of union, and no alternative between its reception and the perpetuation of the schism.

Personal rupture between the emperor and Pope Symmachus.

The emperor Anastasius had for some time past been suspected of a stronger leaning towards the extreme Eutychian tenet than was consistent with his public professions. This

[a] *Evag.* Schol. lib. iii. c. 30.

impression was confirmed in the year 496, when, upon some apparently futile charges of an illicit understanding with the Isaurians, with whom he was at war, the patriarch Euphemius was sequestered from his functions, and soon afterwards formally deposed by a packed synod assembled at Constantinople for that purpose. His real crime is believed to have been his obstinate adherence to the Chalcedonian formulæ, against which the emperor had conceived a secret dislike. The latter, however, still professed to maintain the Henoticon, and caused that instrument to be confirmed and republished by the very synod by which Euphemius was deposed. He went a step further in the popular direction, and consented to the elevation of the orthodox priest Macedonius to the vacant see. The latter accepted the dignity, if not with reluctance, yet with a generous feeling of compunction for thus supplanting his predecessor and regard for his exalted virtues.[b] But private worth and rectitude of intention were of no avail against the humours and passions of the despot who wielded the sceptre of the East, or the unyielding pretensions of the spiritual autocrat of the West. On his part, Pope Symmachus was irritated by the marked neglect of the emperor in withholding the usual letters of congratulation upon his accession to the pontificate; and Anastasius took to himself the whole insult conveyed in the harsh and unbecoming invectives of the Roman pontiffs against all who directly or indirectly favoured the "adulterous" Henoticon, or declined to blot out the hated name of Acacius from the memorials of the Church. His resentment found its appropriate solace in a violent libel against the pope, in which he imputed to him all the heresies of which he had been himself accused, more especially that of Manichæism—the deadliest insult that could be inflicted upon any orthodox professor. "The pope," he said, "had dared to excommunicate an emperor." "And why not," was the proud reply of Symmachus, "if the emperor chooses his friends and associates among condemned and anathematised heretics? In what is he who consents to heresy

[b] *Tillemont*, tom. xvi. pp. 659 et sqq.

better than he who publishes heresy? Acacius was a heretic because he communicated with heretics: for this he was condemned; and with him all who participated in, or sympathised with, his error. But," continues the pope, "we deny that we excommunicated you. We excommunicated Acacius, indeed; but if you depart from him and his communion, you withdraw yourself likewise from his sentence: if you persist in his communion, it is not *we* that excommunicate *you*, but *you* that excommunicate *yourself*."[c]

Insolent treatment of the emperor by Pope Symmachus.

It may be questioned whether the violence of Anastasius, or the tone of insolent superiority assumed by the pope, was the more blamable. The clash of the spirits of temporal and spiritual despotism is a revolting spectacle; the words of "peace and goodwill towards men" in the mouths of either give back a singularly harsh and grating echo to the Christian ear.[d] The vehement passions which the controversy engendered drove both parties to the extremes of intolerance. While Anastasius was pursuing the recusants of the Henoticon in the East, the pope was persecuting the Manichæans in the West;[e] but the emperor had a favourite who was strongly suspected of that heresy,—he was therefore himself set down as a Manichæan, and was so treated by the pope. Certainly the moderate Catholics had lately fallen into discredit at court, probably because they would not be persuaded to abandon their desire for an accommodation with Rome. By favour of this change in the imperial mind, and under the protection of the court-favourite Xenaias, the Monophysite bishop of Hierapolis, the extreme Eutychians

[c] See this answer of Pope Symmachus in extenso, ap. *Baron.* Ann. 503, §§ 18-30. It is hardly possible to conceive how Baronius could gather from this passage that Symmachus had excommunicated Anastasius by name as a heretic in the Roman synod of 502. All he has to allege for this story, says *Tillemont* (tom. xvi. p. 674), is this very passage, which in fact refutes him. Conf. *Baron.* Ann. 503, § 17.

[d] The spirit of intolerance that breathes in the papal rescript is displeasing enough; but the frequent quotations from Scripture in justification of the very conduct which he blames in Anastasius are positively disgusting.

[e] Symmachus takes great credit to himself for his activity against these heretics, and throws in the teeth of Anastasius his supineness in rooting out the swarms of heretics which polluted the East. 'He does not persecute, therefore he is a favourer and accomplice of all these heresies in the mass!'

once more appeared in the field: they boldly maintained that the Chalcedonian decrees were a mere revival of the old Nestorian errors, which, by predicating of the Christ that he was of *two natures*,—namely, a human, born of the Virgin, and a divine, *not born* of the Virgin, thus depriving her of her honours as the *Mother of God*,—was derogatory to the great doctrine of an incarnate Deity, and subversive of the whole scheme of redemption.[f] While all the four parties agreed in maintaining the "*one Christ* who was crucified for us," the friends of Chalcedon, in particular, without further refinements, asserted that the Christ *alone* suffered on the cross: the Eutychians cried aloud that *God himself* in the Christ, that is, the holy Trinity in him, had made atonement for the sins of the world upon the cross. Thus in the year 511 a Eutychian mob broke into the great church of Constantinople; and when in the course of the service the "Trisagion" was chanted, vociferously added the words "who wast crucified for us."[g] The interruption was repeated on the following Sunday, and led to an affray in the church which ended in the expulsion of the offenders. The emperor himself is charged by the orthodox party with having encouraged this riotous demonstration; the notorious Eutychian monk Severus, now the recognised leader of the ultra-Monophysite party, threw back the blame upon the patriarch Macedonius;[h] be this as it may, Anastasius availed himself of the alarm thus created to wreak his displeasure upon the patriarch. Disgusted at the ill success of the Henoticon, and violently irritated against the catholic party for their adhesion to Rome and their uncompromising defence of the decrees of Chalcedon, to which the impe-

Revival of ultra-Eutychianism.

Religious commotion.

Alienation of the emperor from the orthodox party.

[f] See the intrigues of Xenaias, as detailed by the orthodox Syrian monks in their letter to Alcison, bishop of Nicopolis in Epirus, ap. *Evag.* Schol. lib. iii. c. 31; and conf. *Tillemont*, tom. xvi. pp. 679 et sqq.

[g] The Τρισάγιος ὕμνος, or Thrice Holy, is embodied in the Latin communion or eucharistic formulæ. In the Oriental services it appears to have been sung in several forms; but the words "who wast crucified for us" was never any part of it. Peter Gnapheus, the Eutychian patriarch of Antioch, is said to have been the first to introduce them. Vide *Hoffmann.* Lex. Univer. ad voc. Trisagios.

[h] *Evag.* Schol. lib. iii. c. 44.

rial dogmatist had always been indifferent or averse, he was now driven to take measures to secure his throne and person against the seditious zeal of the orthodox populace of the capital.[i] All these influences taken together had for some time past gradually estranged him from the scheme of his predecessor. The intrigues of the Persian adventurer Xenaias and the audacity of the Syrian Severus were more in harmony with the temper and feelings of the despot than the ineffective compromise which had been thrust upon him by his political position. But the firmness and integrity of Macedonius opposed a serious obstacle to the contemplated change. When pressed by the emperor to renounce the council of Chalcedon—a first step only in the intended religious revolution—Macedonius peremptorily declined. The alternative proposed to him was the surrender of the autograph engagement to sustain the council of Chalcedon given by the emperor to the patriarch Euphemius at his accession to the throne. This document was in the custody of Macedonius; and he preserved it, as the palladium of orthodoxy, with a jealous vigilance which baffled all the craft of Anastasius and his satellites Xenaias and Severus. The patriarch returned to this demand the same refusal as to the prior mandate. Every artifice of intrigue, every resource of calumny, solicitation, bribery and deceit, we are told, were put in motion to destroy the character of Macedonius, and to procure a sentence of deposition, however unfair or irregular, from some recognised ecclesiastical judicature. But the universal respect and affection with which he had inspired all classes of the citizens of Constantinople frustrated every chance of assembling a council that could be trusted with the work of iniquity; and Macedonius was arrested in the night-time in the patriarchal residence, and some time afterwards banished to Eucactes in Pontus.[j] In his place Anastasius nominated

Violent deposition of the patriarch Macedonius.

Timotheus patriarch.

[i] See the curious story of the stage-trick played off by the emperor to allay the seditious spirit of the people, ap. *Evag.* Schol. lib. iii. c. 44. Conf. *Tillemont*, tom. xvi. p. 688, following the later Byzantine historians *Theophanes* and *Theodorus Anagnostes*.

[j] *Theophanes*, ap. *Tillemont*, loc. cit. pp. 690, 691.

Timotheus, a priest and treasurer of the metropolitan church, who seems to have professed no creed but the will and pleasure of the court for the time being. The new patriarch forthwith despatched letters of communion to John Nicaiotes, the Eutychian patriarch of Alexandria, and other prelates of his confession; and at the same time renounced religious intercourse with the defenders of orthodoxy, Flavian of Antioch and Elias of Jerusalem.[k]

Supplicatory address of the Orientals to Pope Symmachus.

Meanwhile the religious uproar in Syria and Palestine had reached an extreme amid which no sounds could be heard but those of cursing and invective. The moderate Catholics, under the direction of the thaumaturgic anchorite Sabas and the patriarch Flavian of Antioch, determined to bespeak the interposition of Rome, if by that means they might put an end to the subsisting miseries and disorders. With that view, they wrote a supplicatory letter to Pope Symmachus, containing a lively description of the distracted state of the Oriental churches, and imploring his good offices for the restoration of peace and union in the Christian world. But they knew that all who approached the chair of Peter for spiritual help or comfort must be prepared to do the homage of the lips to that exalted spiritual prerogative which she had claimed on like occasions. "Let there be no delay," said the memorialists, "but hasten at once to our deliverance. You, who are daily taught by the mouth of that holy doctor of your church, the apostle Peter, that the whole flock of Christ throughout the world, *not by compulsion, but by their own free choice*, are intrusted to your pastoral care—you who call to us, your spiritual pupils, in the words of the great doctor of the Gentiles, the most learned Paul—'*neither have we dominion over your faith*, but are helpers of your joy,'[l]—to you we address ourselves, as to one whose special duty and office it is to bring succour to the distressed and comfort to

[k] Both these prelates had, it seems, subscribed the Henoticon; but Flavian with a reservation in favour of the decrees of Chalcedon. Elias is charged with having renounced the council; which, however, he himself flatly denied.

[l] 2 *Cor.* i. 24.

the afflicted."[m] The memorialists admitted that many among their number had continued in communion with the enemies of Chalcedon: yet these, they said, might justly claim exemption from the censures passed upon Acacius, on the ground of the manifold difficulties of their position; but more especially upon the consideration, that if they had renounced all spiritual intercourse with the dissidents, they would thereby have at once been compelled to abandon their flocks to others, from whom they must have contracted the infection against which they (the memorialists) were most anxious to guard them. It was, they protested, the necessity of their position solely, and not any agreement in principle, that had driven them into connection with schismatics; and this position it was from which not only those who had refrained from, but those who still reluctantly continued in, heretical communion looked for deliverance from to the churches of the West. Upon this plea they craved the interposition of Rome, as the only physician capable of healing their wounds by the restoration of peace and concord, and their own re-admission to the communion of the West; and this they claimed rather as *a debt of Christian charity* than as a matter of favour or mere discretion on the pope's part.[n] To this supplication they appended an unexceptionable profession of faith, equally condemning the opposite errors of Nestorius and Eutyches, and signifying their plenary adhesion to the decrees of Chalcedon, including the "tomus" of Pope Leo; and they professed a devout belief in the union of the divine and the human nature in the Christ, neither confounding nor dividing them.

They excuse their communion with the advocates of the Henoticon.

What answer Pope Symmachus returned to the memorial is unknown. We are, however, assured that the general instructions from Rome

Rome repudiates all compromise.

[m] The reservation in this preamble could hardly satisfy the claims of the pontiff, to whom nothing but unconditional submission could be welcome.

[n] *Baronius* (Ann. 512, § 46) thinks this tone highly indecorous on the part of the Orientals. "They wished," he said, "to extort these favours as a debt; they pray not that the pope would treat them as a parent, always loath to desert his children, but pretend that they *have a right* to his services." But the words "sancta adoramus tua vestigia" are nevertheless a very good precedent, establishing the very ancient practice of kissing the pope's feet!

to the catholic party in the East were as strongly prohibitory of religious intercourse with the conforming churches and favourers of the Henoticon as with the ultra-Eutychians themselves: all who hesitated to anathematise the memory of Acacius, Fravitta, Euphemius, or any one who had ever polluted himself with the accursed thing—the "adulterous Henoticon"—and persisted in his error, were to be deemed equally guilty with the professed followers of Eutyches—with Mongus, Ælurus, Dioscorus, and the host of heresiarchs condemned by the holy synod of Chalcedon. The betrayers of the truth were, if possible, even more dangerous than the disseminators of falsehood; they who were ready to bring this unholy sacrifice to worldly expediency—they who would admit the wolf into the fold, in the hope of muzzling or pacifying him when there, were false shepherds, unworthy of Him who had intrusted them with the care of the sheep. Obedience and not profession, acts and not confessions of faith, were the only proofs of true communion Rome would accept: all, therefore, who declined to strike out the name of the heresiarch Acacius from the services of their churches, in strict unreasoning obedience to the decree of the Roman pontiff, were to be held as accomplices of the criminal whom they wanted courage to abjure.°

Efficiency and consistency of that policy.

Contemplating the religious policy of the Roman pontiffs with reference to the objects in view, and with their peculiar political position, this mode of conduct was both consistent and safe. As religious rulers they were perfectly exempt from all external control; and this position enabled them without fear to take up ground which under other circumstances would have been untenable. Without doubt or hesitation they proclaimed to the world that "he that was not for them was against them." And this course was in strict conformity with the nature and character of that scheme of incontrovertible dogmatic truth of which they conceived the chair of Peter to be the exclusive depository. To tamper with defined and absolute truth is to deny it; to connive at dissent under any form, or upon any pretence,

° Conf. *Baron.* Ann. 512, § 34.

is a betrayal of the sacred trust. As long, therefore, as no more was done than was strictly necessary to enforce recognised and unimpeached principles, there would be little room for charging personal ambition or undue severity against the official managers of such a system, to whatever extravagance of assumption, whatever enormity of power, it might, in strict logical consequence, conduct them. The Christian world had, in fact, too long listened in sullen or in awe-stricken silence to the daring pretensions of the Roman pontiffs, to cast off the fetters which had been silently forged and fitted in the Roman workshop. The catholic world had once for all admitted that the reputed chair of Peter was the representative of orthodox religion in the world; why not, then, the arbiter and the judge? The question transcended the logic of the age; and all who would not follow the papal chair as captives were necessarily deemed traitors and rebels. It is true that the admission of those claims was vouched by no formal or even definite acts of submission extending to all the branches of the Church-catholic, or even to a majority; yet all approached Rome with awe and trepidation: they who desired her communion or support did not, indeed, as yet very clearly discern that they could obtain it only at the price of their freedom, but they preferred apologising for every exercise of their Christian liberty to an honest assertion of it against her despotic mandates. And thus it happened that the pontiffs of Rome were permitted without verbal objection or reproach, to stand forth as the champions of that very council whose decree they had been themselves the first to set at naught—whose laws they had cancelled by their own mere authority in favour of their own power.[p]

Submissive spirit of Christendom to the claims of Rome.

Pope Symmachus died in the year 514, and was succeeded by Cœlius Hormisda; a man after the heart of his predecessors, Leo, Felix, and Gelasius, and with them equally determined to interfere in the affairs and troubles of the Church in no other character than that of absolute master and

Cœlius Hormisda pope.

[p] Conf. Book II. c. v. pp. 408 et sqq.

ruler. In the year 512 the moderate patriarch Flavian of Antioch was deposed by the court, and the Eutychian zealot Severus was placed in his chair. The Syrian monks belonging to both parties marched to the support of the contending bishops; and civil confusion, riot, and bloodshed, prevailed in the streets of Antioch and the neighbouring districts. The patriarch Elias of Jerusalem, though a subscriber to the Henoticon, and suspected of disaffection to the council of Chalcedon, declined communion with the Eutychian usurper of Antioch; and he was supported against the court-faction by the orthodox cenobite Sabas at the head of a vast concourse of warlike and fanatical monks.[q] But the civil power carried all before it; and now, of the four great patriarchates of the East, three had fallen into the hands of the enemies of Chalcedon and of Rome.[r] In the year 513, Elias of Jerusalem was likewise deposed; but his successor, John III., managed to hoodwink the civil governors Olympius and Anastasius, and preserved his orthodoxy at the expense of his integrity. Jerusalem in his hands remained the last remaining bulwark of catholicity in the East.[s]

Triumph of the Eutychians in the East.

At this point of time[t] the prospects of Rome in the East seemed on the decline. She had been eminently unsuccessful on behalf of her own exclusive scheme: yet her position was in one respect improved; she had witnessed the downfall of the party from which she apprehended far more danger than from her declared enemies. The latter had long since stood forth in battle-array against her; the moderate party could be of use only while hanging upon the skirts of her declared antagonists, crippling their movements and disturbing their coherency. But after answering that pur-

Downfall of the moderate party in the East.

[q] It is inconceivable how Baronius, the official reformer of the Roman hagiography, could permit Sabas to retain a place in the Latin catalogue of saints; for he not only supported Elias of Jerusalem and Flavian of Antioch, both of them subscribers to the "adulterous Henoticon," but lived in strict communion with both. His apology for this contaminating connection could not, as we have seen, have been admitted by the Roman pontiff of the day.

[r] Constantinople, Antioch, and Alexandria.

[s] *Baron.* Ann. 513, 514, pp. 126-152; *Fleury*, tom. vii. pp. 182-186; *Tillemont*, tom. xvi. pp. 721, 722; *Evag.* Schol. lib. iii. c. 32. Conf. *Art de vér. les Dates*, vol. i. pp. 225, 243.

[t] Circa A.D. 513 and 514.

pose they were worse than useless; and it must be admitted, she had never given them any positive encouragement. The first object of Rome, from the beginning of the controversy, was to cut off every channel of communication and stifle every vestige of sympathy between her flock and the condemned faction; for thereby alone could she escape being driven into the fatal path of compromise.

Strength of Rome in the Dardanian provinces.

In the northern provinces of the Byzantine empire, particularly in Mœsia and the region called Dardania,[u] and in the capital itself, she still retained a considerable body of adherents faithful to her interests, and, it appears, ready, if need be, to support her cause in arms. From the age of Damasus[v] the attention of the Roman pontiffs had never been withdrawn from the great diocese of Illyricum Orientale. The Dardanian and Mœsian provinces formed the northern portion of that vast region, and bordered upon the confines of the metropolitan province of Thrace. Vitalianus was at this moment military governor of Dardania and

Insurrection of Vitalian.

Mœsia. That officer suddenly collected his forces, and marched upon the capital with such rapidity, that the emperor beheld his squadrons of Huns and Bulgarians from the walls before he had had time to collect a sufficient force to oppose any effectual resistance. The objects of Vitalian, however, were rather of a religious than a political nature, and he made no objection to negotiate with the emperor for their accomplishment. He demanded, *first*, the immediate restoration of orthodox Macedonius to the chair of Constantinople, and of Flavian to that of Antioch; *secondly*, the reinstatement of all the bishops who had been deposed for declining Eutychian communion; and *thirdly*, the speedy convocation of a general council of the Church, at which the Roman pontiff and all the bishops of the empire should be invited to attend, for the purpose of inquiring into the legality of the imperial decrees lately published against the prelates and other supporters of the orthodox communion. Anastasius, his court, and senate assented to these terms without scruple, and pledged their oaths to

[u] The modern Servia.

[v] Book II. c. i. pp. 258, 259.

the performance. Vitalian withdrew his troops to more distant quarters, and the wily Anastasius gained the time necessary to enable him to evade his engagements.[w]

Anastasius proposes a general council.

The emperor might feel pretty confident that the convocation of a general council could not be made palatable to Rome, except upon conditions that should not only throw the entire management and control into her hands, but that should enable her to dictate the results. It was at the same time not very probable that any section of the Greek church could be brought to agree cordially to such an arrangement. But it was not yet safe to repudiate his promise; and in the year 514 the emperor opened his communications with Pope Hormisda in a cold and formal missive, in which he vaguely notified to him the intention to convoke a general synod at Heracleia in Thrace, and requested the pope's personal attendance[x] as *mediator* between the contending parties for the restoration of peace and unity in the Church. But the office of mediator could hardly be acceptable to a pontiff of Rome. In his communications with Anastasius, the pope therefore treated the proposed council with studied reserve, postponing his reply upon the subject until he should be better informed as to the expediency of such a measure; but he significantly observed that he knew of no precedent justifying the attendance of a Roman pontiff at any council held beyond the confines of Italy.[y] But when his temporal sovereign Theodoric added his instances to those of the emperor, the proposal could not be decently evaded,[z] and in the year 515 Hormisda despatched two bishops, Ennodius of Pavia and Fortunatus of Todi, with the priests Venantius and Vitalis, to open negotiations with that view.

[w] See the narrative of *Marcellinus* Chron. and *Cedrenus*, ap. *Baron.* Ann. 514, §§ 40, 41; and that of *Theophanes* of Byzantium, ap. *Pagi*, Crit. ad loc. Baron. *Evagrius* (lib. iii. c. 43) makes no mention of the treaty, and imputes to Vitalian a design to usurp the empire.

[x] The terms were barely civil; he imputes the cessation of intercourse to the *stiffness* (duritia) of the popes, and the renewal to the pressure of circumstances: a passing compliment to the see of Peter—"in quo (Salvator) fortitudinem suæ ecclesiæ constituit"—is the only redeeming point. "No compunction, no repentance for his manifold offences here!" exclaims the zealous Baronius, Ann. 515, § 4.

[y] *Baron.* Ann. 515, §§ 15 and 20.

[z] See *Theophanes*, ubi sup., and the edict of Theodoric to that effect,—ap. *Baron.* Ann. 515, § 39.

Papal legation.

But, to provide against any false step in dealing with the wily Greek, the pope furnished his legates with instructions which should not only vindicate to the utmost his supreme pastoral authority, but supply them with appropriate replies to every probable question or interrogatory that might be addressed to them by the emperor. He strictly forbade them to eat, drink, or hold any communication with bishops or clergy until they should have delivered their credentials into the hands of the emperor himself; and even after that, they were commanded to observe the severest caution in their intercourse with all ecclesiastics, lest, like the unfortunate legates of Pope Felix III.,[a] they should be entrapped into communion with heretics. With the emperor himself they were forbidden to hold religious communion until the arrangement for the restoration of peace was completed and executed, inasmuch as an earlier reconciliation might be taken advantage of to delay or defeat the required satisfaction. They were moreover instructed to insist upon an immediate and unqualified adoption of the Chalcedonian decrees, together with the "tomus" or letter of Pope Leo the Great thereunto appended; but to reserve all other questions, more especially the rival claims of Macedonius and his successor Timotheus, for the adjudication of the holy see. In the next place, they were to make the assent of the pope to the convocation of a general council dependent upon *the absolute submission* of the emperor and the Oriental churches *to the papal guidance and direction.* Anastasius was then to be called upon to deliver a personal declaration of adhesion to the Chalcedonian decrees, with the tomus of Leo annexed; to make proclamation of that fact to all the bishops of his communion; and to command them to signify the like conformity by appending their signatures to a "libellus," or formula, to be presented by the legates for that purpose.[b]

[a] See Book III. c. i. p. 29.

[b] *Baron.* Ann. 515, §§ 30, 36, 37; conf. *Fleury*, tom. vii. pp. 187-193. The libellus embraced the following points: 1. The unreserved acceptance of the Chalcedonian decrees (the xviii^th^ canon, of course, *not* included). 2. The absolute condemnation of the heresiarchs Nestorius, Eutyches, Dioscorus, and their followers; Ælurus, Mongus, and others their fellows. 3. The condemnation of Acacius, Peter Gnapheus, and all the adherents of Zeno's Henoticon. 4. The reference of all differences af-

It is tolerably manifest, that after the acceptance of terms amounting to an unconditional surrender of every point in dispute, and an equally unqualified adoption of the supreme jurisdiction of Rome upon all matters in difference, a general council could answer no purpose but to register her decrees, and the more effectually to rivet her yoke upon the neck of the Oriental churches. Anastasius was not in a condition peremptorily to reject the hard terms thus imposed upon him by the pope, now in open alliance with his own rebellious lieutenant; but there yet remained one debatable spot of ground, from which he could not be so easily dislodged. He knew that the populace of the metropolis, and probably likewise many of the orthodox prelates of the East, were devoutly attached to the memory of their pious pastors, Acacius, Fravitta, and Euphemius, all of them labouring under the anathema of Rome: the first of them in consequence of his labours for the peace of the whole Church; the two latter for defending his memory from posthumous insult and their church from irretrievable disgrace. The emperor, who was no stranger to the sentiments of his clergy upon this point, received the papal legates with distinguished honours; he readily assented to all their propositions till they came to the article requiring the erasure of the name of Acacius from the sacred diptychs. Up to this point the orthodox clergy had raised no objections; but when they were called upon to pronounce the irrevocable sentence of degradation against their beloved church,—not perhaps without some suspicion that few things lay nearer to the heart of Rome than to entail discredit upon the rival see,—the voice of contradiction became loud and general. It is beyond question that, from the beginning to the end of the controversy, it had been the settled purpose of the Roman pontiffs to reduce the see of Constantinople in all respects, excepting perhaps in name, to the level of the unimportant city of Byzantium before Constantine the Great raised it

Defence of Anastasius against the exorbitant demands of Rome.

The church of Constantinople refuses to consent to her own degradation.

fecting ecclesiastical title, together with all disputes whatever which might have arisen out of the late religious quarrels, to the arbitrament of the pope.

to the dignity of second capital of the empire. An all-important step in the accomplishment of this purpose was to affix indelible disgrace upon the succession of her bishops, and thus prepare the Christian world to concur in her erasure from the list of the great patriarchal sees. The legates, therefore, strenuously insisted upon this cardinal point in the negotiation. The emperor urged that, after accepting all the material terms proposed, he ought not to be called upon to expel the living from the Church for the offences of the deceased; he hinted significantly enough at the danger impending over those who derived their orders from the condemned prelates, and protested that such a course on his part would be inevitably attended with civil disturbance, insurrection, and bloodshed. He cunningly added, that this subordinate and comparatively unimportant question might be much more satisfactorily discussed at the ensuing general council; and he promised to send envoys to Rome to convey the ratification of the treaty, and to give the pope the fullest assurance of his sincerity and good faith.[c]

Anastasius suspects the pope of communication with the Vitalian insurgents.

The emperor Anastasius certainly had sufficient reasons to believe that Pope Hormisda stood in communication, if not in league, with the Vitalian insurgents. The operations of Rome in the provinces of Dardania and Mœsia had been attended with signal success. The majority of the prelacy of those regions had zealously embraced her communion, and professed themselves her subjects: Vitalian had presented himself in arms at the gate of the imperial palace as their spokesman and champion; the chain of circumstances seemed to point unmistakably to the pope as a principal promoter or abettor of the insurrection. Hormisda, at all events, availed himself of the distresses of the court, thus brought to pass, to an extent that left no doubt of his hearty concurrence in the treasonable proceedings of the dissidents. Four of the Illyrian prelates, conspicuous

[c] Though no record of the actual conferences remains, it appears,—from the correspondence set out at length by *Baronius*, ad Ann. 515 and 516, but more especially from the letter of Anastasius to the Roman senate in the latter year (§ 11),—that such must have been the course of the negotiation. Conf. *Fleury*, tom. vii. p. 193; and *Bower*, vol. ii. p. 285.

for their recent adhesion to Rome, happening to be at that time in the emperor's power, were detained in custody[d] for complicity in the insurrection; a circumstance indicating which way the suspicions of the emperor pointed. But things were not yet ripe for any retrograde step on his part. The legates of the pope, finding that nothing more could be accomplished consistently with their instructions, relieved the court from their importunate presence. Little reflection was requisite to convince the most orthodox friends of Rome in the East that the vital interests of their communion were very remotely, if at all, involved in the condemnation of the memory of Acacius; that, in fact, that demand was of importance to no party but to Rome alone. A doubt could hardly fail to cross their minds that the real object of the Roman pontiffs was much less to preserve the unity and the purity of the faith, than to establish a test whereby they might try the fidelity and obedience of their adherents, and lay a solid foundation of an influence in the East equally exclusive with that to which they had so closely approximated in the West.[e]

Drift of the Roman proposals.

But it could escape neither the emperor nor any party in the Church, that the proposed arbitrament of all disputes about ecclesiastical claims which had accrued during a long period of schism, must ultimately bring all ecclesiastical title under the immediate cognisance and decision of the pope; and that, if successful in the process of purification, he would be enabled to pack a council from which he would have little to apprehend. But the pope himself might doubt his power to carry out so critical an operation, and might fear to risk the advantages already gained. On the other hand, Anastasius had proposed the convocation of a council rather with a view to involve his opponent in

[d] These were, Alcyson bishop of Nicopolis, Gayanus of Nayssa, Laurentius of Licida, and Evangelus of Paulitalia. The two first died at Constantinople this year (516). Evangelus was soon released; but Laurentius was detained some time longer. *Nicephorus*, ap. *Bar.* Ann. 516, §§ 36, 37; and *Cedrenus*, ap. eund. § 38. Conf. *Fleury*, tom. vii. p. 194.

[e] This object is, in fact, very distinctly avowed in the instructions above referred to. All the papal demands were intended to unite the orthodox of the East in unconditional obedience to Rome; and the acceptance of the terms proposed was to be the test of their attachment: "Quod tunc qui sunt orthodoxi de unitate sedis apostolicæ minime separentur, et qui his sunt contrarii cognoscentur." See the Instructions, ap. *Baron.* Ann. 516, § 30, ubi sup.

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difficulties he could easily anticipate than from any sincere desire for the accommodation of existing differences. In the Eastern churches no echo of his ostensible anxiety for a general synod was heard; and though the Western churches in some degree encouraged the project, there was no such general call for the proposed remedy as to tie the hands of the pontiff, or impel him in any direction inconsistent with the interests of his policy.

The emperor sends envoys to the pope.

Anastasius, however, might not be willing at once to release the pope from a possible embarrassment; and therefore, in the month of July in the year 516, he despatched two great officers of the court[f] to present to the pope his confession of faith and solemn ratification of the terms, as far as they had been agreed upon, with the legates in the preceding year. The pope, however, took offence at a mission of laymen for the transaction of ecclesiastical affairs, and felt himself at the same time disappointed and baffled by the cold and indifferent tone of the letters they brought with them; he therefore declined to accept the submission, and instructed the senate, to whom Anastasius had addressed letters by the same hands, to inform the emperor that there could be no peace with Rome until the name of Acacius should be erased from the list of Christian bishops. Hormisda himself, in his reply, repeated his decision upon this vital point; he besought the emperor to hasten his conversion, and to testify his sincerity not by words but by deeds,—by renouncing all sympathy with the abettors and defenders of heretics. "Reject, I beseech you," he said,—"reject altogether the contagion of the accursed thing (the Henoticon) and its authors, knowing that the pure hath no portion with the impious, and that there is no fellowship between faith and falsehood."[g]

Reply of the pope.

Impolicy of the court, and defection of the Illyrian bishops.

But in the course of 515 and the beginning of the following year, political affairs had taken a turn more favourable to the emperor. The strength of Vitalian had melted away under the effects of delay and intrigue; the chief command of

[f] Theopompus count of the domestics, and Severianus count of the consistory.

[g] See the documents in extenso, printed by *Baronius* ad Ann. 516, §§ 4-16.

the Illyrian forces had been peaceably transferred to the friendly hand of Ruffinus, and Rome had lost all the advantage of the terror she had inspired by her alliance with the rebel subjects of Anastasius. But the latter hastened, as far as in him lay, to forfeit the benefit of this change of position by impolitic severities against the refractory bishops of Illyricum. Dorotheus of Thessalonica, the metropolitan of the diocese, had all along disregarded the papal injunction to renounce the communion of the dissident patriarchs of Constantinople; but he was not supported by the bishops of his diocese as the court desired, and a foolish attempt to drive them into conformity by useless annoyances only contributed to hasten a general defection. The bishops of Epirus, after the impolitic arrest and death of their metropolitan bishop Alcyson, elected John, a devout adherent of the Roman communion, to the vacant chair of Nicopolis. The new archbishop hastened to announce his election to the pope by the usual synodal letters from himself and the council of comprovincial bishops.[h] The pope, in reply, congratulated them on the orthodoxy of their profession; he cautioned them against the artifices of the court-heretics, and exhorted them to perseverance in avoiding all communications with those whose faith was doubtful or unsound; and he added that, as no precaution could be regarded as superfluous which would in any way secure the integrity of the faith and the stability of true religion, he called upon them to affix their signatures to a libellus, or written engagement, by which they should bind themselves to observe and defend the whole doctrine of Rome, to adopt or reject what she adopted or rejected; but more especially to abide by the condemnation of the Eutychian heretics and their posthumous advocates Acacius, Fravitta, and Euphemius, and to avoid communion with the "execrable" heretic Timotheus of Constantinople. This libellus, or act of submission, was sent by the same hand to all the churches of Epirus, and probably

The libellus of Pope Hormisda.

[h] See the letters, ap. *Baron.* Ann. 516, §§ 44, 45, 46. They are inscribed in the ordinary form of Oriental sycophancy: "Domino per cuncta sanctissimo et beatissimo Patri Patrum, comministro nostro et Principi Episcoporum Hormisdæ Papæ."

received the signatures of the great majority of the prelates of the province.[i]

The Illyrian schism; excommunication of Dorotheus of Thessalonica.

If the direct interferences of Rome with the Illyrian episcopacy had been a novelty, Dorotheus, the patriarchal metropolitan of the diocese, would have had good ground of complaint. The papal proceeding was indeed in manifest breach of all ecclesiastical law, as it stood upon the statute-book of the Church, and could be justified only under the presumed power-superabundant and extraordinary of the Petrine see. The theory of the law-ecclesiastic against the intromission of one prelate upon the diocese, province, or parish of another, was clear and stringent; and if even it were granted that a general superintendence had from all times appertained to the see of Rome over the provinces of Illyricum Orientale, there is no evidence that it had ever been exercised otherwise than by or through the pontifical vicars of Thessalonica.[j] Now, however, that intermediate authority was frankly cast aside, Pope Hormisda assumed to himself the whole metropolitan prerogative, and ordained bishops to all the vacant sees within the provinces of Epirus and Dardania.[k] Dorotheus, the eparch of Thessalonica, whose rights were thus unscrupulously invaded, manifested his resentment by a closer adhesion to the prohibited communion of Constantinople. He was accordingly excommunicated by the pope; the bishops of his diocese were exempted from his jurisdiction, and prohibited from holding religious or official intercourse with him as their primate upon pain of forfeiting the communion of the Church-catholic.[l]

[i] *Baron.* Ann. 516, §§ 60-64.

[j] See Book II. c. i. pp. 258, 259, 280; c. ii. pp. 310-312.

[k] For authority, we must refer the reader to the large collection of original documents apud *Baron.* Ann. 516, tom. ix. of the Lucca edition of 1741. Directing his attention to note (g) p. 312 of the IId Book of this work, he will not fail to recognise in this step of Pope Hormisda, another and a very marked stage in the gradual process of substituting the papal authority for the statute and common law rights of eparchal and metropolitan churches. The practice of vicarial interference was now of more than a hundred-and-thirty years standing, from the episcopate of Damasus to that of Hormisda; a very sufficient *perpetuity* in the estimate of the Roman ecclesiastical jurists to establish the right, even independently of the theory of Pope Leo the Great.

[l] See the letter of Hormisda to his legates Ennodius and Peregrinus; but particularly the epistle to John of Nicopolis, the metropolitan of Epirus, on the request of the bishops of his pro-

The religious agitation which began, but did not end, with the rebellion of Vitalian, was improved by Hormisda with vigour and ability. The prospect of successful operations upon the liberties, or by what other name they may be called, of the Eastern churches through the fears of the aged and wayward despot was indeed at an end; but Hormisda was quick to discern, and prompt to avail himself of, the anarchical condition of the East for reducing the Greek hierarchy to the Roman platform. The first requisite was to maintain and strengthen his communications with the enemies of the government. It is at first sight difficult to conceive what hopes he could have founded upon a repetition of the experimental legation of the year 515. Yet in the month of April 517 he despatched two legates of episcopal rank, Ennodius of Pavia and Peregrinus of Misenum in Campania, for the ostensible purpose of reviving the negotiations which had been broken off upon the question of the erasure of the name of Acacius from the sacred diptychs. The legates were provided with public letters of introduction and recommendation to the emperor, and some others of general import to the Oriental churches of all denominations: containing exhortations and admonitions to the orthodox to keep the faith and persevere in well-doing; to the heretical or the contaminated, to hasten their return to the Roman communion, "the rock upon which the whole Church is founded."[m]

Papal legation of the year 517.

But it soon became obvious, that though the legates of Hormisda were ostensibly accredited to the emperor, their real business was with others. They were provided with secret or private letters to the orthodox monks and people of Constantinople, the contents of which soon became known to the court, and must have appeared to the jealous despot as scarcely a step removed from treason. Their charge was to establish

Instructions to the legates.

vince to be *allowed* to send the usual letters of communion to Dorotheus of Thessalonica, ap. *Baron.* Ann. 517, §§ 34-39; and conf. the letter of the same to Dorotheus himself, amply recognising his diocesan rights, but justifying the breach of them on the grounds of his connection with heresy and the necessity of arresting the contagion. *Id. ibid.* § 39.

[m] See the letters, ap. *Baron.* Ann. 517, §§ 3-25.

a more intimate sympathy and understanding with all the orthodox prelates of the East; to advocate the cause of the persecuted Epirot and Illyrian bishops against their metropolitan Dorotheus; to disturb and, if possible, to break up the still subsisting harmony between the orthodox party and the church of Constantinople; to inculcate with all earnestness the proposition that there could be no church-fellowship out of the pale of the apostolic see, no return to the unity of the Church-catholic without an unconditional renunciation of all adverse communion, no valid ecclesiastical authority but that which was bestowed or sanctioned by the pope of Rome.[n] To this end, they were further supplied with a formula of recantation, damning all heresiarchs, more particularly Nestorius and Eutyches, with an especial curse upon the memory of Acacius and all the defenders and advocates of the Henoticon. If this document should be repelled by the emperor and the bishops of his party, of which the pope could have entertained no doubt, the legates were instructed privately to procure as many signatures as possible, and by every means in their power to disseminate a secret libel against the emperor and the court-prelates; in short, to make friends with the adversaries of the government, and do their utmost to convert its friends into foes.

Character of the instructions.

Connecting the tenor and spirit of these documents with the late insurrection of Vitalian, brought about by similar means; with the open defection of the churches of Illyricum, Dardania, and Epirus, from the communion of Constantinople at the solicitation of the pope, and the long-subsisting intercourse between Rome and the swarms of disaffected and riotous monastic bodies in the capital and in the Asiatic provinces,—the emperor, not unreasonably, came to the conclusion that the Roman claims were destructive of liberty of conscience to his own communion, and to that of a large portion of his subjects; that they were incompatible with the maintenance of the public peace, and dangerous to his throne and government.

[n] Card. *Baronius* (Ann. 517, §§ 42-44) detects these propositions in the instructions to the legates, in all their nudity; and we think he is right.

But, in the true spirit of Byzantine policy, the legates were permitted to execute their secret commission without impediment. Instead of treating them as double-dealers and secret fomenters of disturbance in his dominions, Anastasius, we are told, endeavoured in vain to overreach or to bribe them; thus incurring disgrace and exposure where law and reasons of state might have stood his friends. The immediate cause of the breach with Rome arose out of the resolution of Archbishop Dorotheus to resist the papal intrusion in his diocese. Johannes, the successor of Alcyson, had declined the jurisdiction of Thessalonica, and, at the suggestion of Rome, omitted to send the usual synodical letters after his election to the see of Nicopolis in Epirus. Dorotheus, it appears, took measures,—of what nature we are not precisely informed,—to reduce him to canonical obedience. These measures were reported to the pope, and were by him treated as acts of criminal persecution and open rebellion against the supremacy of the holy see, from which, as he hinted, the metropolitan powers of the archbishop originally emanated; powers which of course might be resumed for disobedience or contumacy.[o] He gave strict orders to his legates to deal with Dorotheus as one who had forfeited the communion of the catholic Church; they were to hold no intercourse with him but for the purpose of inducing him to renounce connection with the patriarch of Constantinople and all other heretics or defenders of heretics; they were to insist that no one who sincerely wished to return to the bosom of the catholic Church, to which there was no door but through Rome, could be upon good terms with those who continued in outer darkness;[p] and he directed them,

Offensive measures of Hormisda in the matter of Dorotheus.

[o] The legates were to promise that the privileges of his church *granted by his (the pope's) predecessors* should not be withdrawn if he observed the "*laws of the Church.*" "Let him," said Hormisda, "return to 'the unity,' and no one shall insist more earnestly than ourselves that all the privileges *he derives from the apostolic see* be preserved inviolate." These words are perhaps ambiguous; it should seem as if the grant of the vicariate were now to be converted into an original endowment, emanating from the see of Rome alone; the *fact* being that Thessalonica was the diocesan metropolis of Illyricum Orientale long before the earliest of the vicarial delegations. See *Baron.* Ann. 517, § 43. Baronius adopts this interpretation; and we think the words will bear it.

[p] "Admonitio ad legatos," ap. *Baron.* Ann. 517, ubi sup.

if their remonstrances should prove fruitless, to post copies of the apostolic letters in the cause of Johannes at the places of public resort in Thessalonica and other convenient localities. In the last place, they were directed to inform the emperor that, the bishops of Nicopolis having returned to the bosom of the holy Roman church, and thereby incurred the vengeance of Dorotheus, the holy father and the orthodox churches demanded that such annoyance should be at once discontinued, so as to give assurance to the world that repentance and return to the true fold were not to expose men to penalties and persecutions.

Arrest and deportation of the legates of Hormisda.

Whether the means adopted by Anastasius to avert the threatened danger were such as they are described to us[q] or not, the emperor might justly resent a proceeding perhaps more likely than any other to plunge him back into the perils from which he had so recently escaped. The only remedy in his power, short of abject submission to the arrogant demands of the Roman pontiff, was accordingly resorted to. The legates were arrested and shipped for Italy, but without any special precautions to prevent communication with the enemies of the court. On their voyage, they put in to several important ports; and through the agency of friendly monks distributed many copies of the papal manifesto, or libellus. But most of these writings fell into the hands of the imperialist officers and clergy, and were transmitted to Constantinople. Some sinister light seems to have been thrown upon the conduct of the legates by these documents. Almost every vestige of their late successes appears to have vanished with their presence. The bishops who had signed the papal formulæ hastened to renounce their engagements, and to resume communion with the see of Constantinople.[r] Anastasius closed his correspondence with the pope in a letter, contrasting the proud and dic-

[q] By Anastasius the librarian, a very untrustworthy authority.

[r] It seems most probable that they had never intended that their signatures should be shown up against them: great, therefore, was their consternation when they found themselves exposed without defence to the wrath of their sovereign. *Baron.* ubi sup. § 47.

tatorial language of Hormisda with the gracious lessons of the Saviour, and concluding with a declaration that "though he might submit to be vilified and made of no account, he would not tolerate the language of command."[s]

Orthodox monks of the East

While affairs were in this position between Constantinople and the West, the churches of Palestine, Syria, and Egypt were still convulsed by bitter contentions for and against the decrees of Chalcedon. The Eutychian patriarch, Severus of Antioch, perpetrated, we are told, unheard-of cruelties upon the Maronite and other monastic communities of the orthodox confession. From spiritual maledictions and cursings, these factions advanced to carnal warfare; and many murderous affrays took place between the hostile Lauræ or convents, in which it appears the so-called catholic party were worsted. In one of these sanguinary encounters, no fewer than three hundred and fifty monks are said to have been left dead upon the field; very many more were wounded, and others again dragged from the very altars at which they had taken sanctuary to instant death. The vanquished hopelessly appealed to the emperor for protection and redress; but the Eutychian interest was paramount at court, and their cries fell upon deaf ears. On the other hand, as long as they adhered to the Henoticon, or held communion with the moderate of any party, they could expect neither sympathy nor assistance from Rome or the Western churches. But their condition was now too desperate to admit of hesitation; and they came to the resolution of abandoning the middle path of compromise, and throwing themselves without reserve into the arms of Rome. In this spirit, they addressed a humble memorial and supplication to the pope and the bishops of the Western churches for aid and comfort under their manifold afflictions. "We beseech and implore you," they said, "most holy fathers, to arise quickly for the healing of the lacerated body of the Church; for the vindication of the faith contemned, the canons trodden under foot, the fathers blasphemed,

driven by persecution into the arms of Rome.

[s] "Injuriari et annullari sustinere possumus, juberi non possumus." *Baron.* ubi sup. § 49. Conf. *Fleury*, tom. vii. p. 201.

and the holiest of synods (Chalcedon) set at naught and cursed. For unto you hath God given the power to bind and to loose. . . . Arise, therefore; and be ye imitators of the Lord, who came down from heaven to seek and to save the lost sheep. Take example of the blessed Peter, the prince of the apostles, whose seat you (the pope) so worthily fill; and of Paul, that vessel of election, who went forth preaching to and enlightening all nations. . . . . And now, for the more perfect information of him who is the angel of your church (Hormisda), we do, by this our writing, cast out, anathematise, and pronounce accursed all who are or have been cast out, anathematised, and cursed by your apostolic see; we name more particularly Nestorius, Eutyches, Dioscorus, Peter of Alexandria (Mongus), Peter of Antioch (Gnapheus), and all who have consorted with, comforted, or abetted any of these heretics."[t] This address was signed by twenty-five Archimandrites or abbots, and one hundred and seventy priests and deacons.

Congratulatory rescript of Hormisda to the Oriental monks, &c.

The pope received the document as a plenary renunciation of the Henoticon, and as a formal deed of submission to the dominion of Rome. In the following year Hormisda replied in a tone of exulting congratulation upon the complete though tardy conversion of the memorialists. "At length," said he, "you have conformed to the doctrine, and obeyed the mandate of the apostolic see. But *now* you have passed through the purifying fire of affliction; *now* you have learnt wisdom from much tribulation! And what wonder that you should have been afflicted, seeing that heretofore you had gone astray from the only true fold, wandered from *the only true shepherd!* We therefore exhort you to persevere in the struggle, to shake off the mire of filthy communications; to shrink with religious horror from all who have ever swerved from the letter of *Roman doctrine.* . . . . Let there be no manner of contact with heresy; let the lessons of the fathers, *as taught at Rome*, be in the hand, in the heart, and on the lips of all of you; let the decrees of

[t] See the Memorial, ap. *Baron.* Ann. 517, § 57. Conf. *Fleury*, tom. viii. pp. 214-217.

Chalcedon and the letter of Pope Leo to Flavian be the standard of your faith, the weapons of the Spirit whereby to vanquish and overthrow the Nestorian and Eutychian blasphemies, whereof the former denieth that the most blessed Virgin is verily the *Mother of God*, and the latter extinguisheth altogether the sacred mystery of the redemption. But more especially we exhort you *to yield no manner of obedience to the mandates of secular persons in spiritual concerns;* the sacred altars may not be contaminated by strange sacrifices; God himself hath established the distinction of office between *the Levites and the laity.* Human authority is one thing, the prerogative of the priesthood is another and a peculiar function; and it was for usurping the latter that Uzziah king of Judah was smitten with leprosy:[u] know ye, therefore, that the ordinances of profane authority in things spiritual are treated by God as contempts of his commandments, and that they are altogether destitute of force or effect in his Church."

Pope Hormisda's principles of Church-government.

The principles enounced in this document, and indeed generally maintained throughout the pontificate of Hormisda, are in substance the following: 1. Rome is the sovereign arbitress of doctrinal orthodoxy, and she is entitled to implicit submission in all matters of faith. 2. She is the only authentic interpreter of the decrees of a general council. 3. Every mandate or judicature that she rejects is *ipso facto* unlawful and void. 4. The interference of the secular power within the wide field of ecclesiastical jurisdiction or interest, except it proceed under the direction or sanction of Rome, is a substantive act of sacrilege and treason to God and his Church. In many respects they agree with the propositions contended for by his predecessor Gelasius. The pontifical maxims of the latter deal more exclusively with the ecclesiastical element of the papal power, because they were called forth by a question of a more purely ecclesiastical character; while those of Hormisda turned more especially upon the conflicting relations of the spiritual to the temporal power.[v] But we

[u] 2 *Chron.* xxvi. 16-21.

[v] See Book III. c. ii. pp. 78, 79.

have seen[w] that in one great department of ecclesiastical government—that relating to the management of church-property—Pope Symmachus had put upon record a solemn protest against the right of the secular power to interfere with the Church in the disposal of its funds. Hormisda consistently generalised the principle of his predecessor, and extended it to every subject-matter in which the Church might take an interest, direct or indirect,—*à fortiori* to any law, rule, or regulation emanating from the secular power which might circumscribe or impede the course of spiritual government, or the measures of the superintending and visitatorial authority vested in the Roman pontiff. The steps in the advancement of the Roman claims during the three pontificates of Gelasius, Symmachus, and Hormisda, are very strongly marked; and, if maturely considered, will be found to embrace all the material elements of a power theoretically excluding all external reformation or amendment as fully as it repudiates all limitation or control. The history of the papacy is, in truth, but the simple development of pre-established principles, dating from the latter half of the fifth, and the first twenty years of the sixth, century.

Elementary principles of the papal power.

It has been observed, that until the extinction of national government in the West, scarcely a murmur had been heard against the frequent meddlings of the civil power with ecclesiastical affairs.[x] But the pontiff of Rome was now the subject of a foreign prince; and by that change of position he was enabled to deal with the Eastern emperor as an independent power. He was politically, as well as religiously, emancipated from all obligations which might impede the natural development of the religious scheme of which he was the self-constituted chief and champion. Pope Hormisda was the first of his rank who fully discerned the advantages of this novel state of things; he was likewise the first to denounce the interference of the civil government in the affairs of the Church in terms wide enough to make the tranquillity of the state for all time to come depend-

The policy of Hormisda.

[w] Book III. c. ii. pp. 99, 103, 104. [x] Book III. c. ii. p. 98.

ent upon the passions or the prudence of the reigning pontiff. Hormisda followed closely in the footsteps of his predecessors Leo the Great and Gelasius. There was in his addresses to his spiritual subjects, as well as to recusant parties, an honesty and fervour of expression which left no room for doubt of his sincerity. His comminations—daring and unsparing as they were—always assumed the tone of the purest aspirations of peace and goodwill towards men. Thus he managed to kindle in the minds of his party a burning desire for the termination of the frightful anarchy which for more than half a century had desolated the Eastern churches, without holding out the remotest prospect of its accomplishment by any other means than unconditional submission to the arbitrament of Rome. Few pontiffs had deserved better of the holy see than Hormisda. Though less scrupulous than Leo the Great as to the means employed for the ends in view, he cannot upon the whole be charged with any glaring departure from that strict rule of personal integrity which had earned for his great predecessor so lofty a position in the Church, and so well-deserved a character in the religious world.

Its scope and character.

In the month of April 517 Timotheus the Eutychian patriarch of Constantinople died; and was succeeded by his syncellus, or secretary, John of Cappadocia. The emperor does not appear to have interfered with the election, and John was allowed to profess orthodox sentiments during the few remaining months of the life of Anastasius. But the latter survived only till the July in the following year; and was succeeded by the adventurer Justin, the commander of the imperial guards, who, after adroitly overreaching an incapable competitor, by favour of a popular confession of faith secured the concurrence of the clergy, senate, and people of Constantinople.[y] The first movement of reviving orthodoxy was announced by the devout vociferations of the populace of the capital. The patriarch

Death of Anastasius I. and revival of orthodoxy in the East.

[y] *Baronius* (Ann. 518, §§ 2, 3) generously forgives the breach of faith by which he obtained the diadem, in consideration of the advantage thereby accruing to the Church. As under the old dispensation, Ehud and Jael are his vouchers.

John and the court-party turned over in a body to the imperial creed. All concurred in denouncing anathema against Nestorius, Eutyches, Severus of Antioch, and every one who, living or dead, had ever held communion with them. The general councils, especially that of Chalcedon, were adopted, confirmed, and canonised afresh; and the names of Macedonius, Euphemius, and Pope Leo the Great, were reinscribed by acclamation upon the sacred tablets of the church.[z]

The revival independent of Rome.

Yet in these transactions, greatly as they tended to narrow the chasm which divided the Eastern and the Western churches, there was much to alarm the jealousy of old Rome. A synod was assembled at Constantinople to confirm and register the hasty resolutions of the court, patriarch, and people, after their sudden emancipation from the yoke of an heretical prince. But the acts of this synod made but small account of the papal authority. Excepting the restoration of the name of Leo the Great to the sacred diptychs, no notice whatever was taken of Rome or any interest of hers in the whole transaction.[a] The bishop of Constantinople accepted the suspicious title of "œcumenical patriarch;" and the names of Macedonius and Euphemius—both the advocates of Acacius, both subscribers to the Henoticon of Zeno, both accursed of Rome—were placed above that of Leo the holiest of pontiffs, the pride and glory of the Latin church.

The emperor Justin makes advances to the pope.

The triumph of doctrinal orthodoxy was, however, all but complete in the East. Antioch was soon afterwards liberated from the odious yoke of the impious and blood-stained Severus. John of Jerusalem had contrived, by dint of dissimulation, to avoid compliance with the heresy of his imperial

[z] See the acts, ap. *Baron.* Ann. 518, § 14. Conf. *Fleury*, tom. vii. pp. 216-221. The cardinal notices with high indignation that in these acts John of Constantinople is styled throughout "œcumenical patriarch," a title always—and for good reason—reprobated by the holy see. He thinks the title an interpolation of the later Greeks; but upon insufficient grounds. The question will arise hereafter.

[a] The assumption of Baronius (Ann. 518, § 70) that the eastern bishops only acted provisionally, and that they well knew that what they did in their synod was of no force till confirmed by the pope, is as far as possible from the truth.

patron: all the bishops of the eastern dioceses floated with the current of reviving orthodoxy; Egypt alone continued to hold out against the decrees of Chalcedon. But the Orientals were not to be permitted thus easily to settle terms with Rome; nor could it be tolerated that the pacification of the Church should be the work of any other hand but hers. To satisfy the dignity and maintain the position of the Petrine chair, there could be no advance on the part of the pontiff. Nor was any such step requisite: the new emperor was determined upon peace at any price; he accordingly opened his communications with Pope Hormisda by an imperial autograph drawn up in a flattering and reverential tone, and transmitted it to Rome by the hands of Count Gratus, the friend and confidant of his nephew and successor Justinian. By the same hand the patriarch John sent his synodal letters, containing his confession of faith in the terms of Pope Leo's celebrated treatise; he informed the pope that he had restored the names of all his (Hormisda's) predecessors to the sacred calendars of his church; and concluded his address with the request that the pope would send properly-accredited legates to ratify on his part the reunion of the two churches. Justinian added a letter from himself to the same purport.[b] The answers returned were short and dry. The pope declared, that before any thing could be concluded, the name of Acacius, the associate and accomplice of the worst of heresiarchs, Peter (Mongus) of Alexandria, must be struck out of the list of the blessed, and consigned to infamy or oblivion. He haughtily informed the applicants that they had now no retreat; and that having once embraced the creed of Rome, they had tied and bound themselves down to obedience to her precepts in all matters, and to accept her decisions upon every point included in that confession. "You have renounced heresy," said the pontiff, "you have taken upon you *the faith of the blessed Peter*, knowing

Reply of Hormisda.

[b] *Baron.* Ann. 518, §§ 74, 75. The letter of the patriarch was addressed: "To my lord and most holy brother and fellow-minister Hormisda." The dry superscription of the reply runs thus: "Hormisda bishop to John bishop of Constantinople."

that in that faith alone you have salvation: therefore now set your hands to the written covenant (*libellus*) herewith sent you for your subscription, that thereby we may be united in one holy communion with each other."[c]

Libellus and legation of Pope Hormisda to Constantinople.

This "libellus," or covenant, was substantially the same with that which had been so scornfully rejected by the deceased emperor and his clergy. The legates who conveyed it received the same minute and cautious instructions as those of the preceding years 515 and 517. They were enjoined to take no step that might compromise the rigid consistency, or cast a shadow over the omniscience of Rome in all matters of faith. They were directed to open no communication with clergy or laymen, to decline all intercourse with the patriarch of Constantinople, and to hold no discourse with any one touching the subject of their mission, until they should have introduced themselves and delivered their credentials and all the documents accompanying them to the emperor's own hands; after that they were immediately, and without allowing space for hesitation or reflection, to demand his subscription and the instant publication of the act. The only point they were empowered to yield was an insult rather than a concession: the pope graciously consented that the names of the imperial heretics, the predecessors of Justin, should not be publicly associated with the vulgar herd of the damned, but should be privately withdrawn from the registers of the faithful sons of the Church. As soon, then, as the emperor and patriarch should have performed these conditions, the legates were to be at liberty to receive them into the communion of the catholic Church; and so on with the rest; always carefully exacting such a degree of publicity in all these acts of conformity, as that no one might thereafter plead ignorance of the full extent of the obligation contracted, or be enabled to evade the conditions, or question the authority which imposed them.

The progress of the legates to Constantinople rather

[c] *Baron.* Ann. 518, §§ 81, 82.

resembled a triumphal procession than a mission of peace. The bishops of the cities on their route signed the libels without waiting for the imperial license. Dorotheus of Thessalonica alone hesitated at this wholesale surrender of the liberties of his church. On their arrival at Constantinople, the legates found all men prepared to accede to the papal demands; and a few days sufficed to bring the emperor and his court, the patriarch and his clergy, within the pale of the Roman church; for such was both the form and the understanding of the whole transaction, as far as outward acts could be made to denote intention. The names of Acacius, Fravitta, Euphemius, and Timotheus, together with those of the emperors Zeno and Anastasius, were struck out of the lists of the faithful, and every bishop and abbot of the metropolis and the diocese attached to it signed and delivered his libel in the form required.

Submission of the Greeks, and triumph of Rome in the East.

The great schism thus brought to an end[d] had convulsed Christendom for a period of thirty-five years. And so far as practical admissions may extend in construing intention, the subscribers of the libelli of Pope Hormisda could hardly deny the obligation of spiritual allegiance to the chair of Peter. The claim to that allegiance, its extent and meaning, were clearly stated and brought to their knowledge before they executed the bond: all the demands of the pope had been ostentatiously grounded upon a divine right, overriding all other law or order in the Church; and, as far as in him lay, he had taken care that the surrender should be unconditional, and that the act itself should bear the stamp of rightful homage to the apostolic see. His legates discussed nothing; they were intrusted with no power to treat, or to vary the terms of submission; every appearance of independent action on either side was carefully excluded; there were no parties, no dispute, no negotiation; submission, absolute and unconditional, was the form and the substance of the whole

Ostensible character of the submission.

[d] Reckoning from the condemnation of Acacius by Pope Felix II. in the year 484 to 519.

transaction; the demand itself was, with all possible publicity and notoriety, based upon the proposition *that out of the pale of St. Peter's chair there was no church, no unity, no promise, no salvation.*[e]

Real character of the submission.

The sequel will, we think, show that the Oriental churches never intended that absolute surrender of their independence which their acts seemed to imply. All the really pious and right-minded clergy thought of little more than the restoration of union in the Church, and the termination of those unhappy differences which had caused the effusion of so much Christian blood and so long banished Christian charity from the world; the statesmen were anxious to arrest the civil disorders, and dry up the sources of sedition and rebellion which had sprung from the prevailing religious dissensions. No party probably paid much attention to the principle of the papal demands upon them, or to the construction that might be put upon their own acts. The correspondence of emperor, court, and clergy conveys the impression that their minds were wholly absorbed by the strong desire for peace; nor do we find, amid the many complimentary and flattering expressions of deference for the holy see, any thing that could be made to convey a direct verbal acceptance of the papal principle—any acknowledgment of subjection or allegiance. The pope alone busied himself with the principle; the Greeks looked only to the practical benefits of the desired union. A name or two more or less upon the lists of saints and benefactors, was of little moment compared with the serenity and security resulting from a durable religious peace. The new emperor was a veteran soldier, to whom theological disputes were altogether strange, and who might therefore look with contempt upon the quarrels of troublesome priests, and with resentment at the amount of civil mischief they had been found capable of perpetrating. But Rome had obviously succeeded in making herself the mistress of the controversy. While

Religious advantages of Rome.

[e] The entire correspondence between the court and the prelates of the East may be found at length in *Baronius*, Ann. 519, tom. ix. We point particularly to the letter of Justinian to the pope, § 98.

fighting for spiritual dominion, she carefully adhered to those dogmatic formulæ which had hitherto commanded the assent of a majority in the Christian world. And true it is, that while she maintained the four general councils, and steadily set her face against the vain and pernicious speculations of the Oriental divines, she could make sure of the first place in the estimation of the catholic body. It was to this natural and legitimate supremacy that the emperor Justin and his clergy did homage; and posterity will ratify the act. But these merits being conceded, the like approval cannot be extended to the obvious design to make them the groundwork—as it were the credentials—of a divine commission to exercise absolute dominion, irrespectively of future merit or demerit, over the religious conscience of mankind, and to make the victory she obtained in this great struggle evidence of her right to retain and exercise that dominion for all time to come.

CHAPTER IV.

JUSTINIANIAN PERIOD (I.).

Subserviency of Constantinople—Appeal of the Syrian fanatics—Count Justinian and Pope Hormisda—Death of Hormisda—John I.—Theodoric the Great protects the Arians of the East—His tyranny—Felix III. pope—Death of Theodoric—Imperial policy—Amalasuintha and Athalaric—Re-annexation of Rome to the empire—State of the Roman church—Boniface II. pope—Decree of the Roman senate against bribery—John II. pope—Reiterated decree against bribery—Secular interposition against bribery, &c.—Church-policy of the emperor Justinian—Scope and objects of his ecclesiastical laws—Their secular and political character—Limits of the secular and ecclesiastical powers in respect of church-legislation—Relations of Justinian to the Roman pontiffs—Title of "universal patriarch"—Intent of Justinian—How accepted by Pope John II.—Rome and the Gallic churches—Rome and the revived churches of Africa—Their address to Pope Agapetus—Rome and the canons of the Church-catholic—Agapetus pope—His embassy to Constantinople—Intrigues of the empress Theodora—Anthimus patriarch—His deposition—Mennas patriarch—Imperial principle of church-legislation—Course of proceeding—Sylverius pope—Intrigue of Theodora and Vigilius—Of Belisarius and Antonia—Deportation of Sylverius—Election of Vigilius—Murder of Sylverius—Canonical defects in the title of Vigilius.

Subserviency of Constantinople.

Pope Hormisda survived his victory for a term of four years. Of the host of opponents, two only remained in the field: Timotheus the Monophysite patriarch of Alexandria still maintained his ground against pope and emperor by the aid of the popular support; and the refractory Dorotheus of Thessalonica could not be persuaded to subscribe to the degradation of his church. In all other quarters the religious influence of Rome was for a time paramount. All important ecclesiastical measures and appointments were submitted to the pontiff; and any departure from alleged law or usage affecting the claims of Rome was promptly rebuked and obsequiously apologised for by the transgressors. Thus it occurred that, after the death of the patriarch John, his successor Epiphanius was deemed to have delayed his official letters of notification to the pope

beyond a reasonable time; for this neglect the latter administered a sharp rebuke, and drew from the new patriarch a humble apology, accompanied by ostentatious protestations of attachment to the see of Peter and perfect acquiescence in every step of the pontiff for the maintenance and purity of the faith — heartily condemning and rejecting all and every person, matter or thing, that had been condemned and rejected by the holy see.[a]

Appeal of the Syrian fanatics to Rome.

The religious movement in the East presented some novel features. Certain Syrian fanatics maintained that for the completion of the rule of faith it was necessary to pronounce that "a Person of the Holy Trinity had suffered on the cross for the redemption of the world." This extravagant dogma they supported by clamorous charges of heterodoxy against their opponents. Though they had found favour at court, they were discountenanced by the patriarch and the Roman legates. But by the recommendation of Count Justinian they carried their complaints to Rome; and the future emperor in an autograph epistle pressed the pope for a decision, assuring him that the orthodox churches of the East would receive his adjudication upon the merits of the question as catholic doctrine. With the habitual indulgence of Rome for all appellants from foreign churches, the pope entertained the cause; but declined to give judgment, and dismissed the applicants without satisfaction indeed, but without reprehension or censure.[b]

Relations of Count Justinian and Pope Hormisda.

Within the same period the Count Justinian appears upon the stage as the intimate ally and pupil of the pontiff of Rome. He asked and received solutions of theological difficulties; sent for relics from the shrines of the apostles, and interceded for those whose orthodoxy entitled them to indulgences from the holy see.[c] The plentiful crop of religious conceits which had lately sprung up within the pale of the Chalcedonian profession itself, afforded ample occupation

[a] *Baron.* Ann. 520, §§ 29-35.

[b] *Fleury*, H. E. tom. vii. liv. xxxi., particularly p. 253.

[c] More especially for those churches which still retained in honour the names of the pious patriarchs Macedonius and Euphemius. Hormisda appears to have yielded the point to the powerful intercession of Justinian. *Baron.* Ann. 520, § 36.

for the theological acumen of Justinian and his pontifical pedagogue. Epiphanius dutifully reported the proceedings of his synodal courts to the pope, and the emperor and his ministers accepted his directions for completing what remained to be done in the great work of reconciliation. Except from open and declared enemies, opposition had ceased on all hands; and, before his death, Hormisda rejoiced in the prospect of a wider influence and a more solidly-established power than had been enjoyed by any of his predecessors.[d] Pope Hormisda died early in the month of August of the year 523; and was succeeded by John I., surnamed Catalinus, a Tuscan by birth, and a priest of the district or parish of St. John and St. Paul[e] at Rome.

Death of Pope Hormisda; John I. pope.

The accession of John I. carries us back to the state of Italy, a country becoming with every succeeding year more and more closely connected with the fortunes of the Byzantine empire. As long as the public attention was absorbed by religious controversy, men could not find time or leisure to look out for the minor objects of persecution; but as soon as by the coalition of the stronger parties their mutual jealousies were laid asleep, the mind of the churchmen applied itself to the task of reducing all dissentients to conformity. But to that end they knew of no methods but imprisonments, civil penalties, disabilities, and even capital punishments. Thus the Manichæans were hunted down and ruthlessly burnt to death in every province of the empire. Other heretics, of a less obnoxious description, were deprived of liberty, station, property, and civil rights. The Arians were

Persecution of heresy.

[d] *Baron.* ad Ann. 520-522.

[e] Both *Baronius* (Ann. 423, § 10) and *Ciacone* (Vit. John I.) describe John Catalinus as *cardinal*-priest of St. John and St. Paul, by the title of Pammachius. Though the title of cardinal-priest—principal or chief priest—may have been of early date, yet I believe it was not used in the sense afterwards affixed to it much before the age in which the parish clergy of Rome acquired the sole power of electing the Roman pontiffs. The parochial clergy of Rome, however, became at a very early period the counsellors in ordinary of the bishop, and his official attendants on all public occasions and ceremonies. When the pope became the monarch of the Church, it was natural enough that they who made him and surrounded him from his consecration to his grave should be styled *princes of the Church*. But it is a disingenuous artifice to carry back the title to an antiquity to which it has no pretension. There could be no princes before there was a king. Conf. *Ducange*, ad voc. Cardinalis.

still a numerous religious profession, even in the East; in Italy Arianism was the religion of the governing power. It was not advisable, therefore, to extend the like discipline to this class of dissenters; and the attempt of the emperor Justin to expel the Arians from their churches and to transfer them to the catholics—a preliminary step to more active persecution—was resented by Theodoric the Great as a flagrant insult to his own creed. With characteristic vigour, he determined to make the pope himself the instrument for redressing the wrongs of his co-religionists. The pontiff was accordingly sent to Constantinople, with peremptory instructions to press the revocation of the obnoxious edict. The measure was for the moment successful: the pope was received with the highest honours; he occupied the first place at the altar, crowned the emperor, and prevailed upon him, for obvious reasons, to forego for the present the gratification and the profits to be derived from the persecution of his Arian subjects.[f]

Theodoric the Great protects the Arians of the East.

But by this time suspicion of the ulterior designs of the court of Constantinople had taken full possession of the mind of Theodoric. Age, and the disappointment of every scheme for the accomplishment of a closer national union between his Roman and Gothic subjects, had exhausted his forbearance. He perceived that the Italians requited the contempt of the Gothic soldiery with a persevering aversion, enhanced by religious hatred. They had thwarted the measures of the sovereign by irritating resistance, and were more than suspected of treasonable intrigues with the chief of their own religious communion in the East. Hurried on by

Tyranny of Theodoric.

[f] Card. *Baronius* (Ann. 523, §§ 8-11) fully sympathises with the pope and the emperor in this unfortunate dilemma. He repudiates with indignation the supposition that a Roman pontiff could, from compulsion or from any other conceivable motive, become the protector of heretics. See Ep. Joh. Pap. Ann. 526, § 2. From this epistle, and a passage from the "Lives of the Martyrs" of *Gregory* of Tours, he endeavours to show that the imputation of interceding for the Arians is a calumny of the later Greeks. *Fleury* (tom. vii. p. 284) cannot get rid of the concurring testimony of the "Liber Pontificalis," the Greek *Theophanes*, and the "Historia Miscella" to that fact; but he rightly, no doubt, attributes the intercession of Pope John to no desire to relieve the Arians, or to any motive of religious toleration, but simply to his anxiety to protect the Italian churches from the resentment of their Arian masters. Conf. *Pagi*, not. ad *Baron.* Ann. 525, §§ 5-9.

jealousy and resentment, the aged monarch cast aside the principles upon which his government had been hitherto conducted.[g] His suspicions fell upon the innocent heads of his ministers Boëthius and Symmachus; and

Death of John I.

Pope John was immured in an unwholesome prison at Ravenna, where he shortly afterwards died.[h]

Election of Felix III.

Theodoric took the selection of a successor to the deceased pontiff into his own hands; and by his precept, Felix, the third of the name, a Samnite by birth, and probably a member of the Roman church, was after slight hesitation placed upon the papal throne.[i] The king had fathomed the designs of the Byzantine court for the recovery of its Italian dominion; nor could it have been a secret to him, that that scheme turned upon the religious sympathies of his people for the distant chief of their communion. The late accommodation, therefore, of the religious differences between the East and the West must have appeared to him fraught with danger to his government; perhaps he had arrived at some surmise that the facility of the emperor in the late arrangement was not unconnected with the execution of the sinister designs of the court of Constantinople. Certain it is that the late reconciliation opened a broad path for political intrigues: the correspondence of the Italian malcontents with the Byzantines had become intimate and active, and Theodoric resorted to measures of severity to check the spirit of resistance which his unbounded toleration had engendered and fostered among his Italian subjects. But before the effects of these steps became mani-

Death of Theodoric the Great.

fest, a distemper, which affected mind and body simultaneously, put an end to his existence,[j] after a long, and upon the whole beneficent, reign of thirty-four years from the death of Odovaker.

[g] Conf. Book II. c. vii. pp. 483, 484.

[h] Conf. *Baron.* and *Fleury*, ubi sup.; Hist. of the Germans, p. 542.

[i] Athalaric, the successor of Theodoric, in a letter to the Roman senate, alludes to this election in these terms: "Recipistis virum (Felicem), et divinâ gratiâ *probabiliter* institutum et *regali examine* laudatum," &c. (*Baron.* Ann. 526, § 3.) Conf. *Ciacone*, tom. i. p. 353. It appears, nevertheless, that Felix III. has obtained a niche in the Roman Pantheon.

[j] Theodoric the Great died on the 30th August 526.

The precise relation subsisting at this point of time between the Greek emperors and the Gothic sovereigns of Italy is of some moment to the progress of papal history. Though the emperor Zeno and his successors had sanctioned the introduction of foreign government in Italy by the successive recognitions of Odovaker and Theodoric, they pertinaciously continued to regard that country, no less than every other region that had at any time formed a portion of the empire, quite as much in the light of a province or appendage of their titular sovereignty as if it had never been severed from their dominion. With the pedantry of jurists, they maintained that in parting with the present possession they had never abandoned or impaired their dominium supremum; and that on the occurrence of any technical cause of forfeiture or escheat, they might lawfully resume the grant. In point of fact, the Gothic prince had taken possession as the grantee of the emperor;[k] and although the former always carefully excluded all interference with his government, yet he was equally solicitous to preserve in his addresses and demeanour that respectful tone and manner which threw a graceful veil over the more offensive forms of independent power. During the whole period of his reign, therefore, the claims of the Byzantine emperors were suffered to sleep. But his death, and the events which followed it in rapid succession, put an end to this amicable understanding, and introduced a change in the position of the Gothic monarchy which held out great encouragement to the scheme of re-annexation always uppermost in the mind of the court of Constantinople.

Imperial policy.

Theodoric was succeeded by his grandson Athalaric, a child as yet scarcely eight years of age, under the regency of his mother Amalasuintha, a daughter of the late monarch. The kingdom of the Goths thus became a prey to all the evils of a minority; the haughty warriors submitted reluctantly to female rule; and the regent was unable to control the precocious vices and caprices of the youthful king. But in the year 534 Athalaric died from the consequences of

Amalasuintha and Athalaric.

[k] *Jornandes*, c. 57, p. 696; *Procopius*, Hist. Goth. lib. i. c. i. p. 308.

premature intemperance; and his mother, in an evil hour, thought to perpetuate her power by marrying the Amalan prince Theodotus. But the new king-consort quickly undeceived her; he excluded her from all participation in the government, and soon afterwards caused her to be secretly strangled in the bath.[1]

Re-annexation of Rome to the empire.

In the year 527, the emperor Justin had caused his nephew the count Justinian and his wife Theodora to be nominated and crowned as his successors on the throne of the East. He himself died a few months afterwards, at the age of seventy-seven, after a reign of nine years. Within the first seven years of his reign Justinian had concluded a peace with the preponderant Persian power on his eastern frontier, and accomplished the conquest of the Vandal kingdom of Africa. His victorious general Belisarius had rapidly overrun the barbarian realm, recaptured Carthage, and conducted the Vandal king Gelimer a prisoner to the foot of his throne. With an army and a captain such as Rome had not seen since the days of Scipio or of Cæsar, the emperor boldly aspired to the conquest of Italy, where dissensions and the incapacity of Theodotus had prepared the way for his arms and fortune. He affected to consider the murder of Amalasuintha as a legitimate cause of forfeiture; a stranger to the original grant had usurped the vassal throne, and the inheritance of Theodoric was held to lapse to the imperial grantor. In the year 536 Belisarius, without a battle, overran the island of Sicily; whence he crossed to Calabria, and possessed himself of the important cities of Naples and Cumæ. In Rome, the boiling hatred of the citizens for their heretical rulers, co-operating with the misgovernment of Theodotus, had predisposed the minds of all classes for a change of masters. The Gothic garrison, enfeebled by mutiny and discontent, felt itself incompetent to defend its extended quarters against the apprehended insurrection of the citizens emboldened by the approach of their deliverers; they abandoned the city; and Belisarius put his sovereign once again in the posses-

[1] *Jornand.* c. lix. p. 701; *Procop.* ubi sup. lib. i. c. iv. p. 317.

sion of the ancient capital of the empire after a severance of sixty years' duration.[m]

Reigning pontiffs between the years 527 and 536.

During the period of nine years which elapsed between the death of Theodoric and the conquest of Rome by Belisarius,[n] the chair of Peter was occupied by four popes—Felix III., Boniface II., John II., and Agapetus—all elected under the patronage of the Gothic viceroys, if not by the direct nomination of the regent. But Amalasuintha, during her short ascendency, felt the expediency of keeping the Romans in good humour too strongly to pursue the rigorous measures contemplated by her father against the disaffected clergy of the capital. With a view to regain the lost popularity of the court of Ravenna, she published an edict transferring all suits, civil or criminal, brought against any clerk or minister of the Roman church to the adjudication of the pope himself, with an appeal to the civil courts only in the case of a palpable denial of justice by the pontiff.[o] The alleged motive for this extension of privilege was the frequency of vexatious actions, civil and criminal, against the Roman clergy; not improbably traceable to the restless spirit of that body, and the retaliatory disposition of the government officials.[p]

State of the Roman church within that period; Felix III.

But the feeble government of the regent was unequal to the difficulties she had to contend with, and the removal of the strong hand of Theodoric the Great at once reproduced the fruits of disorder and corruption in every element of the State. The Roman clergy, no longer curbed by the moral vigour of a Gelasius, a Felix, or a Hormisda, gave way to that seditious spirit, and lapsed into the corrupt habits, which the barbaric government and their own

[m] For these incidents the reader is referred to the works of *Jornandes* and *Procopius*, as above quoted.

[n] From the year 527 to 536.

[o] See the edict, ap. *Baron.* Ann. 537, §§ 64-66.

[p] The Theodosian laws certainly did not exempt the clergy from the jurisdiction of the civil courts in any but spiritual causes of action. All the "graviores causæ" were reserved; and in civil actions the lay party had his election to proceed either in the bishop's court or before the civil magistrate, "compromisso interposito." See Book II. c. vii. p. 467. It is true that the Roman clergy, in their petition to the court, claimed this extension as a matter of long custom, "longæ consuetudinis institutum;" but the claim is negatived by the tenor of the civil law, and could never have been recognised or admitted by the State.

ablest pontiffs had so long and so anxiously combated.[q] Pope Felix III. held the pontifical chair for the short space of three years and two months. He died in the year 530; and was succeeded by Bonifacius, the son of Sigevult, a priest of Gothic extraction, after a severe contest with a more popular candidate named Dioscorus. Both parties appear to have practiced open and shameless bribery,[r] and Boniface II. was indebted for the throne to the sudden death of his rival within a few days of his successful appeal to the popular constituency. The new pope ushered in his pontificate by a solemn curse upon the memory of his late competitor. In breach of all ecclesiastical order, he obtained from his synod a decree which empowered him to appoint his own successor; and he nominated his deacon Vigilius to the reversionary dignity. But a decree which annihilated the rights of the electoral body, and deprived the sovereign of his veto, offended all parties, and alarmed the regent. A synod convoked in the following year (531) annulled the decree; Boniface himself admitted his error, and in the presence of the council and senate burnt the decree with his own hand, confessing himself guilty of the crime of treason in procuring its enactment.[s]

Boniface II.

Odovaker had prohibited the diversion of church-property to secular purposes; and Theodoric, through the Church herself, had provided against the recurrence of those cabals and intrigues which had so frequently led to disturbances of the public peace, and given so much trouble to the government.[t] But these ordinances had been found to be practically inoperative. They did not extend to the crime of bribery in general, but to bribery by alienation or diversion of church-funds only; and it is probable that the execution of these statutes was not very closely watched so long as the infraction of them did not materially affect the interests of government. At this time, however, the senate of Rome—which as a political body

Bribery, and decree of the senate against it.

[q] Conf. Book III. c. ii. pp. 85, 87, 88.

[r] See Ep. Justiniani, ap. *Baron.* Ann. 530, § 4.

[s] *Anastas.* in Bonif., ap. *Baron.* Ann. 531, § 2; *Fleury*, tom. vii. p. 317—"Papa reum se confessus est *majestatis*."

[t] Book III. c. ii. pp. 88-100.

had almost disappeared from the historic stage, took an unwonted interest in the reformation of this abuse. They issued a decree, that if any one should, for the purpose of obtaining the bishopric of the city of Rome, be convicted of giving or promising *any article or thing* by way of bribe, either on his own behalf or on behalf of any other person, such contract or agreement should be altogether void; the guilty parties should forfeit their right of suffrage; the promises made be vacated, and the article or thing given be recoverable by action against the receiver.[u]

But the authority of the senate to make laws binding upon the clergy was soon put to the test. The death of Pope Boniface II., in the year 532, was followed by a repetition of those scenes of bribery and corruption which had disgraced his own election. Through the weakness of the regency, the choice of a successor had fallen back into the ordinary channel; and after a vacancy of unusual duration John, surnamed Mercurius,[v] was chosen pope. But in the course of his election the goods and property of the churches had been recklessly squandered in bribes by the candidates and their friends; promises had been lavishly dispensed, and even the sacred vessels of the altars put up to auction to procure funds for bribery or to favour friendly purchasers. The senate, indignant at so open a contempt of its recent ordinance, and disgusted with this public display of venality, presented the abuse to the court of Ravenna, and obtained a rescript addressed to Pope John II. confirming the senatus consultum for the suppression of bribery and simoniacal practices. The rescript recited and re-enacted all the provisions of that decree; but it went a step beyond, and extended them to all the patriarchal and metropolitan chairs throughout the kingdom of Italy; and lastly, with a view to prevent extortion on the part of the officers of government, it was ordered that whenever a contested election should occur, and the successful candidate should come to the sovereign for his confirmation, the officers of the court

John II. pope; reiterated edict against bribery.

[u] *Cassiodorus*, Epp. lib. ix. ep. 15.

[v] He is said to have been so called on account of his eloquence.

should in no case accept from a newly elected pope more than 3000 solidi as fees of office, nor more than 2000 from patriarchs and metropolitans. Simple bishops were to be allowed to distribute among their people a sum not exceeding 500 solidi; and rigorous punishments were denounced against all who should either offer or accept more than these specific sums. The pope was moreover ordered to publish the ordinance in all churches subject to his pastoral superintendence; and the prefect of the city, Salvantius, was directed to have it inscribed upon marble tablets and posted up conspicuously in the vestibule of the church of St. Peter, as the proper mode of recording the royal pleasure, "and giving due honour to the laudable decree of the most noble senate."[w]

Secular interposition for the correction of ecclesiastical abuses.

The character of these decrees has been thought materially to affect the papal claims. It appears clearly enough that neither the Roman senate nor the Gothic rulers entertained any doubt of their competency to recall the pastors of the church to a sense of their duty by direct legislative interference, and to enforce the abatement of the scandalous nuisance complained of by legal penalties. The pope himself was to be bound by the decree in the same sense, and to the same extent, as all other persons named; and he is treated throughout as an instrument in the hand of the legislature for the purpose of bringing the law to the knowledge of the clergy and people of Italy. The ordinance of the senate, and the confirmatory decree of Athalaric, therefore bear the stamp of a direct secular interposition for the correction of ecclesiastical abuses.[x]

Church-policy of the emperor Justinian.

It may be advantageous in this place to compare the almost simultaneous policy of the emperor Justinian in relation to ecclesiastical

[w] *Cassiodor.* lib. ix. ep. 16; *Baron.* Ann. 533, §§ 32, 40; *Fleury*, tom. vii. pp. 322, 323.

[x] Baronius endeavours to get rid of the offensive aspect of this decree by a disingenuous misinterpretation of a passage in the decree. The complaint of those malpractices is stated to have reached the royal ear through the "Defensor Ecclesiæ Romanæ," an officer who was assigned to the churches to watch over their interests in the civil courts. Whether this officer was the direct representative or agent of the bishop at the court of the sovereign or not, it is clear from the words of the edict that he made his complaint "cum apostolicæ sedis *peteretur* antistes;" consequently, before John II. was pope. *Baron.* Ann. 333, § 33, p. 467.

legislation, with a view to obtain a more general idea of the respective shares which public opinion in this age assigned to the temporal and spiritual powers in the external government of the Church. Upon the lights we may obtain on this point, it is obvious, must in a great measure depend the claim of the great Latin patriarch to have been from all time exempt from secular legislation, except such as either moved from himself, or was sanctioned by his solicitation or direct participation.[y]

Scope of his ecclesiastical laws.

Between the years 528 and 534, the emperor Justinian issued numerous decrees directly affecting the government, discipline, and revenues of the churches within his own dominions. Though throughout this period Rome was in the hands of the Goths, yet Italy was still regarded by the Byzantine monarchs as an integral portion of the empire, so that, when reduced into possession, it would be legally regarded as in all respects subject to the existing laws of the State and the Church; consequently, in that contingency, the chief of the Latin communion would come under that general code of laws then lately published by the emperor for the prevention of abuses and the maintenance of canonical discipline in the whole body of the Church.

Objects of the Justinianian laws.

We describe generally the more important of these laws, especially those which most plainly show the intent of the legislator to impose laws upon the Church by the authority of the State-politic. In one of these earlier ordinances he enforces the residence of the bishops on their sees, and attaches the penalty of *excommunication* for non-residence.[z] Another of an equally early date regulates episcopal elections and defines the persons by whom bishops shall be elected, and the qualifications of candidates for the episcopacy. The same law places the civil rights of the bishops, more especially as respects property and succession to private estate, upon more certain grounds; it provides for the proper management of church-funds, with a view

[y] The affirmative is dogmatically maintained by all the advocates of the Roman prerogative.

[z] *Cod. Just.* lib. i. tit. iii. l. 43.

to the prevention of embezzlement and misapplication; it rigorously denounces bribery and all simoniacal practices at ordinations and in filling ecclesiastical appointments; it prescribes the strict performance of their duties by the body of the clergy; and holds the bishops responsible for the conduct of their inferiors and officials, directing them to degrade from their orders all who should neglect the service of their churches.[a]

For the due regulation of episcopal elections, Justinian ordained that on every vacancy, three persons of orthodox faith and blameless lives should be nominated by the electoral body, and presented by them to the emperor for his choice.[b] Other laws were enacted for the regulation of monasteries and religious houses;[c] for the settlement of the civil rights and liabilities of the clergy and other religious persons;[d] for extending and defining the jurisdictions of the bishops in sundry civil matters; and for determining the form of proceeding in the trial and punishment of bishops and clergy for ecclesiastical offences.[e]

Secular and political character of these laws.

The ecclesiastical code of Justinian is arranged under no fewer than thirteen titles, and it enters into all the minutiæ of doctrine and discipline: it defines orthodoxy; it provides for the suppression and punishment of heresy; it determines the rights and privileges of bishops and clergy, their officers and assistants; it regulates the government, conduct, and discipline of the monastic orders, ascetics, and cenobites; and lays down precise rules for the dispensation of the funds belonging to hospitals and charitable institutions. To the breach of these laws the code applies temporal as well as spiritual penalties, in most cases without reference to any other authority but the plenitude of the imperial prerogative. All canons and ecclesiastical regulations acquire the force of law only by the fiat of the prince;[f] and so amply is this arbitrary agency displayed, both in the internal and external government of

[a] *Cod. Just.* lib. i. tit. iii. l. 42.
[b] *Ibid.* l. 48.
[c] *Ibid.* ll. 44, 47.
[d] *Ibid.* l. 53.
[e] *Ibid.* lib. i. tit. iv. l. 29.

[f] "*Sancimus enim vicem legum obtinere* sanctas ecclesiasticas regulas quæ a sanctis quatuor conciliis expositæ sunt aut formatæ," &c. *Novell.* cxxxi. c. i.

the Church, that the emperor does not scruple to supply the deficiencies of canonical precept, wherever change or addition appeared requisite for the more perfect execution of spiritual ordinances and their adaptation to the civil law of the empire.[g]

Of the limits of the ecclesiastical and secular powers in church-legislation.

Yet it should be observed, that the whole tone and tenor of these laws denote a desire on the part of the imperial legislator to adhere religiously to apostolical authority; and, above all things, to avoid innovation or encroachment upon the primitive doctrine, discipline, and customs of the Church. He believed, indeed, that the free concurrence and consent of the prince, testified by his official authentication, was essential to impart legal force and validity to all general ordinances of the Church; but he as fully admitted that primitive antiquity and the canons of the four general councils constituted the rule by which both the temporal and spiritual powers were to be governed; and that neither party could lawfully act in defiance of the other, or without regard to the fundamental rule binding upon both. The *initiative in the origination of ecclesiastical ordinances* does not yet appear to have been a matter of dispute between the Church and the State; and although the independent character which the former had always maintained in its relations to the latter tended naturally to cast the duty of original legislation into the hands of the clergy, yet it was so always with the understanding—at least on the part of the civil state—that that power was not to be excluded from a direct influence and control in all cases where the interests of the State became in any way involved in the order, government, or constitution of the Church. But in the process of time these cases became every year more and more numerous. The clergy increased yearly in numbers, wealth, privileges, exemptions, and more particularly in moral and political power over the temper and opinions of the subjects of the temporal state. Accordingly a much greater latitude of interference in

[g] *Pagi*, Annot. ad *Baron.* Ann. 528, § 6, p. 392. Conf. *P. de Mornay*, Myst. Iniquit. pp. 82, 83.

ecclesiastical legislation had become indispensable; and it was—reluctantly perhaps—conceded to and exercised by the prince. A sense of manifest convenience and of obvious political expediency alone had hitherto for the most part determined the reciprocal action of the spiritual and temporal powers upon each other; and any attempt from acts done under this state of things by either or both parties to extract definite legal principles, fixing the limits of their respective shares in church-legislation, must lead to very questionable results.

Relations of Justinian to the Roman pontiffs.

The relations of the emperor Justinian with the pontifical court of Rome prior to the conquests of Belisarius are somewhat perplexed and obscure. His designs for the recovery of Italy depended mainly upon the dispositions of the clergy, and the favour of their chief. Again, the influence of the pope in the East was still formidable. Before the death of Boniface II. (A.D. 532), the bishops of Illyricum Orientale had again hoisted the standard of revolt, and formally renounced dependence upon their ancient metropolitan of Thessalonica, who had adhered firmly to the communion of Constantinople, and acknowledged in some shape the superiority of the metropolitan patriarch over his diocese.[h] The emperor supported the pretensions of Thessalonica and Constantinople; but the bishops alleged the universal primacy of St. Peter's chair, and their own ancient connection with Rome, as grounds of exemption from all other patriarchal superintendence. Constantinople resented this claim as spiritual rebellion, and the emperor adopted her cause; in all the memorials and remonstrances addressed to him, he would not permit the name of the bishop of Rome to be even mentioned.[i]

Ambiguous language of Justinian; title of "universal patriarch."

But the language, and probably the policy, of Justinian tended—perhaps designedly—to introduce ambiguity in the relations of the two great patriarchates to one another and to the State. In the course of his spiritual legislation, he addressed the patriarch of Constantinople by the style and title of "the most holy and blessed archbishop

[h] Conf. ch. iii. of this Book, p. 129. [i] *Fleury*, tom. vii. pp. 318 to 332.

of the imperial city, and *universal patriarch*;"[j] and described the church of that capital as the "*head of all the churches.*" And yet, in the preamble to a decree passed in the following year (534) touching heretical opinions, the confession of faith, the four general councils, and some other matters of purely religious interest, the emperor addressed Pope John II. as "the most holy John, archbishop and patriarch of the illustrious city of Rome." "Rendering," he said, "all honour to the apostolic see, and to your holiness as our father in the faith, we have given all due diligence to bring to the knowledge of your holiness all things which concern the state of the Church. For it hath always been our especial study to maintain the unity of communion with your see, and to preserve that state of the holy churches which hath hitherto subsisted and still subsists undisturbed. Therefore we have been diligent *both in subjecting and uniting unto your holiness all the clergy of the entire region of the East*; . . . and it is our firm resolve never to permit any matter touching the general state of the Church to be stirred, however manifest and free from doubt such matters may be, without notifying the same to your holiness, who are *the head of all the holy churches*; thus in all things striving to increase the honour and authority of your see."[k]

The metropolitan of Constantinople, though compli-

[j] *Cod. Justinian.* lib. i. tit. i. l. 7, de Summa Trin.: a remarkable instance of studied verbal ambiguity. After addressing Epiphanius by the title of "universal patriarch," he declares it to be his intention that all things relating to the state of the Church should be brought to his cognisance: "Cognoscere volentes tuam sanctitatem ea omnia quæ ad ecclesiasticum spectant statum." But in the same breath he declares it to be his pleasure to preserve the union of the churches with the "most holy the pope of Old Rome," and that all matters pertaining to the state of the Church shall be in like manner referred to the pope: "Nec enim patimur ut quicquam eorum quæ ecclesiasticum spectant statum, non *etiam* ad ejusdem (papæ) referatur beatitudinem; quum ea sit *caput omnium sanctissimorum Dei sacerdotum*: vel *eo maxime* quod, quoties in iis locis hæretici pullularunt, et sententia, et recto judicio (*τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ ὀρθῇ κρίσει*) illius venerabilis sedis coerciti sunt." Upon these words Rome might claim as "caput omnium, &c." what Constantinople might with equal propriety reject as "œcumenical patriarch." Both had an equal claim to judicial cognisance of all matters touching the state of the Church; but Rome might pretend to be the higher tribunal, both as "caput" and as "universal pope." But this term "caput" is after all reduceable to mere social rank, as explained by the canons of Constantinople (341) and of Chalcedon (452). However, he afterwards gave the same title to Constantinople.

[k] *Cod. Just.* lib. i. tit. ii. de Episc. et Cler. l. 24. See also the terms of l. 6, lib. i. tit. i.

Probable intent and meaning of this language.

mented with the title of "œcumenical patriarch" and "head of all the churches," and thus far placed upon a level with the bishop of Rome, does not, it must be admitted, appear in the same strong light with the latter as the centre of religious union. Justinian, it is true, abstained from defining the *kind* of "subjection" to which he desired to reduce the Eastern churches; yet the language of his address might encourage the church of Rome to propose herself to the world as the *acknowledged* spiritual chief of the visible Church in every respect of rank, dignity, and authority. But we suspect that this language was either merely complimentary, or that it imported something very different from the sense attached to it by Rome. The treatment of the Illyrian bishops when they evinced their determination to carry out practically the principles of subjection and obedience ostensibly adopted by the emperor in his public professions, seems to indicate that he did not intend to yield up the independence of the Eastern churches, or to impute to the see of Rome a spiritual autocracy at all analogous to that which he himself exercised in the temporal government. It is tolerably clear that Justinian kept in view the principles adopted by the councils of Constantinople and Chalcedon;[l] and that he was as little disposed as the fathers of the Greek church to yield either the kind or the amount of jurisdiction claimed by the see of Rome. Thus, at a later period of his reign, he declares and ordains that, "*in conformity with the definition of the general councils* of the Church, the most holy the pope of the older (senioris) Rome shall be the chief of all priests; and that the most blessed the archbishop of Constantinople, or New Rome, shall have the second place after the most holy apostolic see of Old Rome, and shall *rank above all other sees.*"[m]

But Pope John II. accepted these declarations in

[l] Conf. Book II. c. i. p. 257; and ibid. c. v. p. 402.

[m] *Novell.* cxxxi. c. ii. This novell contains the following provision in favour of the newly-erected archbishopric of Justiniania Prima: "The archb. of J.P. shall have jurisdiction over the bishoprics of Dacia Mediterranea, Dacia Ripensis, Prævalitana, Dardania, Mœsia Superior, and Pannonia, and they shall be ordained by him; he himself (the archbishop) shall be ordained by the bishops of the diocese, so as *in the provinces subject to him to have the place*

their literal and widest sense; and in his acknowledgment for the edict of 534, he thus enlarges upon the terms: "Among the conspicuous virtues," he says, "which adorn your wisdom and clemency, most gracious prince, that virtue which shineth with a purer lustre is, that with the love of the faith and the study of charity you combine a perfect acquaintance with *ecclesiastical law and discipline;* and that, preserving the reverence due to the Roman see, *you have subjected all things unto her*, and reduced all churches to that unity *which dwelleth in her alone, to whom the Lord, through the prince of the apostles, did delegate all power;* . . . . and that the apostolic see is in verity the *head of all churches* both the rules of the fathers and the statutes of the princes do manifestly declare, and the same is now witnessed by your imperial piety."

Pope John II. accepts the imperial declaration as an acknowledgment of the universal primacy of Rome.

But though there was here ample room for explanation and discussion, neither party seemed willing to ventilate the matter any further. The emperor was satisfied with vindicating the dignity of his metropolitan see upon the ground already laid down by two general councils of the Church; and Rome, backed by the prodigious spiritual influence she had established in the Christian world, was left at liberty to appeal to the terms of the imperial acknowledgments, as confirmatory evidence of her title to the universal primacy with all its inferential rights and appurtenances. The Gallic churches at this period were falling rapidly into the Roman view of the primacy. From the time of Pope Hilarus, successor to Leo the Great,[n] those churches remained in undeviating attachment to Rome.

Attachment of the Gallic churches to Rome.

(*τὸν τόπον ἐπέχειν*) *of the apostolic see of Rome*, according to the regulation of the most holy pope Vigilius." What that regulation was, we do not know; but the words of the decree may denote either a transfer of the powers theretofore exercised by the popes in those provinces (all of them portions of the great diocese of Illyricum Orientale) to the new archbishop, or that the latter was to be regarded as the vicar of the pope in the new diocese, as the archbishop of Thessalonica had been in the old. If the latter exposition be adopted, it might (if we knew what this regulation of Pope Vigilius was) amount to a legislative acknowledgment of the papal vicariate in all the provinces which constituted the two dioceses of Thessalonica and Justiniania Prima.

[n] Conf. Book II. c. vi. pp. 439 et sqq.

All the "more weighty causes" (graviores causæ) which had arisen in the administration of ecclesiastical law and discipline, had been allowed to flow to Rome as the proper court of appeal in like cases. The decree of Valentinian III. had fructified in Gaul and many other portions of the Latin church to such an extent, as to stifle every idea of lawful resistance to the supreme visitatorial and appellate jurisdiction of the pope. And as soon as Africa was annexed to the empire by the victorious arms of Belisarius, the orthodox bishops of that province hastened to renew the spiritual bonds which united them with Rome, and reiterate their assurances of unbounded confidence and attachment to the holy see. So in the year 534, Reparatus bishop of Carthage, by the advice of a council of two hundred and seventeen African prelates, respectfully addressed Pope John II., requesting his advice and instruction as to the course to be pursued with reference to the Arian prelates who with the change of rulers had embraced the Catholic doctrine. "Though," they said, "we thought it inexpedient that these converts should be allowed to retain their ecclesiastical rank, yet it seems to us most consistent with the law of charity that this our opinion should not be made public without first ascertaining what custom or authentic rule may have been adopted by the Roman church upon this question. Now we—being persuaded that you, sitting upon the chair of Peter, and being thereby entitled to all respect and reverence, are filled with all charity, and ever speak the truth in sincerity, and do nothing in the spirit of pride—with the true affection of our whole communion, resort to you for your counsel and advice in this matter."[o]

The Africans renew their communion with Rome.

This address was received and replied to by Agapetus, the successor of John II. on the papal throne. Though nothing more appears in it than a high regard for St. Peter's chair and an earnest desire to be guided in a matter of difficulty by the advice of the pontiff as laid down by the rules of his own church in like cases, yet Agapetus, in accordance with the

Their address; how received by Pope Agapetus.

[o] *Baron.* Ann. 535, §§ 22 to 24; *Hard.* Conc. tom. ii. p. 1154.

now habitual policy of Rome, treated the application purely as a matter of dutiful homage, and called upon them to accept and publish his decision—a decision expressly asked for of their own "free love and affection"—as the decree of a lawful superior. "I rejoice," said the pope in his reply, "that amidst the afflictions of your bondage you have not lost sight of the *principality of the apostolic see;* but that, *as by your duty you are bound,* you have sought relief from the doubt which hath of late arisen among you from that chair to which the power of the portals (of heaven and hell) hath been committed." And Reparatus was especially directed to interpose his metropolitan authority for the due execution of the pontifical decree; "so that no one thereafter should be enabled to pretend ignorance of the decision of the apostolic see *upon consideration of the canons.*"[p]

Practice of confounding the "canons" of the Church-catholic with the particular constitutions of the Roman church.

The Roman church had by this time contracted the habit of confounding the "canons," properly so called,[q] with her own local customs and maxims. What those "canons" were upon which the decision on the application of the African bishops was framed, appears clearly from the reply of the same pope to the intercession of the emperor Justinian on behalf of the Arian convert bishops and priesthood of Africa. Agapetus observed, that the difficulty in acceding to the emperor's request arose from the impossibility of reconciling the retention of their sees by the penitents with the "*public synodal constitutions*"[r] of the apostolic see. These constitutions therefore, which were now destined to form a code of law for the Church-catholic, were in truth no other than the particular customs and usages of the church of Rome. But that church did not often deal with the term with the same degree of plainness as upon this occasion. She much oftener used it without any reference to its source, and in such general words as to keep out of sight its special and local origin. Of this habit some

[p] See the two letters, ap. *Baron.* Ann. 535, §§ 37-41. Not in *Hard.* Conc.

[q] That is, the rules laid down by councils of the Church, general or special.

[r] "Aperta et synodalia constituta." See the Rescript of Agapetus, ap. *Baron.* Ann. 535, § 50. Conf. note (h) ch. iii. p. 103 of this Book.

instances have already, and many more must hereafter, come under our notice. But the long-cherished principle, that all spiritual enactments derived their sole claim to the obedience of Christians from the chair of Peter, led naturally to the assumption of a direct legislative authority in herself; and thus the papal law became in papal contemplation the law of the Church-catholic; and with this persuasion on their minds, the popes of Rome could admit no distinction between their own "public synodal ordinances" and the enactments of the whole church-constituency. The power of the keys was held to override all other considerations in the construction and administration of the law-Christian; and by the law of Rome the African church would be now as little excused in distinguishing between that law and the legislative acts of the four general councils, as they were held to be when, in the year 422, they objected to the supposititious canons of the council of Nicæa urged upon them by Pope Cœlestine.[s]

Agapetus pope; his dangerous position.

Pope Agapetus had succeeded to John II. in the year 535; and found himself at his accession in a position of great danger and difficulty. The throne of the Goths was occupied by the feeble and abandoned Amalan prince Theodotus, the husband and murderer of the unfortunate daughter of Theodoric the Great. The disaffection of the senate, the clergy and the people of Rome towards their barbaric rulers was ripening into open revolt. Meanwhile the conquest of Sicily by Belisarius, and his active preparations for the invasion of Italy, had filled the minds of the Gothic occupants with jealous alarm threatening to the lives and property of the citizens. A proposal of peace upon terms of great advantage to the emperor had been rejected, and Theodotus resolved to make the pope his instrument for diverting the threatened invasion. Agapetus was put on board a ship for Constantinople, with orders to dissuade Justinian from his design; with the threat that the senators, their wives and children, should answer with their lives for the success of his mission. Poverty, distress, and danger, surrounded the pope on

[s] Conf. Book II. c. ii. pp. 306 et sqq., and *ibid.* c. v. p. 410 with note (u).

every side. The Church was at this moment reduced to such a state of penury, that Agapetus was obliged to pledge the sacred vessels of his altars to procure the needful funds for his journey;[t] and when, on the 2d of February 536, he arrived at Constantinople, he found the emperor inexorably bent upon the re-conquest of Italy, and deaf to every proposal that might arrest the progress of his arms. Belisarius was already far advanced on his march to Rome; and the mission of the pope, so far as it related to any political object, was at an end. But this termination of his embassy was by no means prejudicial to the spiritual interests of the papacy. Political and religious cabals were as the breath of life to the Byzantine court; and it was now, as ever, split up into factions contending for ascendency by every artifice of intrigue and deceit. On his arrival in the capital, Agapetus found himself for the moment the object of commanding interest to all these parties. Singular as it may seem, the empress Theodora had placed herself at the head of a faction professing the most violent antipathy to the decrees of Chalcedon, while her imperial consort professed an equally devout attachment to catholic doctrine. By her secret influence, Anthimus bishop of Trapezus, a prelate in private attached to the Eutychian tenets, was, upon the death of Euphemius in the year 535, raised to the patriarchal chair. But Pope Agapetus, to whom the heresy of Anthimus was speedily made known, resolutely refused to communicate with him unless he consented to make a public declaration of his belief in the "two natures;" to admit the uncanonical character of his election,[u] and return to his bishopric of Trapezus. The patriarch declined these hard terms; the emperor withdrew his support; and Anthimus resigned

His embassy to Constantinople.

Intrigues of the empress Theodora; Anthimus patriarch.

[t] We meet with no complaints of spoliation by the Goths; consequently this sudden failure of the hitherto notorious wealth and luxury of the Roman pontiffs can only be accounted for by the prodigality of bribery, simony, and corruption, more especially in the papal elections, which seems to have become a chronic disease of that church at this period. Conf. *Cassiodor.* Varior. lib. xii. ep. 20; and ch. ii. pp. 85 and 99 of this Book.

[u] The more ancient canons of the Church strictly excluded bishops from deserting their sees for others. Translations were altogether uncanonical down to a much later period.

Deposition of Anthimus; Mennas patriarch.

his chair. Mennas, the orthodox warden of the hospital of St. Samson at Constantinople, was elected to succeed him; and at the request of Justinian the new patriarch was solemnly consecrated by the pope.[v]

Imperial principle of church-legislation.

The catholic party, who had from the moment of his arrival regarded the pope as the champion of their cause, were well disposed to reward him with the outward honours of the victory. And in this frame of mind, they were not likely to be either shocked or alarmed to hear the deposition of Anthimus—perhaps also the elevation of Mennas—described as the simple act of papal omnipotence. But at court certain other proceedings were thought necessary to give legal validity to the papal sentence. A synod was in the first instance called to register and confirm the decree; and thus the canonical rule which assigns the cognisance of episcopal causes to the comprovincial bishops was to a certain extent satisfied.[w] Yet although the ecclesiastical proceeding may have been completed in due form, it could not become law without the imperial consent.[x] But Pope Agapetus had in the mean time died at Constantinople; and not long afterwards, and within the same year, the emperor published his legislative decree in terms clearly indicating the share which he assigned to the civil power in the enactment of ecclesiastical laws. The edict was addressed to the patriarch Mennas; it sanctioned all the proceedings of the late synod, including more particularly the deposition of Anthimus. In the preamble he set forth the principle adopted for the government of the case. "As often," he said, "as by sentence of the bishops unworthy priests have been deposed from their sees, *the imperial decree hath passed concurrently with theirs;* in order that, human and divine authority, combining in one and the same act, may together frame *one* true and perfect law for all. . . . . Upon this principle we

[v] *Liberatus*, ap. *Baron.* Ann. 536, § 17; *Lib. Pontif. Anastas.*, ap. *Muratori*, Ss. Rr. Ital. tom. iii. pp. 128, 405.

[w] Presuming even the *Canons of Sardica* to have been accepted as the rule. Conf. Book I. c. ix. pp. 206, 207: see particularly Book I. c. viii. pp. 190, 191; and Book II. c. i. p. 256.

[x] Conf. Book I. c. viii. p. 184.

propose to treat what hath lately been done in the cause of Anthimus, whom Agapetus of holy and glorious memory, late pontiff of the most holy and most ancient see of Old Rome, hath in the first instance by common consent deposed from our holy (metropolitan) see, for that he (Anthimus) had without his consent and against the holy canons intruded himself into that see, and who after that was also condemned and deposed by a sacred synod here assembled, for divers errors in faith and doctrine."[y]

Course of proceeding described.

The course of proceeding in this case was obviously the following: the papal resolution upon the subject in hand had set the proper ecclesiastical authority in motion; and when that tribunal had performed its part, the emperor stepped in with the temporal sanction necessary to impart the force of law to the common decision. The share assigned to the pope is little more than that of official prosecutor, though acknowledged in terms more ample and flattering in proportion to the exalted dignity of the prelate from whom the proceeding moved in the first instance. The origination is beyond dispute assigned to the pope; yet no larger participation can be imputed to him, unless we should hold that the respective shares of the several authorities engaged in the transaction had *at the time* been all believed to merge in that participation—a supposition for which no sufficient ground appears in the documents before us.[z]

Intrigue of Theodora and Vigilius.

Pope Agapetus died at Constantinople on the 22d of April A.D. 536, about eight months before the occupation of Rome by Belisarius; and Sylverius, a son of Pope Hormisda, was nominated by Theodotus and adopted by the clergy of Rome as his successor.[a] At this moment Vigilius, a deacon of the church of Rome, resided at Constantinople as apocrisarius, or resident legate, of the holy see. Under the patronage of the empress Theodora, the intrigues of the Eutychian

[y] *Cod. Just.* Const. Novell. xlii. p. 77. This decree condemned together with Anthimus, Theodosius of Alexandria, Severus of Antioch, Peter of Apamæa, and Zoaras; all of them leaders of the Eutychian faction.

[z] But on the other part, see the declarations of *Baronius*, Ann. 536, §§ 22, 23, 408.

[a] *Anastas.* Biblioth. says that the election was procured by intimidation. Vit. Sylv., ap. *Murat.* Ss. Rr. Ital. tom. iii. p. 129.

party in the East had become active and general; and the chance which now presented itself of establishing that doctrine in the West was too inviting to be overlooked by the unscrupulous princess. Vigilius lent himself to the scheme of the empress for deposing Sylverius, and substituting a Eutychian pope in his chair. It was privately agreed between Theodora and the legate that the former should supply him with letters to Belisarius and his wife Antonina to forward his elevation to the papacy; that for that purpose a sum of seven hundred pounds of gold should be placed at his disposal; and that he should—privately in the first instance, and, when successful, publicly—embrace the communion of Theodosius of Alexandria and the Eutychian confession.[b]

Intrigue of Belisarius and Antonina.

On the 10th of December 536, Belisarius, by the aid of Pope Sylverius and the citizens, had made himself master of the city of Rome. Theodotus had fallen by the hands of his indignant subjects; and Vitiges, a prince of ability and vigour, had mounted the tottering throne of the Goths. In the following year the concentrated force of the Gothic monarchy marched to recover their capital; but the masterly defence of Belisarius repelled every assault of the besiegers, and his good fortune or sagacity enabled him to frustrate the intrigues of the enemy with a party favourable to their views within the walls. The detected plot served the confederates, Vigilius, Belisarius, and Antonina, as the basis of the intrigue for the accomplishment of the views of their imperial patroness. Sylverius was charged with holding treasonable communications with the Gothic partisans; and Belisarius adopted the accusation with a view to intimidate Sylverius rather than to promote the prospects of Vigilius, whom he and his rapacious consort thus hoped to deprive of the pecuniary advantage of his bargain with the empress. But the integrity of the pope was proof against the threats and promises of the general; and when all prospect of prevailing upon him to apostatise from the faith of Chalcedon

[b] *Liberat.* in Breviar. c. xxii.; *Baron.* Ann. 536, § 123; *Fleury*, tom. vii. p. 389; *Anastas.* Biblioth. ubi sup.

had vanished, he was secretly conveyed on board a ship and detained a prisoner at Patara, in Lycia.[c]

Deportation of Sylverius, and election of Vigilius.

The immediate effect of the re-annexation of Rome to the empire was to place the see of that city in much the same position with respect to the civil state as that of Constantinople. Practically the Byzantine patriarch was the nominee of the crown, and had always been *de facto* removable at the pleasure of the prince. And now that Belisarius was master of Rome, he saw no reason to vary the practice in favour of the Roman patriarch. The very day after the abduction of Sylverius he called the clergy together; he announced the deposition of the traitor-pope, and met with no difficulty in procuring the immediate election of Vigilius, as if the throne were vacant. According to compact, Belisarius now appropriated two hundred out of the seven hundred pounds of gold which Vigilius had obtained from the empress, and insisted upon the immediate execution of the secret articles of the compact. But Vigilius knew how worthless a possession the see of Rome must become in the hands of one who should venture to strike a blow at the venerated council of Chalcedon. He took refuge in procrastination, and awaited the progress of events. The policy of Justinian is enigmatical; it is not, indeed, improbable that he connived to a certain extent at the machinations of his consort; but the lawless deposition of Sylverius was too violent a measure to pass unreproved, and the persecuted pontiff was conveyed back to Rome, to await there the result of an inquiry into the charges preferred against him. Alarmed by the re-appearance of his rival, Vigilius addressed the stipulated letters of communion to Theodosius of Alexandria, and to Anthimus and Severus, the reprobate patriarchs of Constantinople and Antioch. In these letters he professed to hold the same faith with them; he denied the "two natures," abjured the doctrines of Chalcedon, and renounced communion with its defenders.[d]

[c] *Baron.* Ann. 538, §§ 15-19. Conf. *Id.* Ann. 540, § 4: see also *Fleury*, tom. vii. p. 391.

[d] *Baron.* and *Fleury*, ubi sup.; *Liberat.* in Breviar.; *Anastas.* in Vit. Sylv. et Vigil. The cardinal denies the authenticity of these letters: see *Pagi*, not. ad loc. Baron. contra. *Fleury*

Murder of Sylverius, and recantation of Vigilius.

The miserable bargain was sealed by the murder of Sylverius. Belisarius delivered the deposed pontiff into the hands of his rival, and he was by him conveyed to the island of Palmaria, where he was soon afterwards starved to death. But it appears that Justinian had by this time obtained more definite intelligence of the intrigues of his Eutychian consort at Rome; and though not disposed to scrutinise the iniquities of his empress or his officers as long as they did not materially interfere with his own crooked policy, it became clear to the confederates that the contemplated apostasy was too dangerous an experiment to be persevered in. They therefore withheld the letters of communion addressed to the heretical prelates; and Vigilius hastened, no doubt this time with unfeigned alacrity, to purify himself to Justinian from the suspicion of having participated in that criminal transaction: he protested that his faith had ever been that of his predecessors, St. Leo, Hormisda, John I., and Agapetus; he professed his unvarying belief in the doctrine of the four general councils, with the tomus of Pope Leo on the "two natures" annexed; and he renounced and condemned with all his heart the doctrine of the heretics Theodosius, Anthimus, Severus, Zoaras, and Peter of Apamæa.[e]

The election of Vigilius void *ab initio*.

Though the doctrinal apostasy of Vigilius admits of no reasonable doubt, yet as it was not made public, Rome is saved from the disgrace of numbering a self-condemned heretic among her pontiffs. But the defects of his election are incurable; and if this pope is to be taken as a link in an uninterrupted succession of *canonical* pontiffs, his advocates have insuperable difficulties to encounter. By every known rule of canon law his election was void from the beginning. It cannot be pretended that Sylverius was legally deposed; therefore when Vigilius intruded himself *there was no vacancy*. This defect in his title was not cured by any subsequent valid election;[f] and the legal in-

agrees with Pagi as to their genuineness.

[e] The names are those of the persons condemned by the last synod of Constantinople, and after that by the decree of Justinian, Novell. p. 42.

[f] Baronius boldly affirms that the uncanonical election of Vigilius was *after-*

ference arises that Vigilius never was pope, and that the whole space of his alleged pontificate was one long interregnum of eighteen years and upwards. Hence doubt and perplexity are introduced into the succession of all ecclesiastical orders and offices derived through him; and the Latin church cannot at this moment have any sufficient assurance of the title of its priesthood or the validity of its orders.[g]

Defects in the canonical title of the papacy.

It is true that Vigilius has retained his place among the legitimate popes. And, indeed, if the church of Rome had suffered his name to drop out of the catalogue, it is unimaginable how she could retain those of many of his predecessors. For if bribery and simoniacal bargainings, if secular interference and intrigue, popular intimidation and violence, had been thought fatal to the validity of the papal elections, not many pontiffs within the last century could have exhibited an unexceptionable title. The only course, therefore, is to rest that title upon recognition; and to presume that in every case to which an historical defect attaches, it was set right by some subsequent unrecorded curative proceeding. None of the more important sees of Christendom were in fact in any better condition in this respect than that of Rome. Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and probably many others, had for a long time past been polluted by disorders which set all laws, human and divine, at open defiance. Simony, intrigue, and violence were the ordinary weapons of spiri-

wards cured by a valid election. His only witness is Anastasius the librarian, whom on other occasions he flouts unmercifully. But the words of Anastasius himself prove nothing. He says, that after Sylverius was sent away "cessavit episcopatus dies sex." "Therefore," saith the cardinal, "Vigilius must have descended from the usurped chair, and submitted to a regular election." But Anastasius blunders, as usual. He mentions only one exile of Sylverius, and tells us that he died and was buried in *Pontus*. It is, however, clear that he *was alive* when Vigilius was raised to the pontificate. But whether the words have reference to the abduction to Patara, or to Palmaria, it is undoubted that Vigilius wrote his letters of communion to the heretical bishops before the death of Sylverius at Palmaria. Therefore the latter was alive long after Vigilius occupied the chair.

[g] That is, always supposing that an uninterrupted transmission through canonically qualified pastors be essential to the validity of orders. Cardinal *Baronius* (Ann. 540, §§ 8-10) cuts the Gordian knot: "The providence of God," he says, "permits no moral or ceremonial stain to adhere to the chair of Peter, however gross the personal demerits of its occupants."

tual candidature; and when these weapons were sheathed, bishops were most frequently chosen out of simple deference for the equally scandalous interference of the civil magistrate. Defects in secular title to power, estate, or inheritance, are supposed to be cured by long undisturbed possession or uniform recognition. But it may be reasonably doubted whether a *jus divinum* can be made to stand upon the same ground, where contemporary testimony discloses a manifest impurity of origin, or *hiatus* in its transmission. The boldest ecclesiastical jurist would shrink from asserting that a bishop might be consecrated, or a priest ordained, by one who never was a bishop. Unless, therefore, we presume a special provision of Providence to legitimatise a power tainted with every defect that can attach to human title, the pontificate of Vigilius discloses an incurable flaw in the claim of the Roman pontiffs to any other power than that of a merely secular or mundane principality.

CHAPTER V.

JUSTINIANIAN PERIOD (II.).

Italian conquests of Justinian—Vigilius at Constantinople—Condemnation of the Origenists, and controversy of the "three chapters"—Justinian condemns the "three chapters"—Dilemma of Vigilius; his "judicatum"—He proposes a general council—The council; its imperfect constitution, and breach of faith by the Greeks—Opening of the council in the absence of the pope—His excuses disallowed—Condemnation of the "three chapters"—The "constitutum" of Vigilius—His name struck out of the diptychs, and publication of the condemnation, &c.—Submission of Vigilius; his retractation—Contemporary opinion as to the necessity of papal participation in a general council—Reasons for desiring the concurrence of the pope—Release of Vigilius; his death, and election of Pelagius I.—Agitation in the Western churches—Decline of the papal authority—Spiritual power, how affected by the late proceedings against the Chalcedonian decrees—Pelagius claims the support of the military power—Pelagius on the duty of religious persecution—Narses declines to interfere—Pope Pelagius and the Italian seceders—Objections of the Western churches—Historical inferences, &c.—State and prospects of the papacy—More favourable aspects—John III. pope—Imperial oppression in Italy—Heresy and death of Justinian I.—Conquest of Italy by the Longobardi.

Effect of the Italian conquests of Justinian.

THE conquest of Rome and Southern Italy by Justinian properly introduces a new era in the history of the great Latin patriarchate. That event materially altered the relation which had subsisted between the Church and the State during the Ostrogothic period. It throws at the same time a clearer light upon the imperial method of ecclesiastical government; and exhibits a manifest decline both in the religious and the political character of the papacy. The annexation of Italy to the Byzantine dominion at once dissipates the cloud which the enigmatical dealing of Justinian with the Roman pontiffs has hitherto cast upon his personal views of religious legislation.

Deportation of Vigilius to Constantinople.

Pope Vigilius, whose elevation had been stained by notorious simony and yet fouler crime, continued to render himself odious to his spiritual subjects by rapacity and cruelty in the

discharge of his sacred office.[a] The empress Theodora took advantage of the complaints of those who had suffered by his persecutions to procure an order from the emperor to have him brought to Constantinople. But the vindictive feelings of the empress were allowed to proceed no further. It suited the present purpose of Justinian that the pope should be received with honour. He was therefore treated as a friend and spiritual father, and instead of a prison he found a palace ready to receive him. The cause of this sudden change of purpose is a matter of importance to the progress of the narration.

The emperor condemns the Origenists.

A religious tempest, traceable as much to the idle theological vanity of the emperor as to the covert intrigues of the empress and the Eutychian party, was at this moment agitating every church and province of the East. The persevering efforts of that party had now for nearly a century been directed to overthrow, or at least to weaken, the authority of the council of Chalcedon. A direct attack, indeed, was not to be thought of; but the records of that council revealed certain weak points, of which advantage might be taken to impeach the credit of the whole. An opportunity for this movement was afforded by an envenomed quarrel of some standing between the disciples of Origen and the orthodox prelates in the Syrian diocese. While the martial monks of Syria and Palestine waged carnal warfare with the Origenists; the catholic patriarchs, Ephrem of Antioch and Peter of Jerusalem, prosecuted the same suit at Constantinople before the emperor Justinian. They pleaded that Origenism was, in fact, the basis of the Eutychian errors, and that an imperial decision was necessary to enable them to encounter those errors with effect. Justinian embraced the opportunity for the display of his theological acumen with all imaginable alacrity;[b] and without the aid of patriarch, pope, or council, issued an imperial decree condemning the alleged errors of Origen and his disciples.

[a] *Anastas.* in Vigil. Ss. Rr. Ital. tom. iii. p. 130.

[b] "Annuit imperator facillime, gaudens se de talibus causis judicium ferre." *Liberatus*, ap. *Neander*, K. G. vol. ii. p. 1143.

The numerous but quiescent party of Nestorius concurred with the orthodox, or catholic, section in their aversion to the tenets of Origenism, and regarded the condemnation of those doctrines as a tacit homage to their own opinions. The Eutychians were proportionably alarmed and irritated by a blow aimed at the philosophy of their system.[c] They affected to regard the condemnation of Origenism as a revival of the Nestorian error; and their friends at court pressed upon the attention of Justinian the necessity of an equally emphatic declaration against that heresy, both with a view to preserve his own orthodoxy and to deprive the Nestorians of any hope of advantage from the condemnation of the adverse opinions of the Origenists. Nestorian errors, they said, had beyond doubt been allowed to creep into the acts of the council of Chalcedon, and to these documents themselves those heretics might now appeal in support of their doctrinal pravities; it was therefore indispensably necessary to expunge the vicious acts and articles from the records of the council; these were three in number: 1. A treatise of Theodore of Mopsueste, the friend and spiritual instructor of the heresiarch Nestorius; 2. A tract by Theodoret of Cyrrhus, in defence of Theodore against the attacks of Cyril of Alexandria; and 3. A letter written by Ibas, bishop of Edessa, on the same side. By this measure the records of the council would, they contended, be purified from the offensive matter which now polluted them; the emperor would make it manifest to the world that no favour was intended to either of the opposite heresies; all reasonable objection to the authority of the council would be removed; and the wisdom of the monarch would thus have cleared the way towards a final union of the contending parties in the Church.

Controversy of the "three chapters" raised.

Allured by the prospect of a spiritual victory so easy, so complete, and so flattering to his personal vanity, Justinian yielded to the insi-

Justinian condemns the "three chapters."

[c] The Monophysite party had very generally embraced the speculations of Origen, and supported their opinions upon the incarnation by reference to the principles of his theological philosophy. *Fleury* (tom. vii. p. 416) gives an epitome of these opinions.

dious proposal, and published an edict in legislative form against the denounced articles, or *chapters*, of the council, concluding with a formal sentence of condemnation and anathema. The catholic party were struck with the difficulties in which this bold measure of their adversaries had involved them. On the one hand, the theological errors of Theodore of Mopsueste could not be denied, and a direct defence of the "three chapters" became a work of difficulty and danger; on the other hand, there appeared equal disadvantages to be apprehended from any attack upon the wisdom and sanctity of the council of Chalcedon. That council was universally regarded as the great bulwark of catholicism; and it was to be feared that if a single stone were removed, the whole edifice might ere long crumble under the assaults of its inveterate and persevering enemies. The intent of that party was indeed obvious enough: but the arguments advanced by their opponents made no impression upon Justinian; his will was law to his clergy, and the obsequious patriarchs Mennas, Ephrem, and Peter, with a majority of the orthodox prelates of the East, affixed their signatures to the decree of condemnation. The dissentients were summarily ejected from their sees; they appealed to the papal legate—afterwards Pope Vigilius—for protection, and renounced the communion of Mennas and all who concurred in this impious attack upon the holy synod. Their example was zealously adopted by all the African bishops; and the episcopacy of Illyricum Orientale refused every token of submission to a mandate at once threatening to the integrity of the catholic communion and to their connection with Rome as the patron and defender of the Chalcedonian decrees.[d]

Dilemma of Pope Vigilius; his "judicatum."

In this position of the controversy Pope Vigilius arrived at Constantinople. All parties were anxious to obtain his support in the coming struggle; the emperor regarded his assent to the decree of condemnation as a matter of course, and it

[d] This summary of the events that led to the so-called fifth general council is drawn up from the materials found in *Baronius*, Ann. 549; *Fleury*, H. E. tom. vii.; and *Neander*, K. G. vol. ii.

was manifest that no considerable number could be brought to support him against the court. On the other hand, he was no stranger to the sentiments of the Latins, and saw the danger of laying violent hands upon the sanctuary of their faith. In this dilemma, he struck out a middle course, which, while it compromised his own orthodoxy, satisfied no one else. He issued a writing, or manifesto, entitled "judicatum," in which he pronounced against the "three chapters," "saving always the authority of the council of Chalcedon." The Eutychians rejected the saving clause with contempt, for it defeated the object of their machinations; and the Catholics felt keenly that any form of condemnation or rejection of that which an inspired council of the Church had approved and adopted into its authentic acts must throw discredit upon them all. The Roman clergy in the suite of Vigilius deserted him, and proclaimed to the catholic world that a Roman pontiff had turned his back upon the standard of the faith—that he had denied the holiest of the holy councils of the Church![e] The bishops of Africa and Illyria excommunicated Vigilius; and from Gaul and Italy anxious inquiries poured in, to learn the particulars of this deplorable defection. Beset by solicitations and reproaches on all sides, the pope replied, probably with sincerity, that he had neither by act or intention done any thing to prejudice the authority of Chalcedon; and he resented the reports disseminated by his own malcontent followers to the injury of the holy see by sentence of excommunication.[f] The emperor became aware that he had raised a storm he could not conjure down; and Mennas, with the court clergy and the Oriental patriarchs, importuned the pope to withdraw his "judicatum," and to publish an unqualified sentence. Thus hard-pressed on all sides, Vigilius proposed the convocation of a general council for the final adjudication of the question; the emperor accepted the proposal; and it was solemnly agreed that no further step should be taken either for or against the "three chapters" until the as-

He proposes a general council.

[e] *Baron.* cum not. *Pagi*, Ann. 548, §§ 2, 3.

[f] *Ibid.* Ann. 548, §§ 3-6; Ann. 550, §§ 16-26.

sembling of the proposed synod: that the question should then be referred *in integro* to the council, and that no person should be precluded by his past acts or declarations from adopting that conclusion which argument and conscience might then suggest. Upon these terms the pope withdrew his "judicatum," and the bishops were allowed to retract their subscriptions to the imperial decree.[g]

Imperfect constitution of the council, and breach of compact by the Greeks.

The meeting of the council, however, was impeded by many delays and difficulties. The bishops of Illyricum Orientale flatly refused to attend; not many African prelates, and those of no repute, appeared to the summons. Of the Italian episcopacy the attendance was scanty, and all of them were stanch champions of the Chalcedonian confession. The Greek bishops, and the court party with Theodore archbishop of Cæsarea at their head, became impatient; and before the council was constituted in numbers sufficient to satisfy the terms of their compact with the pope, they proceeded arbitrarily to confirm and republish the imperial decree against the "three chapters." The pope resented this breach of faith by fulminating a sentence of excommunication against the perpetrators; and took refuge from the apprehended wrath of the emperor at the altar of St. Euphemia at Chalcedon. The pious populace of Constantinople defeated an attempt of Justinian to drag him from his asylum; and now no alternative remained but to revert to the broken compact, and for that purpose to treat with the pope and the prelates who shared his exile at St. Euphemia. Negotiations were accordingly opened with the pontiff. Vigilius was satisfied by a retractation of the irregular decree, and a promise on the part of the delinquents to observe faithfully all things contained in, or ordained by, the four general councils:[h] he, on his part, withdrew the censures

[g] *Fleury*, tom. vii. pp. 462, 463.

[h] The promise was, that they would faithfully observe and keep all things which, "*with the consent of the legates and vicars of the holy see presiding therein*, had been decreed and ordained." *Fleury* (tom. vii. p. 474) thinks that this declaration invalidates all proceedings of any council that had not received the assent of the pope. But this is a very violent inference. All, I think, that can be fairly extracted from the words is, that they engaged not to hold the pope bound by any of the terms of those councils but those to which the assent of the holy see might be presumed. If

he had launched against his opponents, and returned to Constantinople.

In the month of August 552 the patriarch Mennas of Constantinople died; and was succeeded by Eutychius, a Phrygian monk of great reputation for sanctity and learning, and sincerely attached to the Roman communion. The council was by this time fully constituted, and all parties joined in an earnest request to the pope to open and preside at the conferences. Vigilius consented; but, with a view to gain time, suggested that the Latin church could not be properly represented elsewhere than in Italy or in Sicily; and he requested that the council might be adjourned to some city within the confines of either country. But the Orientals were too well acquainted with the dispositions of the Latin churches not to foresee defeat and ruin to their project from such a measure; the Western prelacy were known to be unalterably attached to the decrees of Chalcedon, and averse to any tampering with the integrity of the sacred record: a majority so composed must be fatal to the erasure and condemnation of the obnoxious documents. But Vigilius, on the other hand, knew that he possessed no influence in the council as it was then constituted, and that the emperor expected the same submission on his part as that he uniformly exacted from the prelates of his ancient dominions. Thus shut out from all share in the management of the proceedings; deprived of all liberty of action, and of all power of controlling the decision,—the pope trusted to procrastination to evade the humiliating part assigned to him. After much negotiation, in which little honesty or sincerity was displayed on either side, the council, weary of delay, opened its sittings in the absence of the pontiff.[i]

Opening of the council; the pope absents himself.

The fathers, it is true, made it their first duty to invite the pope to take the presidential chair; but Vigilius declined, upon the ground that the Latin church was not duly represented, and

His excuses disallowed by the council.

they had meant it as Fleury states, they must have abandoned all the claims of Constantinople to patriarchal rank (see Book II. c. v. p. 408). Such an intent cannot be imputed to them without the strictest proof. Certainly no such intention existed in the age of Justinian.

[i] Namely, on the 4th May 553.

signified his intention to lay before the emperor his written judgment upon the "three chapters." The council disallowed the excuse, and censured the proposal with which it was accompanied. The pope himself, they said, had appealed to a council of the catholic communion, which communion they were; the emperor had placed the decision in the hands of the synod, and with them it must rest; and lastly, they urged that in none of the antecedent general councils had the Latin church been so fully represented as in that now assembled. The pope, however, persisted in withholding all countenance to their proceedings; and the fathers declared that, inasmuch as they were not justified in permitting groundless objections to stand in the way of a decision indispensable to the peace of Church and State, they should proceed to a decision without further reference to, or notice of, the pope.

Condemnation of the "three chapters;"—"constitutum" of Pope Vigilius.

Without delay the fathers opened the sessions, and proceeded to condemn the writings of Theodore of Mopsueste and the apologies of his advocates Theodoret and Ibas; and struck them out of the Chalcedonian records. Vigilius meanwhile had prepared his "constitutum," or pontifical adjudication, upon those documents; in which, after specifically condemning the errors alleged to be contained in them, he somewhat inconsistently prohibited any impeachment of the personal orthodoxy of the writers, because, he said, the fathers of Chalcedon had not censured them, and because it was not lawful to pass such sentence upon defunct persons.[j] This decision, or "constitutum," was countersigned by seventeen bishops and three deacons from his own immediate retinue;[k] but when presented to the imperial officers for delivery into the hands of their master, they declined to receive it, rightly objecting that it ought to have been addressed to the synod then sitting; and they assured the pope that even now, if he should think proper to attend the meetings, he would be received as their father and president. Determined, however, to confer no sign of recognition upon

[j] Vigilius forgot the proceedings of his predecessors, Felix, Gelasius, and Hormisda, against the deceased patrons of the Henoticon.

[k] See the entire document, ap. *Hard.* Conc. tom. iii. pp. 10-48.

the council or its proceedings, Vigilius sent his "constitutum" to the emperor by the hands of his own deacon in attendance. Justinian, in conformity with his engagement with the council, peremptorily rejected it; intimating to the pope that, after appealing to a council convoked at his own special request, he could not be permitted to propose himself as the sole judge of the questions submitted to them. If, the emperor added, the proffered instrument went to condemn the "three chapters," he had no need of it, because he was already in possession of the pope's own solemn adjudication on that matter;[l] but if, on the contrary, its purport were different, how could he set any value upon a document in which the writer only proclaimed his own inconsistency?

Rejected by the emperor.

To the council itself the emperor justified himself by producing all the previous acts and declarations of Vigilius against the "three chapters," and his unqualified engagement to abide by the decision of the council assembled in compliance with his own requisition; and exhibited at the same time a written promise that he would do his utmost to procure a pure and simple condemnation of the "three chapters," which he alleged to have been made by him to the late empress Theodora.[m] The indignant fathers without hesitation resolved that for these breaches of faith, and for his several contempts of the council, the name of Vigilius should be erased from the diptychs of the churches; and disdaining further reference to any authority but their own, they published a final sentence of condemnation and anathema against the person, memory, and writings of Theodore of Mopsueste and his advocates Theodoret and Ibas. The sentence was unaccompanied by any reservation in favour of the inspiration which had sanctioned and adopted those documents; and an irreparable breach was thus effected in the main defences of that hitherto impregnable bulwark of orthodoxy.[n]

The council strike out Vigilius from the sacred diptychs, and publish their condemnation of the "three chapters."

[l] The "judicatum;" by which, however, from the terms of the compact before the convocation of the council, he was not bound.

[m] Theodora had died in 549.

[n] *Baron.* Ann. 553, §§ 215 et sqq.; *Hard.* Conc. tom. iii. pp. 194 et sqq.; *Cent. Magd.* cent. vi. pp. 499-540; *Fleury*, tom. vii. pp. 500, 501; *Neander*, K. G. vol. ii. p. 1166.

Submission of Pope Vigilius.

The number of the prelates assembled in this so-called fifth general council never exceeded one hundred-and-sixty, exclusively of the twenty or thirty bishops who seceded with the pope. The objects of its promoters are not very clear from the beginning. The majority, it may be believed, entertained no designs hostile to the integrity of the Chalcedonian decrees. The refractory pontiff was treated with the respect due to his rank in the hierarchy, but without a thought that either his presence or his consent were essential to impart to their proceedings the force of law; they believed that what had been erroneously or heedlessly done *in* a general council might be corrected *by* a general council; a proposition obviously inconsistent with that absolute reservation in favour of the infallibility of the erring council insisted upon by Pope Vigilius. After the conclusion of their labours they were therefore released from their long and wearisome attendance, without a suspicion that any thing more was wanting to accomplish the object of their convocation. The pope and his friends

His retractation,

now saw no chance of release from the wearisome exile under which they had suffered for a term of more than six years[o] but in a plenary retractation of their objections to the council and its proceedings. The emperor was convinced that the religious peace of his dominions depended upon the acquiescence of the West in the decision of the council, and that that acquiescence could only be insured by the adhesion of the pope. By the victories of Narses[p] the whole of Italy was by this time reduced into the tranquil possession of the empire; Rome no longer afforded a refuge against the displeasure of the temporal sovereign; the pope, whether at Constantinople or at Rome, was his *subject*, and could no longer shut his eyes to the intention of Justinian to make him the instrument of his scheme of religious union. Vigilius had already incurred the resentment of the Western pre-

[o] According to *Fleury*, tom. vii. pp. 443 and 504, Vigilius arrived at Constantinople on the 25th January 547. The council was dissolved in the month of June 553.

[p] The defeat and death of Totila on the field of the "Busta Gallorum" took place in the month of July 552, and of his gallant successor Teias at the "Mons Lactarius" in March 553.

lacy by his late condescensions; and to avoid the total loss of the confidence of the Latins, his return to Rome was of indispensable necessity. Six months after the dissolution, he gave in his formal and unconditional adhesion to the decrees of the council; he condemned the "three chapters," their authors, advocates, and followers; he embraced the fathers as his brethren and fellow-labourers in the great work of purification; he quashed all writings or tracts issued by himself or in his name in the course of the controversy, and solemnly ratified all the acts and proceedings of the council.[q]

and ratification of the decrees of the council.

There are circumstances connected with the convocation and character of this *fifth general council* which throw some light on the state of ecclesiastical opinion respecting papal participation in the deliberative assemblies of the Church-catholic. The share taken by Pope Vigilius in the *convocation* of this synod is absolutely evanescent. The simple suggestion of, or appeal to, a general assembly of the Church—a suggestion immediately afterwards retracted—does not amount to a participation of any kind. It follows that the convocation was the sole act of the emperor, and that the fathers derived their powers to meet and deliberate from the imperial authority alone. We gather moreover from the whole tenor and spirit of the acts, that they supported themselves upon the imperial summons as the meritorious basis of their commission; and that they regarded the accession of the pope as altogether unessential, either to their right to inquire and discuss, or to the validity of the decision

Contemporary opinion respecting the papal participation in the convocation, and validity of a general council.

[q] Both the Greek and the Latin "constituta" of Pope Vigilius in confirmation of the fifth general council are inserted by *Harduin*, Conc. tom. iii. pp. 214-244. In the Latin constitutum we observe a laboured effort to save the credit of Chalcedon, or at least to encounter the charge of vacating its authority: "Quas omnes designatas blasphemias (of the "three chapters") absit ab universali ecclesiâ ut quisquam quatuor prædictas synodos, vel unam ex iis, asserat suscepisse; vel eos qui talia sapuerunt atque secuti sunt; cum constet a sanctis memoratis patribus; et *maxime a sancto Chalcedonensi concilio*, nullum de quo fuit suspicio fuisse susceptum, nisi qui superius designatas blasphemias, vel his similia, respuit," &c.: *i. e.* the council never intended to admit the "three chapters," because it never can be supposed that they would tolerate any such heresies as those they disclosed, &c. A vague conjecture set up against a deliberate act! See also *Baron.* Ann. 554, § 7, and *Pagi* ad eund.; *Fleury*, tom. vii. p. 507.

they might arrive at. We observe, at the same time, that Vigilius repudiated its authority in all its stages; that he made unavailing efforts to supersede the synodal jurisdiction, and to substitute his own in lieu of it; and that he continued to pursue the same course of opposition till six months after the official promulgation of the decision, and the consequent dissolution of the council. We therefore regard his subsequent ratification, as far as it affected the legal validity of the acts of the council, as a mere nullity. It is but reasonable to suppose, that if the fathers had thought the papal presidency and sanction essential, they would have either dropped all thought of meeting in council, or that they would have awaited the operation of other motives to overcome the reluctance of the pontiff. But now the question presents itself, what was the real effect of the subsequent ratification? If his initiatory consent were essential, the council must have been illegal from the beginning: and we know that the pope regarded it in that light. How then could any subsequent ratification cure the fatal irregularity? If that consent was unnecessary, no such subsequent act of the pope could impart to the proceedings any force which they did not possess without it: all that it could effect would be to bind the pope himself, and to bring him under the same obligation as the rest of Christendom.

Operative reasons for desiring the papal concurrence.

And upon this ground it was that the practical importance of the papal assent to the decision of the council rested. It could not be unknown to the Byzantines that the see of Rome disclaimed all spiritual control; that she was in the habit of discharging herself from all obligations but those she imposed upon herself; and that she disregarded all church-legislation but that which originated with herself, or which had received the stamp of her approbation. Though neither the emperor nor the Orientals of his age knew of any power of the chair of Peter competent, either before or after enactment, to impart to, or withhold legal validity from, the acts of a general council, they were at the same time well aware that Rome had the power to thwart or to impede their operation. Nor

do we see reason to believe that the desire of the emperor and the fathers of the second council of Constantinople in this instance to obtain the concurrence of the pope proceeded from any doubt of their own authority to make laws binding upon the catholic body, but purely from their anxiety to neutralise the adverse influence of the papacy in the West, and to impart to their resolutions that force which always attaches to unanimity of suffrage.[r]

Release of Vigilius.

If the papal biographer Anastasius be entitled to belief, the release of Pope Vigilius from his long exile was attended by circumstances indicating the small respect with which the emperor was disposed to treat the representative of St. Peter, as soon as he had ceased either to be formidable as an opponent, or useful as an instrument. That writer informs us, that through the intercession of Narses the Romans obtained from Justinian the recall of Vigilius, and of those of the Roman clergy who had shared his exile, from their places of banishment back to Constantinople; and that when they were brought before him, he superciliously inquired of them whether they were still inclined to take back Vigilius as their pope, or whether they preferred his archdeacon Pelagius: to himself it was a matter of indifference, and he would give them either the one or the other. In reply, they declared for Vigilius; but they added that, if such were his pleasure, they were ready, after the decease of the reigning pontiff, to adopt the archdeacon as their bishop.[s]

His death: election of Pelagius I.

The pope and his friends were allowed to depart homeward.[t] But Vigilius died in Sicily; and it is remarkable that the archdeacon Pelagius was forthwith installed in the papal chair without any recorded election, as it were by the direct appointment of the emperor. The late pontiff was announced to have died of the stone; but report laid his death at the door of his successor, whose ill-usage during the voyage is

[r] On the other part, see *Baron.* A. 553, §§ 118 to 124; *ibid.* A. 555, § 5: and conf. *Fleury*, tom. vii. p. 503.

[s] *Anastas.* Bibl. in Vit. Vigil. ap. *Murat.* Ss. Rr. Ital. tom. iii. p. 132.

[t] A.D. 554.

said at least to have accelerated the vacancy to which he looked forward. The heart of the Latin communion revolted at the appointment; and so great was the unpopularity of Pelagius I., that only two bishops and a single presbyter could be found to officiate at his consecration. The first act of the new pope was to submit to a solemn purgation, for the purpose of clearing himself of the imputed participation in the death of his predecessor.[u] But that proceeding, however requisite it might have been to silence busy tongues, did not touch the true cause of the aversion which the new pontiff had to encounter at his entrance into office. The agitation which the late successful assault upon the sanctity of the Chalcedonian decrees had engendered, at once broke up the harmony of submission to Rome, which had prevailed in the Western churches with little interruption ever since the extinction of the Arian controversy. The attachment of those churches to their patriarch, however submissive, had been at the same time both genuine and genial. We have now to contemplate the reverse of this picture: the papal authority reduced to the brink of ruin; the vaunted independence of the Latin church sacrificed; and the magnificent scheme of Leo the Great pining away under the incubus of imperialism.

Agitation in the Western churches.

We have already observed, that under the Gothic government the pressure of the temporal power had been scarcely felt; the pope was the almost undisputed arbiter of the Latin communion, and felt his hands at liberty for spiritual conquest in all directions. But the successes of Belisarius and Narses altered the whole aspect of affairs. The election of Vigilius, and still more properly that of Pelagius I., may be said to have announced the revolution which was to reduce Rome to the level of Constantinople. The emperor scarcely made a secret of his pretensions to exercise a spiritual influence in Christendom, at least very closely

Decline of the papal power.

[u] *Pagi* thinks Anastasius wrong in ascribing the defection of the Roman clergy to the charge of accelerating the death of Vigilius. See extr. from *Victor* of Tunoni, Chron. ap. *Pagi*, Crit. ad *Baron.* A. 555, § 9; and *Anastas.* Vit. Vigil. ubi sup. Conf. *Fleury*, tom. vii. p. 512.

approaching in its character to the temporal power he wielded. The court of Constantinople had uniformly dealt with the patriarchate of that city, and of all the greater sees of the East, as articles of imperial patronage. And it is admitted by pontifical writers of eminence that, after the expulsion of the Goths, it became the practice that the election of a pope by clergy, senate, and people, should be regarded as provisional only; that the new pontiff could not be lawfully consecrated until the imperial letters of confirmation and license were received from court; and that until then the pontiff-elect was incompetent to exercise any of the rights, or to perform any of the duties, of his office:[v] a state of things practically identical with that which prevailed in the East. The bishop and clergy of Rome had, therefore, no good reason to believe that the emperor would make any difference in the exercise of his veto, or that he would feel any greater hesitation to supersede a refractory pontiff in that portion of his dominions than he had hitherto evinced in any other.

Spiritual power of the papacy in the West; how affected by the late proceedings.

But the loss of independence was attended by a more serious compromise of character and influence in the West. The churches of Gaul and all the sees dependent upon the patriarchate of Aquileia silently withdrew from, or boldly renounced the communion of Rome; the Illyrian episcopacy prepared to follow their example; those of Africa, the most independent and boldest of the Latin communion, though retaining their ancient attachment to Rome, glowed with a warmer affection for that catholic confession for which they had suffered and bled through a century of persecution and affliction: the imperial decree against the "three chapters" was as a vapour too thin to dim the brightness of Chalcedon; the tardy and reluctant concurrence of Rome was powerless to convict the most numerous and holiest of œcumenical synods of the patronage of religious error; nor could any sophistical reservation persuade the Western church that the impeachment involved in the solemn condemnation of dogmatic writings, as solemnly adopted by the fathers

[v] *Pagi*, Crit. ad *Baron.* A. 555, § 10. Conf. *Mornay*, Myst. Iniq. p. 93.

of Chalcedon, could operate otherwise than to overthrow their title to the spiritual allegiance of the Christian world. Error in one point implied the possibility of error in all; it thus opened out every point of doctrine to renewed discussion, and threw back the Christian community into the chaos from which she had now emerged for more than an entire century. The steadiest of the friends of Rome stood aghast at the dark prospect before them; her most zealous adherents were converted into her most formidable opponents; and the papacy was compelled to descend from the high ground of spiritual prerogative, and to take shelter under the wing of the temporal power against the merited resentment of her exasperated dependents.[w]

Pelagius I. claims the support of the temporal power.

Pope Pelagius acknowledged the novelty and difficulty of his position, and availed himself with promptitude and vigour of the means in his hands for arresting the progress of religious rebellion. His attention was directed in the first instance to the suppression of disaffection in the provinces of Liguria, Venetia, and Istria. Setting aside the ordinary modes of ecclesiastical proceeding in like cases, he applied to Narses, the imperial viceroy of Italy, at once to arrest the refractory bishops of those regions, and to send them to Constantinople for punishment. The viceroy, however, either from want of instructions from court or from reluctance to endanger the peace of the province, declined compliance, on the ground that it was no part of his duty to interfere in ecclesiastical matters, and that it was inexpedient that he should appear in the character of a religious persecutor. The reply of Narses drew from the pope a luminous exposition of the claims of Rome upon the secular arm for the support of her spiritual dominion.

Pelagius on the right and duty of religious persecution.

"Be not led astray," said Pelagius, "by the vain babble of those who call it persecution to repress crime, and to labour for the salvation of souls: no one can be accused of persecution, except he use force to compel men to do wrong; but he that punishes a crime already perpetrated, or seeks to prevent the commission by the threat of impending

[w] *Neander*, K. G. vol. ii. p. 1151; *Fleury*, tom. vii. p. 510.

punishment, doeth a deed of love rather than of persecution: for if, as some will have it, no one is to be prevented by punishment from evil-doing, or afterwards to be reclaimed by the same means, there is an end of all laws, human and divine; for it is in the very nature of laws to dispense penalties against the wicked and rewards to the righteous, as justice requires it. That schism is a crime, and that such persons as the present delinquents ought to be put down by the temporal power, both the authority of Scripture and the ordinances of the fathers do positively affirm and teach: moreover it is not to be doubted that *whosoever separateth himself from the apostolic see is in schism*, and that he setteth up a strange altar in the face of the Church. . . . And therefore it was affirmed by the council of Chalcedon,[x] that if any one shall suspend himself from communion by setting up a separate altar, and after proper admonition shall decline to live in unity with his bishop, such an one shall be altogether reprobate, and never again have the benefit of the prayers of the faithful, nor enjoy the comforts of religion. And if such persons shall *continue* in exclusion, and *shall make riotings and seditions* in the Church, they shall be put down by the civil power *as movers of rebellion*. And in the same strain speaketh St. Augustine in his treatise against the Donatists. Now as to the actual offenders, they were in duty bound, before renouncing obedience to their lawful patriarch, to have sent, according to ancient practice, a deputation from their own body to give and receive satisfaction upon the matters in dispute; and not blindly to tear to pieces the body of Christ, which is His holy Church. You cannot, therefore, entertain any further doubt that these persons ought to be

[x] In its fourth session the council recited the well-known fifth canon of the council of Antioch, held in the year 341, directing that schismatic clerks be deposed from their clergy; adding the noticeable words, "And if they continue to *disturb* the Church, let them be put down by the external power *as movers of sedition*." "This," say the authors of the *Art de vérifier les Dates* (vol. i. p. 139), "is the origin of the modern practice of 'calling in the secular arm.'" But it is obvious that the words quoted and adopted by the council of Chalcedon, as well as the dictum of St. Augustine (Enchir. c. 7), contemplate something more than doctrinal or disciplinarian schism to entitle the Church to call in the secular arm; it must, in fact, be accompanied by *disturbance and sedition*, in other words, by a breach of the public peace. Conf. *Cent. Magd.* cent. v. p. 941; *Fleury*, tom. vii. 419.

constrained by the authority of the sovereign or of his magistrates. . . . Now we have laid before you these rules of the fathers, lest perchance your mind may have been rendered timid by the fear of being accounted and hated as a persecutor; but you will now perceive that both the Scriptures and the canons teach that it is not persecution to repress crime, and to labour for the salvation of souls. Therefore, in punishing the obstinate schismatics of Liguria, Venetia, and Istria, you have nothing to fear; for there are a thousand precedents and a thousand ordinances to prove that it is the duty of the temporal state to punish spiritual delinquents of this sort, not only by exile, but by confiscation of goods and the severest personal coercion."[y]

Narses declines to interfere.

The *right* and the *duty* of the temporal state to interfere in putting down schismatic disturbers of the public peace has never been called in question; nor is it to be supposed that if the vigilant viceroy had detected the seditious spirit complained of in the conduct of the Ligurian bishops, he would not have effectually quelled it. But until then, neither the right nor the duty to interfere arose; and Narses declined to support the papal authority at the risk of civil confusion in the new and still unsettled provinces of Northern Italy. Neither the reiterated instances of Pelagius, nor even the fanatical proceedings of Paulinus of Aquileia and Honoratus of Milan,[z] could induce him to change his policy. If any steps were taken to arrest the progress of the schism, they only served to feed the flame; for now the bishops of Venetia and Istria formally renounced communion with Rome, and declared their independence under the archbishop of Aquileia, whom they elected patriarch of their diocese.[a] At the same time the bishops of Tuscany joined the ranks of the seceders, and the Gallic churches resounded with the appalling report that the

[y] *Baron.* A. 556, §§ 5 et sqq.; *Fleury*, tom. vii. p. 517.

[z] Those prelates are said to have excommunicated Narses himself, and may probably enough have suffered for their temerity. Conf. Ph. de *Mornay* upon *Sigonius* de Occident. Imp. lib. xx. See also *Baron.* A. 556, § 10.

[a] *Baron.* A. 570, § 12. The annalist admits that the origin of the patriarchate of Aquileia dates from this schism. It was certainly never abrogated; but the jurisdiction was afterwards transferred to Venice.

late council, with the pope at their head, had enacted statutes contrary to the catholic faith.

Pope Pelagius encountered the storm with a steady countenance. With no weapons at his command but the time-honoured claims and habitual deference of the West for the Petrine see, he ceased not to declaim against the unheard-of audacity of seceding from that apostolic see in which the Lord himself had established the foundation of his Church. "For," he said, "none can be ignorant that there neither is, nor can be, any Church but that which is rooted and grounded in the chair of Peter, and that all who are cut off from that chair are *ipso facto* cut off from the body of Christ." Neither he nor his predecessor, he protested, had done any thing to the prejudice of the faith of Chalcedon; for though certain matters there adopted had been touched upon by the late synod which required to be set right, yet were these things wholly unconnected with doctrine; the faith of Chalcedon had not thereby suffered injury, but, on the contrary, had been fortified and strengthened against the attacks of its subtle enemies, by whose disappointed malice or desire of revenge the false reports of what had been done by the late council had been put in circulation.[b]

Pelagius and the seceders.

In the Gallic churches the religious turmoil appears to have gradually subsided. In Italy, not all the thunders and protestations of the pope could remove the impression that a deadly blow had been aimed at the credit of the council of Chalcedon. Several circumstances attending the late proceedings against the "three chapters" tended to deepen the impression. At every step of the transaction the interference of the secular arm was plainly visible; the pope was during the whole of the discussions in actual or virtual captivity, and exposed to influences which deprived him of the freedom of will requisite to bind himself and his spiritual subjects: he had moreover for a long period resisted the imperial demand, and in the course of that

Objections of the Western churches.

[b] *Baron.* Ann. 556, §§ 26-36; *Fleury*, tom. vii. pp. 517-519.

resistance had urged the same reasons as those which the seceders now relied upon against himself: he had protested then—as they, the seceders, now protested—that the feelings and the opinions of the Latin communion were not adequately represented in the council; and they urged, upon the authority of the pope himself, that no principle was more firmly established than that the acts of an œcumenical council could not be reversed by a synod unendowed with the like attributes of universality.

Historical inferences from the incidents in the controversy of the "three chapters."

The historical inferences to which the controversy of the "three chapters" enables us to arrive, as to the state of the papacy during the period over which it extended, are rather negative than positive. We at once perceive that it was not a generally received opinion even in the Latin church that the powers of the chair of Peter sufficed in any respect to abrogate, to dispense with, or to modify the statutes of an œcumenical council. It is equally obvious that those powers were not generally allowed to impart to any council or assembly of the Church the character of universality, unless it should be acknowledged to possess the independent legal attributes essential to that character. The pontiff himself, and with him a large section of the Latin communion, held that completeness of representation was an essential attribute of universality, and that the second great council of Constantinople was therefore insufficiently constituted to represent the Church-catholic. Vigilius might, indeed, for the sake of convenience, subsequently excuse his adoption of this and other weighty objections, by imputing it to Satanic suggestion;[c] but no one can doubt that in giving them utterance he spoke the genuine language of the communion he represented. Nor is it less a matter of certainty, that his desertion of the ground he had taken up at the outset was very generally deemed an abandonment of his duty to the Church; that it was regarded as a legitimate cause of separation from his communion; and that it operated

[c] See the letters of confirmation addressed to the patriarch Eutychius, ap. *Hard.* Conc. tom. iii. p. 214. See particularly the introductory paragraph, "Scandala quæ humani generis inimicus," &c.

so as to shift the reproach of schism from the seceders upon the pontiff himself.

And, indeed, those who looked back to the palmy days of Chalcedon could not but feel the mortifying contrast between the position of the great Latin patriarchate in those days and that which it now occupied. Leo the Great had regarded and dealt with that council as the simple instrument of his supreme will; the voice of the temporal sovereign was heard only to confirm and enregister his decrees; the fathers themselves had reverently permitted their acts to be recorded in the name, and to stand there as the work, of the great pontiff;[d] and the single departure from his instructions they had ventured upon[e] served only to call forth a renewed display of power, and to add another victory to the ample wreath which already encircled his brows.[f] If then they carried onward their view to the victorious career of Felix, Gelasius, Hormisda, and there beheld the Eastern hierarchs bowing down before the rebuke of Rome—every party and faction alternately flying to her for comfort and protection, or retreating crest-fallen before her rigorous and uncompromising rebuke—the sovereign and his court shifting and dodging to elude her vigilance or to overreach her caution, yet ultimately driven like stray sheep into her fold,—they, we say, who beheld these things could scarcely recognise in their Vigilius or their Pelagius the successors of those heroes who had planted the banner of Roman supremacy in every corner of Christendom, and imposed their laws alike upon princes and prelates. Such a spectator would now have to contemplate the reverse of this bright picture: the pontiff a prisoner in the hands of a vain and vicious court; reduced to practise the arts of evasion and dissimulation to escape the overbearing influence of the temporal power; vainly struggling to reserve to himself the means of escaping that ruinous apostasy from every maxim of his predecessors which the tyrant of the day

Actual state and prospects of the papacy.

[d] Book II. c. v. pp. 395-397, and c. vi. p. 421.
[e] The passing of the xxviii[th] canon, Book II. c. v. p. 403.
[f] Book II. c. v. p. 416.

had imposed upon him; retreating at length from the scene of his defeat with disgrace and contumely; his successor reduced to become the passive instrument of the same iron despotism, and to struggle against the indignation of the world with little to support him but the memory of past glories;—all these things he would see, and might—if he did not altogether despair of the see of Peter—look forward to an age of conflict to regain the lost ground, and to replace the pontiff in a position which at this moment might well appear beyond the chances of human events.

Brighter aspects.

But in this dark and gloomy prospect there were still here and there a few lights to cheer the spirit of the devouter adherent of Rome. Though her influence both in the East and the West had been overclouded by the crimes, the vacillations, and the self-desertion of Vigilius, yet the *theory* of the chair of Peter had never been directly called in question. Though the victory of Rome in the great Eutychian controversy may have been balanced by her defeat in that of the "three chapters," yet that defeat had at bottom been brought about by the vulgar expedient of physical force. Though abandoned for the moment, the maxims of Roman ecclesiastical policy were neither forgotten nor renounced. If the pope had not been carried away as a state-prisoner to Byzantium, there would have been no schism; if the imperial mountebank who ruled the remnant of the empire had not by a mere military accident become the master of Italy, there would have been little to prevent the same bold repudiation of his factious and mischievous experiment upon the settled faith of Christendom. And already a promising change had come over the political atmosphere: the revived dominion of the empire in Italy was already tottering to its fall; the instrument was at hand that was to break in pieces the frail edifice of the Byzantine power. The presence of Narses upon the scene of his triumphs alone delayed the catastrophe; and during the remainder of his life Justinian was indulged with the vain contemplation of a conquest he had neither the heart to value nor the talent to maintain.

In the year 559, Pope Pelagius I. was succeeded by John III. (Catellinus.) The reign of this pontiff was distinguished by the restoration of the revenues of the holy see and an increased splendour of public worship. The vanity of Justinian and the liberality of Narses contributed to rescue the holy see from the indigence to which the prevalence of corruption and the troubles of the times had reduced it. But in the mean time the Byzantine tyranny was exhausting both the patience and the resources of the province. While Narses lived, some degree of political order was preserved; but by this time the Italians would have been glad to re-exchange the vectigalia and tributa of the ancient despotism for the milder tertiæ of the Goths. Justinian, in whose mind conceit, indolence, and rapacity held an equal dominion, looked to the country not only for reimbursement of the expenses of the conquest, but as the source of an ample revenue for the time to come. Every obolus that could be extracted by the most ingenious and unrelenting extortion, was transmitted to the court; the pay of the armies was allowed to fall into arrear; their discipline was broken up; and the officers of government stained themselves with every kind of peculation and abuse. While he lived, religious discussion was suppressed by a spiritual despotism closely akin to that secular tyranny which weighed upon the spirits and fortunes of all his subjects alike; and the life of society would have become extinct, if that vitality which was fast disappearing among the laity had not survived in the churches of the West.

John III. (Catellinus) pope.

Imperial oppression in Italy.

In the latter years of his life the emperor Justinian listened to the dreamy speculations of a sect which maintained that the body of the Saviour was "impassible," *i. e.* not subject to human passions, or to the wants, the sufferings, or the natural appetites of the human body.[g] This opinion was, in truth, a revival of an ancient Gnostic error in a slightly varied form. Besides this, it fell in with the most dangerous of the Eutychian theories, namely, the absorption of the

Heresy and death of Justinian I.

[g] This doctrine was, in the affected theological jargon of the East, called ἀφθαρτοδοκητισμός. *Neander*, K. G. vol. ii. p. 1168.

human in the divine nature of the Logos. The patriarch Eutychius could not be prevailed upon to adopt or to countenance the imperial doctrine, and was at once deposed from his chair and dismissed to distant banishment. The new creed was despatched to all the churches, with a peremptory command for its publication and adoption by all the prelates of the empire; and all the ordinary machinery of imperial tyranny was about to be put in motion to compel obedience, when the author himself was removed from the scene of his mischievous activity.

Justin II. emperor: conquest of Italy by the Longobardi.

Justinian died in the year 565; and was succeeded by his nephew Justin II., the son of his sister Vigilantia, at the moment of his accession filling the office of high-steward of the imperial household. The new emperor retraced the later steps of his predecessor, and suffered ecclesiastical affairs to fall back into their former channel. But in no other respect was the world benefited by the government of the vicious being who now occupied the throne of the Cæsars. A new swarm of Germanic invaders hovered upon the northern frontier of Italy; the land was exhausted of its substance to gratify Byzantine cupidity; the spirit of the people was broken by extortion and oppression; famine and pestilential diseases thinned and disheartened the population; the army, corrupted by license, was dispersed over the face of the country for the necessary supplies; and the aged commander, disgusted by neglect and insult, tarnished his loyalty by entering into treasonable correspondence with the formidable Alboin, king of the Pannonian Longobardi. Death saved him from greater criminality; and Alboin descended like a thunder-cloud upon the defenceless provinces of Italy. Thus, within the space of three years, the whole of Æmilia, Venetia, Tuscany, Umbria, and the Tyberine districts fell an easy prey to the barbarians; and after the fall of Pavia, the splendid acquisitions of Justinian were reduced to the cities of Rome, Ravenna, Naples, and the provinces which constitute the modern kingdom of the Two Sicilies.[h]

[h] The incidents in this chapter, for which no authority is quoted, are adopted from the author's History of the Germans, Book I. c. xi. §§ 3 and 4, where the historical proofs may be referred to.

CHAPTER VI.

THE CONTROVERSY OF "THE TITLE."

Roman clergy resume their independence—The Lombards in Italy—Defenceless state of Rome—Byzantines and Franks—Disaffection of the Italians—Gregory at Constantinople—John the Faster—Title of "œcumenical patriarch"—Rebuked by Pelagius II.—The Roman bishop the universal primate—Pelagius on the primacy—His inconsistency—Apology for Constantinople—Retrospect of the churches of Spain, France, Germany, and Britain—Gregory I. (the Great) pope—His position—His foreign and domestic policy—Clerical celibacy—Gregory on the celibacy of the clergy—His secular administration—The Lombards under Agilulph—Agilulph and Theudelinda—Their alliance with Rome; its justification and results—Controversy of the "three chapters" in Italy—Establishment of the see of Justiniania Prima—Gregory in the cause of Hadrian of Thebes—In the cause of Honoratus of Salona—Equivocal termination of the dispute—John the Faster assumes the title of "œcumenical bishop"—Remonstrance of Pope Gregory—Protest and appeal of Gregory against Cyriacus of Constantinople—His reply to the emperor Maurice—Gregory on the three Petrine sees—His sentiments on the Petrine primacy—His personal humility—Assumes the titular designation of "servus servorum Dei"—He repudiates the title of "universal pope"—His precautions against the ambition of Cyriacus—Latent equivocations of Gregory on the Petrine primacy—Schism—He renounces communion with Cyriacus.

Pope John III. died in the year 572, after a calamitous pontificate of thirteen years. The public misery and the ravages of the Lombards delayed the nomination and approval of a successor for a term of ten months. Benedict I., surnamed Bonosus, was at length confirmed by the court, and seated upon the pontifical chair. His administration of the holy see is marked by no incident of historical interest. Religious controversy was drowned by the universal cry of distress which resounded from all quarters of the land. These evils—the offspring of its own incapacity and folly—had so effectually unhinged the Byzantine authority, that, upon the death of Benedict I. in the year 577, the Roman clergy resumed their independence, and ventured to consecrate and to inaugurate a successor

The Roman clergy resume their independence: John III., Benedict I.

without waiting for the imperial letters of license; and thus the successful candidate, Pelagius II., a Roman by birth, was the first independently-elected pontiff that had occupied the papal throne since the Byzantine conquest.

The state of the Lombards in Italy.

The sanguinary Alboin fell by the hand of his vindictive consort Rosamunda, the daughter of his slaughtered foe Kunimund, king of the Gepidæ.[a] The Lombards raised Cleph, the most distinguished of their chiefs, to the vacant throne; but, after a short reign of about eighteen months, he was slain by a domestic assassin, and the nation reverted to their more ancient state of clanship; they divided the conquered territory into thirty-six districts, under as many chiefs or dukes, who, with the "faras," or clans attached to their respective banners, established themselves in the more important cities and towns of the new kingdom. The most advanced of these duchies, those of Tuscany, Beneventum, and Spoleto, surrounded and enclosed on all but the maritime frontier the entire territory still remaining in the occupation of the Byzantines. The latter resorted to a corresponding division of the remnants of their dominion. Under a governor-general or exarch, resident in the strong fortress of Ravenna, two governors or dukes of Rome and Naples defended the reduced frontier from the desultory attacks of the neighbouring Lombard clans.

Defenceless state of Rome.

Thus, during the interregnum, the Roman duchy had become the arena of unsparing plunder and devastation. "Italy," said Pope Pelagius II. to his legate at Constantinople, Gregory, abbot of St. Andrew's,[b] "is trodden under foot by the heretical and murderous Longobardi; the people here are destitute of arms, money, leaders; the greater part of the Roman territory hath neither troops nor garrisons to defend it; and the exarch Decius of Ravenna sends us word that he hath scarcely men enough under arms to maintain the post committed to his charge."[c]

But in the year 578 the idiotic and profligate Jus-

[a] Some time early in the year 573. See Hist. of the Germans, ubi sup. p. 619 (n. 21). The tragic story of Alboin and Rosamunda is told by *Paul Warnefrid*, Hist. Longob. lib. ii. c. xxviii. p. 435.

[b] Afterwards Pope Gregory the Great.

[c] *Baron.* A. 584, p. 400. Conf. Hist. of the Germ. ubi sup. p. 638.

tin II. was succeeded on the throne of the East by Tiberius II., a man of superior intelligence and integrity; probably for that very reason unfit to contend against the inveterate vices of the Byzantine court and government. His successes against the Persians in the East scarcely balanced the decline of the imperial power in Italy. Not a man could be spared for the defence of that province; and all that the eloquence of Gregory could obtain from the impoverished court was a scanty sum of money, to be employed by Pelagius either in purchasing a truce from the Lombards; or, if thought expedient, in subsidising the Franks to invade Lombardy, and thus at least to create a diversion in favour of the harassed Romans. After the death of Tiberius in 582, his successor Maurice, by the intervention of the pope, treated with Childebert II., the king of the Austrasian Franks, to procure a joint invasion and partition of the territories overrun by the Lombards: and the latter, alarmed at the prospect of so powerful a coalition, and convinced of the necessity of unity of command to avert the danger, determined to elect a king; and raised Authari, son of Cleph, a prince of talent and integrity, to their throne. This step, while it defeated the coalition, greatly improved the condition of the conquered people. Authari attacked the evil at its root; he reformed with a vigorous hand the worst of the abuses in the existing relations between the Lombard lords and their native dependents: and these measures, we are told by the national historian of the Lombards, were immediately attended by the restoration of peace and contentment within his dominions.[d]

Byzantine project of alliance with the Franks.

But though the judicious policy of Authari suspended the predatory warfare which had reduced the frontier territories to a desert, the Byzantines reaped no benefit from the change. The miserable dispute about the "three chapters" alienated the catholic clergy of Ravenna, Venetia, and Istria from the Greek government, as much as it had already disgusted them with Rome; and now, while the exarch

Disaffection of the Italians.

[d] *Paul Diac.* lib. iii. c. xvi. p. 444.

Smaragdus was striving by temporal penalties to set up the Byzantine standard of orthodoxy, the Lombards made themselves masters of the whole of Venetia and Istria, and dispossessed the empire of the last remnants of its conquests in Northern Italy.[e]

Gregory the apocrisarius.

The patriarch Eutychius of Constantinople, whom Justinian in his dotage had deposed and banished, was restored to his see by Tiberius. Gregory, the papal legate or apocrisarius at court, lived in sincere friendship with the excellent patriarch. But the latter, at the verge of life, leaned to an opinion which seemed to impugn the received doctrine of the resurrection of the body. He thought, namely, that the raised body could not be identical with the dissolved mass of bones, muscle, and sinew composing the mortal body; and that the body of the resurrection must be of a more ethereal or spiritual substance. The literal orthodoxy of Gregory took offence at this deviation from the received opinion, and a hot dispute was kindled between the subtle Greek and the more practical Latin doctor. The quarrel was suspended by the severe indisposition of both disputants. Eutychius died (A.D. 585); and Gregory survived, soon to preside over the Latin communion in a nobler spirit, and with greater advantage to the interests of his church, than any pontiff since the death of Leo the Great.

John the Faster patriarch;

John, surnamed the "Faster," a person of reserved and austere habits, succeeded Eutychius on the throne of Constantinople. As a churchman he was much esteemed by the court and people for apparent self-abasement and ascetic practice. He accepted his elevation with seeming reluctance; but Gregory, himself a spectator of the scene, suspected his sincerity, and justified his suspicions by pointing to that presumptuous spirit which induced the humble monk immediately to assume the proud title of "œcumenical patriarch." Gregory may have forgotten that Pope John II. had accepted from the emperor Justinian the equally objectionable

assumes the title of "œcumenical patriarch."

[e] Hist. of the Germ. ubi sup. p. 641.

title of "head of all the churches;"[f] but certain it is that he overlooked the fact that John had forborne to notice the glaring contradiction involved in the simultaneous attribution of an equivalent title to the patriarch of Constantinople. As long, however, as the Byzantine government in Italy retained any degree of consistency, it was not likely that this anomaly would be made a ground of quarrel between the two sees. But the pretensions of Constantinople were not forgotten; and as soon as the external pressure which kept down the rankling jealousy between the rival pontiffs was removed, occasions could not be wanting to rekindle the flame.

Two years after the accession of John the Faster (A.D. 587), articles of impeachment were presented to the emperor Maurice against the patriarch Gregory of Antioch. The latter demanded a canonical trial, and appealed to a canonical tribunal to consist of the assembled bishops of the diocese and the adjoining provinces. Maurice granted the request; the synod, composed of the patriarchs of the East, and other metropolitan prelates, assembled at Constantinople; the articles were discussed before the emperor and the senate; a sentence of unqualified acquittal was recorded in favour of the defendant, and his prosecutors were stigmatised as vulgar delators and slanderers.[g] But it came to the ear of Pope Pelagius II.—probably through the information of his apocrisarius—that in the course of the proceedings, and in his signature to the final decree, John of Constantinople had adopted the proud title of "œcumenical patriarch." Whether this assumption was, in fact, a mere novelty, or whether it had been customarily used by the metropolitan bishops since it was first introduced in the rescripts of Justinian addressed to Epiphanius in the year 533, is unknown. But no sooner was its appearance on the face of the proceedings against Gregory of Antioch notified to Pope Pelagius than he declared that the irregularity vitiated every step in the cause; and he annulled the sentence, on the express ground that John

Pelagius II. rebukes the presumption of John the Faster.

[f] See chap. iv. of this Book, p. 168.

[g] *Evag.* Schol. lib. vi. c. vii.; *Baron.* A. 587, § 4.

of Constantinople had unwarrantably assumed a title and a function to which he had no claim, and had thereby violated the *sole and exclusive privilege of the holy see to summon and to preside over all greater councils of the Church.* At the same time he re-affirmed, in its broadest and most offensive form, the long-cherished theory of the *universal primacy of the see of Rome*, its paramount indefeasible authority, as vested *by Christ himself* in the see of Peter; and he roundly asserted that whatever was at any time done without that authority was void from the beginning.

Re-asserts the universal primacy of Rome.

"If, therefore," said the zealous pontiff, in the peroration to his address, "you have any regard for the communion of the holy see, cast out from among you this profane title of *universality;* nor let any one of you sanction by his presence any synod holden without the license of the holy see. None of your patriarchs have ever assumed this unholy name;[h] for they knew that if ever he who in verity is the supreme patriarch over all (the bishop of Rome) were to take it specially to himself, he would, as respects the episcopacy in general, thereby derogate from the rank and dignity of all. Far be such a deed from *us.* God forbid that *we* should desire to diminish the honours of our brethren. Therefore, let no one among *you* assume the name of 'universal bishop,' lest, by depriving others of their honours, he forfeit that which he himself hath."[i]

Pelagius II. on the title of "universal bishop."

It is not easy to unravel the confusion of ideas which this extraordinary document betrays. The import of the words leads to the inference that though the bishop of Rome was bound to regard himself as *de jure the* "œcumenical patriarch," yet that he voluntarily abstained from adopting the title, lest he should give offence to his brethren by the assertion of his *right*, and by exhibiting himself to the world in his true character. Reasonable persons would imagine that the real offence lay, not in the name, but in the thing

The pope's objections considered.

[h] We have not the means of verifying this statement; no official act of Epiphanius, or of his successors Anthimus, Mennas, or Eutychius, having come down to us.

[i] *Baron.* A. 587, § 5.

signified. If there was any invasion of the rights of the episcopacy, it arose rather from the *real* pretensions of Rome than from the *titular* claim of Constantinople. But, as a matter of fact, Rome herself would have found it a difficult task to clear herself of the identical offence she now cast in the teeth of her rival. Pope Leo the Great himself had permitted his legates at the great council of Chalcedon to designate him as "bishop of the whole Church," "pope of the Universal Church,"—titles not easily distinguishable from the designation[j] assumed by John the Faster; nor perhaps from those more ancient words of universality—"summus sacerdos," "pontifex maximus"—which gave just offence to the zealous African Tertullian.[k] It might, indeed, have lain in the mouth of any but the bishop of Rome to contend that the term itself implied such an exhausting universality as to leave no place for any other episcopal function side by side with it. But it seems clear that neither Justinian in conferring, nor the patriarchs in adopting, the style and title of œcumenical bishops, spoke in a sense to exclude any similar distinction elsewhere. In all their public acts, on the contrary, care was taken, not only to preserve to Rome her primacy of rank, but also to save harmless the honours, titles, and jurisdictions of all the great patriarchal churches.[l]

The synod of Constantinople in the cause of Gregory of Antioch, though declared by the pope to be a mere nullity, "void from the beginning"—void "to all intents and purposes"—was yet, it seems, susceptible of confirmation. Pelagius approved the absolution of Gregory of Antioch, and solemnly pronounced

Inconsistency of Pelagius.

[j] Conf. Book II. c. v. pp. 396, 397 of this work.

[k] Conf. Book I. c. v. pp. 107, 108 of this work. It may be noticed, that the decree of Valentinian III., solicited and adopted by Leo the Great, gave the "universality," both *de jure* and *de facto*, to the see of Rome; though it does not *totidem verbis* confer the title. See Book II. c. iv. pp. 353, 354 of this work.

[l] Justinian, as we have seen, justly admitted the primacy of Rome in the sense of the first council of Constantinople, and in that of Chalcedon, as declared in its sixteenth session. At the second council of Constantinople, we learn that he repeatedly importuned Pope Vigilius to preside at that synod as the "primæ sedis episcopus." Pelagius II. himself admitted that John the Faster had disclaimed the offensive imputation, though he refused to admit the disclaimer.

his restoration to his church and functions: though the synod was "no synod at all," but a "mere conventicle," yet the only object for which it had met, and the only act it did, was approved by the pope. Upon the proper merits of the synod there was, therefore, no question; nor was there any objection raised to John of Constantinople beyond a merely personal irregularity, which could not affect the competency of the tribunal of which he was a qualified member. Yet upon this ground Pope Pelagius directed his legate at court to excommunicate the patriarch, and to continue him in separation from the catholic body until he should publicly renounce the offensive designation.

Apology for Constantinople.

We can hardly speak of the merits of a dispute in which the demerits on both sides seem pretty evenly balanced. Some suggestions, however, may be tendered in excuse for the presumption of John the Faster. Rome had shown no disposition to withdraw her protest against the xxviii[th] canon of Chalcedon, by which Constantinople was placed on an equality of privilege. But the latter church had now not only a *canonical* position among the great patriarchates, and a legislatively recognised jurisdiction of her own, but she had been also *de facto* raised to a presidency in the Oriental church closely resembling that which Rome had long since exercised in the West, and therefore naturally took to herself the same general superintending power within the sphere of her spiritual influence as that possessed by Rome—subject only to that precedence of rank which she had all along acknowledged to belong to the elder patriarchate. But Rome had insolently rejected a law of the Church which confined her supremacy to a simple privilege of rank and honour; and she had encountered it by an unqualified claim of paramount jurisdiction and power subversive of all equality, whether of rank, or honour, or privilege. Under such circumstances, it may be urged on behalf of Constantinople, that she must either have submitted to a domination subversive of positive law and natural justice, or at once have proclaimed her own privilege, and asserted her legislative equality by boldly

assuming the rank and character attributed to her by a general edict of the catholic body. This course she may reasonably be presumed to have regarded as the best mode of saving the rights and jurisdictions synodically secured to her from the grasp of her antagonist—rights which she could not abandon without sacrificing her honour and dignity, and encouraging encroachments to which neither she nor the sister churches of the East could be called upon to submit. Upon the whole, it seems most probable that the claim of "universality" set up by John the Faster was a defensive rather than an aggressive measure, and that nothing more was meant by it than to place Constantinople upon that level with Rome to which she held an unquestionable legislative title.

Retrospect.

As we approach the pontificate of Gregory the Great, it may be useful to take a short retrospective view of the state of the churches of Spain, Gaul, Germany, and Britain. In all these regions the hand of the remarkable man whose acts must occupy some space in our narrative is clearly visible; and in all of them he left behind him the traces of his able and active administration.

Spain.

In the Visigothic kingdom of Spain, the vestiges of pontifical influence down to the close of the sixth century are extremely faint. Like the military followers of Theodoric in Italy, the Visigoths of Spain professed the Arian form of Christianity; and like them, had all along to contend against a commonalty and a clergy of Roman origin and rigidly orthodox profession. The conquerors were, however, as little inclined to religious persecution as the kindred tribe occupying the Italian peninsula. The catholic clergy, therefore, had the advantage of a fair field for the maintenance and extension of their creed; and towards the middle of the sixth century reaped the reward of their zeal and activity in the acquisition of a degree of influence over the public mind which left the Arian princes no longer in doubt that they possessed the confidence of a large majority among their subjects. In the year 569, Liuvegild, a zealous

Arian, mounted the throne of Spain. About nine years afterwards (A.D. 578), this prince married his eldest son Hermenegild to the catholic princess Ingunda, a daughter of Sigibert, king of the Austrasian Franks. Through her influence, Leander, the catholic archbishop of Seville, gained the ear of the prince, and succeeded in converting him to the creed of the majority. Disgusted, however, by the severities to which his desertion of the faith of his forefathers exposed him, he fled to the neighbouring Suevi of Lusitania for protection, and with their aid raised the standard of rebellion against his father. But the unfortunate prince and his allies suffered a total defeat; he himself became a prisoner, and was ruthlessly put to death in his dungeon. The kingdom of the catholic Suevi was absorbed in the Visigothic dominions, and the prospects of the orthodox seemed more gloomy than at any period since the Gothic invasion. But at the death of Liuvegild, in the year 586, the conversion of Hermenegild bore fruits; Reccared, the second of the sons of the deceased monarch, succeeded to the throne, and resolved to take the sense of the nation as to the merits of the controversy which divided the court and people of Spain, and had so recently and seriously endangered the public tranquillity. To that end, he assembled a general council at Toledo, consisting indifferently of the orthodox and the Arian prelates of his dominions; and after a long discussion of the points in dispute in his presence and that of his court and nobility, the king declared in favour of the catholic confession. His example was followed, with few exceptions, by his bishops and subjects; and the synod of Toledo was permitted to proclaim the faith of the first four general councils as the only true faith and the established religion of the nation and government of Spain. King Reccared confirmed the resolutions of the fathers of Toledo by an edict denouncing excommunication against all recusant bishops and clerks, and condemning the laity who should reject the royal confession to the loss of estate and honours.[m]

Conversion of King Reccared.

[m] See Conc. Tolet. III., ap. *Hard.* Conc. tom. iii. p. 484.

This sudden and simultaneous conversion of the Spanish nation has been generally imputed to the learning and eloquence of Leander of Seville, and to the gradual prevalence of the Nicene opinions, so long and so earnestly maintained by the catholic clergy. Rome has, indeed, put in her claim to a large share in the meritorious work; Leander, she tells us, was the legate of Pope Pelagius in Spain, and acted under that commission. But of this there is not a trace of credible evidence; and the extant record of the council bears no marks of Roman interposition.[n] The assembly was convoked in the customary form by the single act of the sovereign, without mention of any concurrent authority.[o] Leander himself, though a principal actor and speaker upon the scene, did not present himself as the delegate of the holy see; and subscribed the acts of the council—not in the first place, as upon the supposition of a legantine authority he would have been entitled to do, but—in the third place, and in his own name only as metropolitan of the province of Bœtica.[p] There is therefore little reason to doubt but that the movement in favour of catholicity in Spain was the spontaneous act of the sovereign and the nation, springing probably from motives quite as much of a political as a religious character.

Claim of Rome to a share in the conversion of the Spaniards.

The religious state of Gaul—or, as we may now with

[n] Baronius (Ann. 589, § 9, p. 461) quotes a passage from *Lucas of Tuy*, a writer of the thirteenth century, living in the reign of Gregory IX. and a vehement persecutor of the Albigenses. Lucas is said to describe Leander as the legate of the pope in Spain. The cardinal, in support of his authority, states that the popes always kept a legate in Spain; but upon what authority he says this, we are not informed, except it be the obscure appointment of Zeno archbishop of Seville by Pope Simplicius to be the papal legate in Spain, A.D. 484: see ch. i. p. 8 of this Book. *De Mornay*, c. xcviii., observes, that the name of Leander is not found in some of the copies of the council; nor is it in that which the Magdeburg Centuriators quote from, cent. vi. pp. 606, 607. In Harduin's edition of the councils (ubi sup.) the name of Leander stands *third* after that of the king; a circumstance not very favourable to the legantine character imputed to him by Baronius on the vague authority of Lucas of Tuy.

[o] See the recital of the letters of convocation in the exordium of the report, *Hard.* ubi sup. p. 467. The royal subscription to the canons or capitula is remarkable: "Flavius Reccaridus rex, hanc deliberationem, quam cum sancto *definivimus* synodo, *confirmans* subscripsi." Ibid. p. 484.

[p] "Leander in C. N. ecclesiæ Hispalensis metropolitanus Bœticæ provinciæ, his constitutionibus . . . . . annuens subscripsi." *Id.* ibid.

State of the Frankish churches.

more propriety call it, France—differed materially from that of Spain. While the latter country was from the moment of the Visigothic conquest divided between hostile religious sects, Roman Christianity had maintained itself without a rival in France. The form of faith which Clovis found established among the conquered people at the period of his conversion became the religion of the State; and though the intercourse with the religious metropolis may have been impeded by the Frankish irruption, the authority of the Roman pontiff had suffered no serious diminution or discontinuance. From the first introduction of Christianity into the new kingdom, the clergy were all of Roman race; they connected the name of Rome with all their ministrations; and through them the religious character of the pontiff of Rome became a genial bond of union between the whole body both of the conquerors and the conquered.

Relations of the Frankish clergy to Rome and to their own government.

But during all this period the predilection of the Gallic clergy for Rome was not inconsistent with a general state of religious independence. The bishops of the Burgundian and Arelatian dioceses—perhaps of some others—might, as we have seen, at times appeal to Rome, or shelter themselves under papal decisions and constitutions against their superiors or their metropolitan synods, with a view to evade the penalties due to their own irregularities; yet practically the religious government of the Church rested with the provincial councils, without any ordinary or habitual resort to Rome. At the same time, the appointment to vacant bishoprics of importance fell into the hands of the temporal princes; the spiritual judicatures remaining in the prelates, though without the power of inflicting any other than spiritual penalties. But the social relations in which they were placed operated still further to throw the episcopacy into political dependence upon the monarch: the greater prelates frequented the court, and adopted the habits of the lay nobility; like the latter, they indulged in the coarsest convivialities and debaucheries; they made war upon, they robbed, they plundered, and occasionally murdered, one another with impunity; they mingled in-

discriminately in political broils and court cabals; they buckled on armour, and led their dependents and retainers to the field; they adopted the modes of life, the sports and the pastimes of the secular nobles, and performed all the services of lay vassals in the camp, court, and councils of the sovereign.[q]

Secularisation of the Frankish clergy.

This state of the clerical body in France was the natural result of the lavish grants of beneficiary lands to the churches by the superstitious liberality of Clovis, his sons, and grandsons. In these grants little or no distinction was made between the clerical and lay grantees of the crown; the State held all liable alike to the military and fiscal burdens attached to the benefices they held.[r] This state of church-property threw the nomination of the holders, as a matter of course, into the hands of the kings. During the whole period over which the history of Gregory bishop of Tours extends, the appointment to vacant sees rested practically with the court, though the forms of election were still retained.[s] The clergy might occasionally insist upon the right of free election,[t] yet they always admitted the royal veto; while the kings, without directly contesting the right of the churches, practically assumed the appointment by virtue of the veto.[u] The more ambitious among the clergy knew too well where that power rested, to be very vigilant in the maintenance of the privileges of their churches against royal encroachment. Those who looked for bishoprics, sought them at court by solicitations and bribes.[v] At length it became the practice to appoint laymen to vacant sees without any form of election; and so numerous were these nominations, that during the reign

[q] *Gregory of Tours* furnishes numerous proofs of the state of things described in the text: see particularly lib. iv. cc. xii. and xliii. pp. 208 and 227; lib. v. c. xxi. p. 247; lib. vii. cc. xi. xxxvii. and xxxix. pp. 272, 309, 310. See Book II. c. ii. p. 342.

[r] *Greg. Turon.* lib. ii. c. ii. p. 204; lib. vii. c. xlii. p. 311; lib. v. c. xxvii. p. 250.

[s] See the forms, as described in my History of the Germans (Book I. c. xii. p. 684), chiefly from *Gregory of Tours* and the Formulæ of *Marculfus*.

[t] See extracts from the councils of Paris, A.D. 551, and of Orleans, A.D. 549, ap. *Conciani*, Barb. Leg. Antiq. tom. ii. pp. 190, 191, note (3).

[u] See History of the Germans, ibid. p. 685, note 45, where the authorities will be found at length.

[v] Conf. *Greg. Turon.* lib. iv. c. xi. p 205.

of Chilperich, the Merovingian king of Soissons, very few of the ordained clergy obtained bishoprics.[w]

Privileges of the Frankish clergy.

Under such circumstances, it is not surprising that great uncertainty should exist as to the privileges of the clergy in France during the Merovingian period. As a body, they still remained civilly and criminally amenable to the laws of the land; but the bishops and higher ecclesiastics stoutly resisted every judicature but that of their own order; they claimed to be tried by canon-law, and to be liable to canonical punishments only.[x] But the only sources of canon-law known in the Frankish states were rather of Roman than national derivation; the associations both of clergy and people all pointed to Rome as the cradle of their faith and the fountain of religious law; and thus an appeal to Rome in support of that law lay fully within the sphere of the national prepossessions. Thus, when the bishops, Salonius of Embrun and Sagittarius of Gap in Provence, were convicted before a synod of the Arelatensian province of the crimes of robbery, homicide, and adultery, and sentenced to privation and degradation, the culprits obtained the permission of Gunthram, king of Orleans, to carry their cause by way of appeal to bishop John III. (Catellinus) of Rome. The pope for no discoverable reason reversed the sentence, and reinstated the bishops. The Gallic church patiently accepted the decision; but a repetition of the offences subjected the delinquents to a reiterated sentence, which seems to have met with no further opposition from Rome.[y] Though, therefore, the transaction wears an exceptional rather than a normal aspect, it affords evidence of a subsisting regard for the pontifical authority, susceptible of a vast expansion as soon as foreign support should become needful or available for the maintenance of the presumed privileges of the Gallic clergy.

Source of their attachment to Rome.

[w] *Greg. Turon.* lib. vi. cc. xxxviii. and xlvi.; lib. viii. c. xxxix. p. 330: conf. *Eichhorn*, Deutsch-Staats und Rechts Alterthümer, vol. i. § 101, p. 272.

[x] See the instances, collected from *Greg. Turon.* libb. v. vii. and x., in History of the Germans, p. 686.

[y] *Greg. Turon.* lib. v. cc. xxi. and xxviii. pp. 247, 250.

A glance at the religious state of Germany-Proper within the sixth century of the Christian era, presents the picture of a half-Christian, half-heathen people struggling into political and religious life, with that earnestness and vigour which distinguished the Germanic races from their earliest encounters with the power of Rome to their final victory over the expiring giant. Among these tribes, the numerous clans of Frisians and Saxons inhabiting the banks of the Ems, the Weser, and the Elbe, still lived in a state of unreclaimed heathenism. The Allemanni or Swabian Germans, the Thuringians, Bavarians, and Lombards, though nominally Christians, were scarcely less addicted to the magic superstitions and sacrificial rites of heathenism than before the cross was raised within their cantons. The rude and ignorant clergy who administered the public worship, were either themselves deeply tainted with the popular superstitions, or driven to indulge their people in many of the grosser practices of the old idolatry in order to maintain their own influence and keep alive a semblance of Christianity in the land.

Germany: state of Christian profession.

But towards the close of the period, a movement for the conversion of the heathen tribes of the north, and, what was of equal importance, for the reformation of the heathenised Christians of the midland and southern regions of the vast wilderness, originated in the far west—in a region distant from the centre of Christendom, and beyond the largest limits which, at this point of time, can be assigned to the spiritual influence of Rome. Two Irish monks, Columbanus and Gall, issued from the zealous and learned seminary of Icolmkil in the Hebrides, and planted churches in Swabia, Switzerland, and Lombardy. Soon after them, Emmeram, a Frankish missionary monk, undertook to reform, or rather to republish, the religion of Christ among the half-heathen Bavarians. These devoted men were followed from time to time by others, who carried forward the same good work in Germany with no other warrant or authority than that which their own earnest conviction and zeal imparted. Neither bishop nor arch-

Irish and Anglo-Saxon missions.

bishop interfered with, or claimed control over, their labours; nor was it till the appearance of the celebrated Anglo-Saxon preacher Winfred of Winchester—more familiarly known by the name of Boniface—in the middle of the eighth century, that the name of Rome or the voice of her pontiffs was heard in the primitive wilds of Germany.[z]

Britain, and British Christianity.

Of the state of Christianity in Britain, it is only necessary in this place to observe, that the religion of Christ, planted there by the Roman Christians, had been swept away by the heathen swarm which, at the beginning of the sixth century, is found to have already occupied and colonised the greater part of the British islands. In some districts, however, particularly in the mountain regions of Wales, Cumberland, Cornwall, the west of Scotland, and in Ireland, whither the ruthless sword of the Saxon had not yet penetrated, Christianity still survived. There multitudes of Christians—clergy, laity, and religious men—retained and propagated the purer forms of the old religion. The northern coasts of Ireland and the Southern Hebrides became a far-famed seminary of religious learning and missionary zeal. Twenty years before the mission of Augustine, the emissary of Pope Gregory the Great, to this country, the monastery of Iona had, as we have seen, sent forth devout men to preach the Gospel to the wild Frisians and Saxons who still inhabited the regions which cradled the conquering races of Gaul and Britain. Meanwhile the Welsh Christians, under their metropolitan bishop of Caerleon, maintained their religious state and their political independence, in absolute seclusion from the rest of Christendom, against the neighbouring Saxon princes and people. The latter, though still adhering to their ancient superstition, and disdaining to adopt the creed of a vanquished enemy, were a simple and vigorous race, open to

[z] I must refer the reader, for a fuller account of the labours of the Irish, Anglo-Saxon, and Frankish missions, to sect. iii. of the xiii[th] chap. of my History of the Germans, pp. 770-792, where all the authorities are collected, and the history of the Germanic churches carried down to the appointment of Boniface to the metropolitan dignity by Pope Gregory II.

conviction when the new creed was presented to them in a form suited to their capacities, and not offensive to their national pride. In default of that discriminating reason which education alone can impart, the modest Saxon inclined to authority; the high road to the heart of the people lay through their warrior-chiefs and princes; and the latter, with the example of the christianised Franks before them, had few scruples to overcome but those which arose from the influence of simple habit, unsupported by dogmatic opinion or principle. Their superstitions were not the subjects of faith or conviction; and those who could proffer either through an acceptable medium, might be sure of a hearing, and might with time and patience count upon success.[a] The sequel proves that the Anglo-Saxon race was little more difficult to deal with than the kindred Frankish tribes in the first years of this century.

Elevation of Pope Gregory the Great.

Pope Pelagius II. died in the year 590, after a reign of twelve years and three months. Gregory, abbot or principal of the religious house of St. Andrew at Rome, had for some years past drawn upon himself the attention of the religious world. Conspicuous among the churchmen of his age for learning, integrity, and piety, not a voice was raised against his elevation to the papal chair by any but himself. Gregory recoiled from the burden thus cast upon him by the unanimous suffrages of his church; he fled from Rome to escape the zeal of the electors, and earnestly besought the emperor Maurice to withhold the imperial approbation. He honestly shrunk from a task which appeared to him to transcend his strength and ability. But when the ratification of his election arrived, and no prospect remained of escaping the superhuman burden, he took possession of the see in a spirit of tempered courage, springing, we believe, from a genuine sense of obligation to the Church, and in pious reliance upon Providence for the strength needful to fulfil his high destiny.

The virtues of Gregory the Great, though the offspring of the truest piety, were not those of an expansive or en-

[a] On the state of Britain in the sixth century, consult *Bedæ* Hist. Ecc. lib. i.

His character, and difficulties of his position.

lightened understanding. No man of his age was more thoroughly imbued with the prevalent ecclesiastical views; nor do we believe that any one of his most strenuous predecessors entertained a more lofty conception of the Petrine power. But these views were under the control of a cooler judgment and a more Christian temper. He surveyed at a glance all the difficulties of his position; and these were, indeed, such as might shake the stoutest nerves, and put in requisition powers for which no man could give himself credit. When he ascended the papal throne, the plague was raging within the walls of Rome; the Lombard enemy hovered around her desolated and impoverished territory; the bishops of Istria and Venetia,—suffragans of the archbishop of Aquileia,—stood in open schism upon the still-vexed question of the "three chapters." In Africa, the remnants of the Donatist and Manichæan heresies were still stirring; the external influence of the holy see was as a thing that had passed away; and it seemed as if the task of reconstructing the whole edifice of Roman power had been cast upon the new pontiff, without any of those external facilities or supports to which his predecessors had been so largely indebted.

His foreign and domestic policy.

His first efforts to restore the decaying influence of Rome in the outlying dependencies of the Petrine chair were not attended with the desired success. His attempt to reduce the dissident bishops of Northern Italy to obedience was arrested by a peremptory command of the emperor, to which he submitted without remonstrance. In Africa, his labours to disturb the ill-omened harmony which the common calamities had established between the Catholic and the Donatist clergy, were equally unsuccessful. But at home his peculiar virtues and abilities found a fairer field of action. His first care was to administer consolation and relief to his afflicted flock. Next he turned his attention to the reform of the many abuses that infected the internal state of his church; more especially in the monastic system, which had by this time risen into a most important element of the ecclesiastical polity. Gregory was

devoutly attached to that mode of Christian life; he had adopted it with all his heart; and never lost sight of it even in the height of his success, nor amid the bustle and turmoil of public business.[b] No man was more profoundly convinced that the efficiency of every system of government must depend upon the strength and adaptation of its internal machinery. Many fatal irregularities had crept into the Roman monasteries, from indiscriminate admissions and loose superintendence. For the remedy of these evils, he ordered that no youth under the age of eighteen years should be admitted into any religious house; and that no one should be allowed to take the vows until he should have undergone a two-years probation. Monks who forsook their convent and returned to the world were condemned to the strictest seclusion for the remainder of their lives. The prevalent habit of vagrancy was repressed; and it was ordered that whenever a monk, even upon lawful occasions, should pass beyond his convent-walls, he should always be accompanied by a companion, as a witness of his conduct and a check upon his passions.[c] In reforming the vices of the prelates and clergy of his immediate dependency, Gregory proceeded with equal vigour. He deposed Demetrius, bishop of Naples, for crimes which, under any sounder and stronger system of government, must have forfeited the life of the delinquent to the outraged laws.[d] In like manner, and for like offences, he expelled Agatho, bishop of Lipari, and Paul, a Dalmatian prelate, from their sees. The voluminous correspondence of Gregory discloses other instances of punishments of the same nature inflicted and submitted to; but in no department of ecclesiastical discipline did he display more inexorable rigour than in the article of *clerical celibacy*.

Origin and progress of the theory of clerical celibacy.

The combined ideas of poverty and chastity —or rather abstinence from connubial enjoyment—formed the basis of the monastic system. That system was, as we have seen,[e] of

[b] Epp. *S. Greg. Mag.* lib. i. passim.

[c] *Ibid.* lib. x. ep. 22: "Qui sine teste ambulat, non recte vivit."

[d] *Ibid.* lib. ii. ep. 3.

[e] Conf. Book I. c. iv. p. 86. See particularly note (a).

very ancient date; and during the period of persecution found favour with all the more earnest Christians, from its adaptation to the militant state of the Church in its primitive stages. The taint of Orientalism, so observable throughout the early history of the Christian community, led gradually to the notion of a meritorious self-sacrifice; and that which was originally no more than a matter of prudence or expediency, was magnified into a virtue—a means of grace—a spiritual instrument of mighty power for the salvation of the possessor, and even of those to whom the same gift was denied.[f] It was honestly believed by many devout sons of the Church that a state of virginity was indispensable to that perfect purity essential to the mediatorial character of the priesthood. The priest, it was said, must always be engaged in prayer for the laity; his prayers were supposed to derive their efficacy from an absolute freedom from the remotest taint of carnality; marriage, whatever its intrinsic merits, must divert his thoughts from heaven, where alone they ought to rest, to the earthly objects of his affections, and quench the spirit within upon which all operative intercession depended.[g] The monastic communities universally embraced this view of technical purity; from them it gradually extended itself—at first only as a local custom—to the secular clergy; adopted by some churches, modified and occasionally rejected by others, but rarely encountering contradiction in principle. Still the practice never amounted to an absolute prohibition to marry, even after the reception of holy orders; so neither was the married state regarded as a disqualification for the ministry. Yet, towards the close of the sixth century, it was generally thought that all who took upon themselves the episcopal office, or entered into the orders of priest or deacon, ought, if already married, to abstain from connubial intercourse, though without the degrading formality of repudiation. It became at length customary for candidates for orders in this predicament to take a solemn

[f] See the passages from Hermas' Shepherd, as quoted in the passage of this work last above cited.

[g] Conf. Book II. c. i. p. 264 of this work.

engagement to live in a state of abstinence for the term of their natural lives; and in all cases the residence of the wife with the husband was permitted, provided it took place with such precautions as might secure the continence of the parties.

Gregory the Great on the celibacy of the clergy.

Pope Gregory I. insisted rigorously upon the observance of these customs; and extended them to the order of sub-deacon, which they had not hitherto been held to affect.[h] But it seems that he did not regard them as ordinances of universal obligation, nor as binding beyond the limits of his own immediate jurisdiction and the other dependencies of the holy see. And in recommending the Roman custom to other churches, he abstained from the imperious language of his predecessors; choosing rather the path of persuasion; and generally exhorting the foreign churches he addressed to enforce their own special discipline upon this head, and to insist on the rigid execution of existing rules and regulations against incontinence and dissoluteness of life among their clergy.[i]

His secular administration.

The administration of Gregory embraced spirituals and temporals with equal vigour. He introduced various reforms in the management of the estates of the Church essential to the efficiency and economy of ecclesiastical government. The property or endowments of the Roman church consisted of numerous lands and territories scattered over the whole surface of Italy and Sicily, as well as over some parts of the Gallic province between the Alps and the Rhone; without, however, as yet any approach to a claim of secular lordship or sovereignty. Though the extent of these endowments may have suffered some reduction in the course of the revolutions of the last century, yet the church was still possessed of large tracts of land, which, under proper management, might still yield a considerable revenue. The poverty to which she was reduced had been the result of the peculation of the church-stewards, and the diversion of the funds to the purposes of bribery.

[h] Epp. *S. Greg. Mag.* lib. iii. epp. 34 and 50.

[i] *Ibid.* libb. iii. vii. ix. and xi. passim.

All these evils were effectually checked by the care and diligence of Gregory. A system of management was introduced, by which the income was improved and augmented without having recourse to any extraordinary or exhausting measures for rendering it more productive.[j]

Progress of the Lombards under Agilulph.

From this general view of the measures of Pope Gregory for the internal consolidation of the see, we pass on to those incidents of his pontificate which relate to the external relations of the papacy at this point of time. The first and most important of these relations is that which subsisted between Rome and the Lombard occupants of Italy. The Lombard king Authari had been succeeded in the year 590 by Agilulph duke of Turin. At his accession the warfare between the Greeks of Ravenna and the conquerors of Italy had languished into an exhausting and unprofitable warfare of outposts and mutual inroads; but the new king, freed by pestilence from the formidable invasions of the Franks on his northern frontier, was now at leisure to prosecute the war with vigour and effect. He expelled the Byzantines from Tuscany and Picenum, and extended his conquests to the gates of Rome. The city was almost destitute of the means of defence; yet in this terrible emergency the spiritual influence of the pope sufficed to save the city from the calamities of a siege and capture.

Agilulph and Theudelinda in alliance with Rome.

Agilulph had married Theudelinda, the daughter of Garibald, duke, or—as he is sometimes called—king, of the Bavarians. Theudelinda was the widow of the late king Authari; and in his lifetime had, by her beauty and talents, inspired the nation with the most profound admiration and respect. Her marriage with Agilulph greatly strengthened his position; with this advantage the new king combined a noble and generous character capable of valuing the virtues of his consort, and disposing him to lean with affection and deference to her suggestions, religious or poli-

[j] See *Fleury*, H. E. tom. viii. pp. 33 to 36, for a detailed account of the economy of Gregory I.

tical. The queen had all along maintained an intimate correspondence with Pope Gregory; a circumstance which established a sympathy with Rome in the heart of her husband. Theudelinda was a strict Catholic, and professed herself the spiritual pupil of the pontiff. Through her, his admonitions and councils could not fail to acquire great weight in the mind of the Lombard prince; and it was agreed between Agilulph and his queen to regard Rome rather as the abode of their spiritual friend the pope than as a dependency of their treacherous enemy the Byzantine emperor. The Lombard armies were consequently withdrawn from the territory of the city, then commonly designated as the "duchy of Rome;" and for many succeeding years a friendly relation was established between the citizens and the neighbouring Lombards.[k]

Justification of the alliance; its results.

When Pope Gregory came to this amicable understanding with the enemy of his own sovereign, he entertained no thought of that political separation which seemed to result naturally from the new position he had chosen for himself and the defenceless people who trusted to his spontaneous chiefship. His thoughts and aspirations were wholly directed to the interests of the religious system of which he was the official guardian, and the temporal welfare of his deserted and helpless flock. It is hardly possible to conceive a more absolute identification of spiritual and political duties than that which the anomalous state of Italy at this point of time introduced into the external relations of Rome. The Byzantine influence was almost annihilated; with the power to protect, the right to govern passed away from the inept court of Constantinople; a nominal allegiance was all that could be claimed or yielded, while the real powers of government fell by a natural necessity into the hands of the chief who possessed the public confidence. Thus the enemy of the nominal sovereign became the friend of the pope. The Lombard king put an end to the persecutions which had from time to time afflicted the catholic communion within his territories. Their worship was not merely tolerated, but protected

[k] *Paul. Diac.* lib. vi. cc. ix. and x. p. 496.

and encouraged. Theudelinda established the Irish missionary priest Columbanus in a cell at Bobbio, and endowed it with all the land for four miles around.[l] She caused her son Adalwald to be baptised according to the catholic ritual; she built a spacious church at Monza, not far from Milan, and decorated it with all the magnificence of the age; the churches throughout Lombardy arose from their ashes; the catholic bishops, who had hitherto lived in penury and obscurity, were enriched with lands and endowments, and thus raised to honour and credit among the people; and now in every city and town of the kingdom a catholic prelate watched and controlled the influence of his Arian rival.[m]

Controversy of the "three chapters" in Italy.

Gregory thus became the parent of a religious revolution which added a vast amount of spiritual influence to the chair of Peter, and served in a great degree to balance the loss sustained from the continued schism of the "three chapters." The bishops of Rhætia, Venetia, and Istria, attached to the patriarchate of Aquileia, persisted in their opposition to the general council of Constantinople of the year 551, and in their consequent separation from Rome. Gregory himself was not prepared to encounter the theological arguments of his opponents. His own published opinion placed the decisions of a general council of the Church upon the level of inspiration.[n] The erasure of the three treatises which the fathers of Chalcedon had solemnly adopted into their proceedings was a manifest attack on the canon of Christian faith. The seceders reasonably affirmed that any attempt to invalidate a part must, if successful, overthrow the whole, and re-open every question therein discussed and determined. This objection was not replied to by Gregory; in lieu of argument he endeavoured to substitute authority; and to that end solicited the court of Constantinople—which still partially retained

[l] *Ughelli*, Ital. Sæc., ap. *Murat.* Ss. Rr. Ital. tom. i. p. 455.

[m] *Paul. Diac.* lib. vi. cc. v. vi. p. 455; Epp. *S. Greg. M.* lib. xiv. epp. 12 & 14.

[n] "Upon these (the general councils), as upon a polished rock, rests the whole edifice of the faith; and every one who refuseth to build thereon, though he *appear* to belong to the whole, is notwithstanding afar off on the outside of the enclosure." *S. Greg. M.* Epp. lib. i. ep. 24.

the sovereign authority in the refractory region—to direct the convocation of a general council of the Latin church, to be held at Rome; and to issue his mandate to the dissidents to give their attendance, and abide by the decision to be there pronounced upon the question at issue. But the latter loudly protested against a tribunal to be composed of so large a majority of opponents as that which now stood at the disposal of the pope; and they rested their cause upon the "constitutum" of Pope Vigilius, as declaratory at once of their rigid orthodoxy and of their aversion to every inroad upon the inviolable sanctity of a general council of the Church.[o]

The proposal of Pope Gregory fell to the ground. Neither was he more successful in his endeavours to maintain the ancient claims of his see upon the Illyrian provinces. The fatal controversy of the "three chapters" had impaired the influence of Rome there as elsewhere. Again, the vicariate of Thessalonica, even if available at this juncture, had been practically annulled by the division of the great diocese of Illyricum Orientale introduced by the emperor Justinian. In the earlier years of his reign, he had withdrawn the provinces of Epirus, Dardania, Prævalitana, and Mœsia, from the jurisdiction of Thessalonica, and annexed them to that of Justiniania Prima, a new patriarchal see founded by the emperor in honour of the place of his birth.[p] In the year 541 he confirmed the prior ordinance, and decreed that the new archbishop should stand in the same relation to his subordinate prelacy as that actually subsisting between the pope of Rome and the bishops of the provinces subject to his patriarchal superintendence.[q] The establishment of the new archbishopric

Establishment of the metropolitan see of Justiniania Prima.

[o] *Baron.* Ann. 590, § 38: conf. c. v. pp. 156, 157 of this Book. See also ibid. p. 163.

[p] See *Corp. Jur. Civil.* novell. xi. p. 28, and novell. cxxxi. p. 184, fol. ed.

[q] This seems to me the fair construction of the words, *τὸν τόπον ἐπέχειν αὐτὸν τοῦ ἀποστολικοῦ Ῥώμης θρόνου.* The Latin translators render the words thus: "in subjectis sibi provinciis *locum obtinere* eum (archiepiscopum) sedis apostolicæ Romæ." It seems to me that the words *τὸν τόπον ἐπέχειν* cannot without violence be extended to any prior relation existing between these provinces and the see of Rome. The expressions here strongly recall to our recollection the words used by the Nicene Fathers in defining the jurisdictions of Antioch and Alexandria—*ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῷ ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐπισκόπῳ τοῦτο σύνεθές ἐστιν.* Rome is here the constitutional model

Gregory in the cause of Hadrian of Thebes.

was not propitious to the claims of Rome. In the year 592, Hadrian, bishop of Thebes in Thessaly, was deposed by a provincial synod. He appealed to the primate of Justiniania, who affirmed the decree of the inferior court. Hadrian carried his complaint before Pope Gregory; and the latter took upon himself to annul the proceedings, and enjoined the primate to restore the appellant to his see upon pain of excommunication, exempting him thenceforward from the jurisdiction of his metropolitan.[r]

Cause of Honoratus of Salona.

The result of this experiment upon the attachment of the prelacy of Illyria is unknown. The issue of the transaction next to be adverted to is equivocal. In the same year Natalis of Salona, the metropolitan of Dalmatia, a province of the diocese of Justiniania Prima, deposed his archdeacon Honoratus. The latter appealed to Pope Gregory, who directed him to be reinstated. But Natalis dying soon afterwards, Honoratus himself was elected by the clergy and people of Salona to the vacant see. But the new bishop was obnoxious to the prelates of the province, and they took upon themselves to nominate one Maximus to succeed Natalis; and this person soon afterwards obtained his letters of license and confirmation from the court of Constantinople. The people and clergy of Salona resisted the

or precedent on which the emperor, like the Nicene Fathers, desired to define the jurisdiction of the new archbishop. The Illyrians might, and probably did, prefer the Latin forms of church-government to those of the Greeks; and to this we attribute the selection of Rome instead of Constantinople or Antioch as the model of the new church-constitution. It should be remembered too that Justiniania was not substituted for Thessalonica, where—if any where—the papal vicariate still resided; so that if the word τόπος meant this vicariate, there would be now two vicars instead of one. It may be further remarked, that the imperial government never recognised the papal vicariate of Illyricum Orientale; but rather encouraged the prelates of that diocese to resort to Constantinople in the "majores causæ" of their churches. On the other side, it is urged that the term τόπος is that ordinarily used to signify a representative agency; and that the attribution of the τόπον to Justiniania was a natural consequence of the division of the province, and an arrangement necessary to preserve the ancient jurisdiction of Rome within the diocese. The term may, indeed, sometimes have been so used; but in the case of Cyril, who was the self-professed agent of Rome at Ephesus (Book II. c. iii. p. 331 of this work), Pope Cœlestine describes him as τοποτηρῶν ἡμῖν—"watching, or taking care, in our place"—words of a much more definite signification. Besides the word τόπος, when used to denote place or representation, is generally put in the dative followed by a genitive, τόπῳ τινός. The second branch of the argument cannot be sustained for the reasons already assigned.

[r] *S. Greg. M.* Epp. lib. ii. epp. 6 and 7.

installation of Maximus, and the new bishop was inducted by the civil power with the aid of a military force. Pope Gregory at once declared the election void, and by authority of the chair of Peter set aside all the proceedings. He treated the imperial letters either as a naked forgery, or as obtained by misrepresentation and fraud; and peremptorily commanded Maximus to abstain from all episcopal functions until the emperor should be more perfectly informed, and the decision of the holy see upon the subject be definitively published. Maximus paid no attention to the papal mandate, and Gregory summoned him to Rome to answer for his contumacy: but the emperor Maurice—irritated perhaps by the peremptory bearing of the pope, perhaps with intent to support the jurisdiction of the primate and the authority of his own letters of license—commanded Gregory to give no further disturbance to the new archbishop of Salona. The remonstrances of the pope at Constantinople were unheeded; and Gregory, dreading a direct collision with the imperial prerogative, dextrously shifted his ground, and summoned Maximus to Rome to answer to an impeachment of purely ecclesiastical offences, among the rest those of simony and sacrilege, preferred against him by his rival Honoratus; a proceeding by which the pope hoped to deprive him of the imperial protection. Maximus and his party put in the strictly canonical plea that the summons was irregular, because no bishop could be arraigned of any ecclesiastical offence out of the metropolitan diocese to which he was alone amenable.[5] Pope Gregory again applied to the emperor Maurice to support his authority; and the latter at length sent instructions to the exarch Callinicus of Ravenna to interpose by choosing proper arbitrators for the settlement of this vexatious dispute. Maximianus, patriarch of Ravenna, was approved by both parties as a qualified referee; and, in obedience to

[5] Conf. Book I. c. viii. p. 191, c. ix. p. 207; and Book II. c. i. p. 256. Some doubts might perhaps be raised upon the canons of Nicæa, Sardica (if ever known to the Orientals), and Constantinople (I.), whether any canonical remedy had been provided in the case of *metropolitan* bishops charged with ecclesiastical offences. But the analogy of the older canon-law is decidedly in favour of archbishop Maximus, if we set aside the claim of the cathedra Petri, which could hardly be said to rest upon any canonical title.

his award, the archbishop of Salona professed contrition for his contempt of the papal summons, and was permitted to purge himself by his own oath from the criminal charges preferred against him. After this he accepted absolution, and was acknowledged by the pope as the legitimate metropolitan of the Dalmatian province.[t]

Equivocal termination of the dispute.

This termination of the dispute satisfied neither the demands of the canon-law nor the claims of St. Peter's chair. For, as far as the rule of law was involved, the irregularity of the trial of Maximus admits of no question. He was compelled to answer before a foreign tribunal, constituted by secular authority, and without any diocesan decision, from which there could have been a canonical appeal either to Rome or to any other ecclesiastical authority. Next,—supposing Rome to have taken her stand upon the equivocal canons of Sardica,[u] she could lay claim to no right to interpose until complaint made of a denial of justice by the canonical tribunal established by the fifth of the Nicene canons. No such complaint was made, because there had been no decision to appeal from. Honoratus had appealed to Rome in the *first instance;* and Rome had arbitrarily reversed the act of the Dalmatian prelacy without any cause in hand. In the next place, the judgment was given *at Rome*, in defiance of the forms prescribed by the Sardican fathers. The pope had issued no summons to the neighbouring bishops of the eparchia; he had nominated no triers; he had sent no "legates a latere" to preside; nor had he delegated the powers vested in him to other prelates of his own choice. There is, in truth, no article of ecclesiastical law which had not been violated or ignored in this extraordinary proceeding. Moreover the pontiff had failed in his attempt to drag the archbishop of Salona before his own tribunal. The right of direct interference with the privileges of the provincial churches was practically repudiated; and the *original* jurisdiction over the matter in hand claimed by the chair

[t] *S. Greg. M.* Epp. lib. iii. epp. 15 & 20. The subject recurs frequently in the second and seventh books of Gregory's epistles.

[u] Conf. Book I. c. ix. pp. 204 et sqq.; Book III. c. i. pp. 43-45, ibid. c. ii. p. 60.

of Peter was neutralised by the interposition of an anomalous judicature equally unknown to the canon-law and subversive of the privilege set up by Rome herself. The pope appears in the transaction as a party rather than as a judge; and though the decision was in his favour, yet no safe inference as to the actual relation of the parties can be deduced from a proceeding in which every rule of law, custom, or privilege that might have been alleged on either part had been wilfully set aside or overlooked.

John the Faster patriarch of Constantinople.

Though the Roman pontiffs had not paraded the titles of "œcumenical bishop" and "chief of all the churches" at the head of their public acts, yet their pretensions to that supremacy had advanced to the broadest assertion of ecclesiastical sovereignty.[v] Constantinople, on the other hand, had confidently assumed the titular rank assigned to her by synodal and imperial authority. Whatever extent of meaning may have been attached to it, Pope Pelagius had, as we have seen, taken great offence at the lofty designation. John the Faster had not yielded to the threats of the pope; he was aware that the real question touched the dignity and independence of his church, and that he would be supported by the court of the emperor Maurice, who preferred the communion of his own domestic pastor to the remoter connection with the head of a distant, and at this moment precarious, dependency.

Assumes the title of "universal bishop."

Pope Gregory, however, at this early period of his pontificate shrunk from a quarrel with Constantinople; he therefore thought fit to give the go-by to the censures fulminated by his predecessor against the patriarch, and addressed to him the usual synodal letters announcing his accession to the pontificate. In the reply to this act of ecclesiastical courtesy John again subscribed himself "universal bishop." Pope Gregory promptly rebuked the pretension, and reminded the patriarch that his predecessor had for that single cause

[v] Conf. Book II. c. iv. pp. 349 et sqq.; Book III. c. i. pp. 34, 35, 37: see also the language of Pope Gelasius I., ch. ii. pp. 51, 55, 56, 58, more particularly pp. 61, 62, 63; and that of Hormisda, c. iii. pp. 111, 112, 117.

annulled the decree of a general synod. "Lay aside," he said, "the haughty and damnable distinction. What reply will you make to Christ, *the only Head of the universal Church*, at the last day, for thus usurping his office,—you, who, by this title of universality, have presumed to subject all His members to yourself? Besides, it is known to all that the *apostle Peter is the chief of the universal Church.* Paul, Andrew, John,—what were these other than heads of *particular* churches? Yea all are members under the one head, which is Christ; yet not one of these ever coveted the title of 'universal bishop.' Now it is well known to your holiness that the most reverend council of Chalcedon expressly yielded[w] to the apostolic see, in which I now sit, the distinctive title of universal bishop; yet none of my predecessors ever assumed that *name of singularity*, lest by imputing to any one bishop an attribute of a singular and exclusive significance, the whole episcopate should thereby be shorn of its due honour. . . . . Let us therefore beware lest our names be written among those who covet the first places in the synagogues; who are anxious for salutations in the market-place; who desire to be called of men 'Rabbi:' for against these our Lord saith to his disciples, 'Be not *ye* called "Rabbi," for one is *your* Master, and ye all are brethren; and be not ye called "Father" on earth, for one is *your* Father.' What, then, beloved brother, will you reply in that terrible day of the coming Judge,—you who desire to be called not merely 'Father,' but 'universal Father?'" In the same strain Pope Gregory remonstrated with the emperor Maurice upon his connivance at the misconduct of the patriarch. He persisted in affirming that the title of "œcumenical bishop" implied a claim to a *sole* episcopate; that it amounted, in short, to *a swallowing up, or absorption*, of all episcopal rank or office into one.[x]

Remonstrance of Pope Gregory.

At the death of John the Faster, in the year 595, his

[w] *S. Greg. M.* Epp. lib. iv. ep. 38. It is not perhaps too much to say, with Pope Gregory, that the fathers of Chalcedon *yielded* the title to the Roman pontiff. His legates assumed it for their master with the consent of the fathers; but it would be perhaps hardly correct to affirm that they adopted the act of Paschasinus and his fellow-legates. See Book II. c. v. p. 397.

[x] *Ibid.* Epp. lib. iv. epp. 32, 34, 36, 38.

archpriest, Cyriacus, succeeded to the see of Constantinople. The new patriarch sent his synodal letters announcing his election to Pope Gregory, with the official signature of "œcumenical patriarch."[y] The pontiff did not take immediate notice of the offensive designation; but still observed towards him the usual forms of ecclesiastical courtesy.[z] Yet when he heard that the people of Constantinople had hailed the inauguration of Cyriacus with extravagant demonstrations of joy, he did not omit to express his disapprobation; predicting that, after all, he would not turn out the blessing to the Church which the acclamations of the people seemed to predict.[a] Gregory, however, for the present restricted his resentment to a solemn monition, addressed to Cyriacus, warning him that there could be no solid peace in the Church until he should have renounced the "superstitious" title. At the same time he struck up a correspondence with the patriarchs Anastasius of Antioch and Eulogius of Alexandria, with a view to obtain their participation in the censure he had passed upon the act of Cyriacus. "It behoved them," he said, "to keep a watchful eye upon the church of Constantinople." "That church," he remarked, "had been ever fruitful of heresies; and now a greater danger threatened them from the same quarter; for if a single bishop be permitted to assume the attribute of universality, and should afterwards fall into error, the whole Church must fall with him."[b]

Protests and appeal of Pope Gregory.

[y] *S. Greg. Mag.* lib. vi. epp. 4 & 24.

[z] *Ibid.* lib. vi. epp. 6 and 30.

[a] *Ibid.* lib. vi. ep. 7. The populace hailed the new patriarch with the words of Scripture: "This is the day which the Lord hath made; let us rejoice and be glad in it." Gregory remarked that this was a profane adaptation to a mortal of prophetic words applicable to the coming of the Saviour.

[b] *Ibid.* Epp. lib. vi. ep. 24. The idea here expressed seems to be, *first*, that *the Church subsists in the episcopacy*; and *secondly*, that *a universal bishop would absorb the episcopacy*—he would embody in himself the whole Church, so that if he fall, the Church must fall with him. This opinion corresponds with that of Optatus of Milevis, as applied by him to the see of Rome: Book II. c. ii. p. 295 of this work. That see by itself alone represented the *visible unity of the apostolic power*, that is *the Church*; and it was to provide against the chance of that see falling into error, and thereby drawing after it the downfall of the whole edifice, that Ennodius introduced the extravagant presumption that the bishop of Rome was impeccable, inasmuch as it was not to be supposed that God would permit his Church to fall. Conf. c. ii. p. 76 of this Book. If the *first* proposition be true, it would be difficult to disprove the second, or to deny the presumed necessity of an impeccable head.

His reply to the emperor Maurice.

The emperor Maurice, however, disapproved of this attempt of the pope to introduce discord into the Church; and expressed his profound regret that so trivial a thing as a name or title of honour should be allowed to disturb the subsisting harmony. Gregory replied by denying the triviality; he contended that he who assumes so proud a name is a *forerunner of Antichrist*, for he thereby exalteth himself high above all; such a name is not a trivial thing, for it is a scandal in the Church, and for that cause alone ought to be sacrificed to the peace and contentment of the whole body.[c]

Rescript of Gregory on the three Petrine sees.

Eulogius of Alexandria entered cordially into the views of Gregory, and replied in a strain of compliment to the chair of Peter highly acceptable to the pope. The answer of Gregory is remarkable: "I have read," he said, "with delight the things you have written me touching the chair of Peter, the prince of the apostles; wherein also you remind me that I at this time am seated in that chair as one of his successors. And although I am unworthy of a place among the number, yet do I willingly take to myself what you have said of me; because it was said only in reference to me as sitting upon this holy chair. . . . . For it is universally acknowledged that the holy Church is established upon the solid foundation of the prince of the apostles, who, by the name given unto him, 'Peter,' which is derived from 'petra,' a rock, showed forth the firmness of his faith; whom also the voice of truth proclaimed to be *the rock*; thereby that it was said unto him, 'I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven.' Again: 'When thou art converted, strengthen the brethren.' And again: 'Simon, son of Jonah, lovest thou me? Feed my sheep.' Therefore, though there be many apostles, yet, because of that *sole principality* which was given to him, the see of the prince of the apostles is exalted above all; a see which, though set up in *three different cities*, is derived from him alone. For he did most highly of all exalt that see

[c] *S. Greg. Mag.* lib. vi. ep. 30, ad Maurit. Imp.

in which he took up his final abode, and honoured by finishing there his mortal career. But he also founded and honoured that see in which he seated his disciple, Mark the Evangelist. And lastly, he erected that see in which he himself sat for the space of seven years, though he afterwards relinquished it. Since, therefore, these three are derived from one, and are one; and seeing that now, by Divine authority, three several bishops do preside over them,—I do therefore take unto myself all the good I hear of you; and I beseech you, that whatever good you hear of me, to count it among your own merits; for we are one in him, who prayed for his disciples that, as he and the Father were one, they also might be one in him."[d]

Sentiments of Pope Gregory on the Petrine primacy.

We do not find that at any former period of ecclesiastical history the bishops of Rome had admitted so close a parallel between the three great sees, or that they had ever conceived them in so near an approach to equality.[e] The oneness of the three sees almost appears to have been suggested to the mind of Pope Gregory by the terms of the Nicene doctrine of the Trinity; it is an identity of being, with a distinction of persons only. This conception is not inconsistent with a priority of place, but altogether irreconcilable with a priority of power or authority. As a compliment to Alexandria and Antioch, it was dangerous; if intentional, it was fatal to the Roman supremacy. But in the works of this remarkable man there are more proofs than this of a conflict in his mind between his internal convictions and his outward position. The former often break out in words, where the latter would prescribe a discreet silence. In his hands the theory of St. Peter's chair is far less peremptory, less sharply defined, than in those of his predecessors. He satisfies himself with reminding his brother bishops of the oneness of the Church-catholic in and through the prince of the

[d] *S. Greg. Mag.* Epp. lib. vi. ep. 37.

[e] To the best of my belief, this is the first mention of the parallel occurring in any papal document. All other opinions contemplate the *sole* primacy of the Roman chair of Peter. See the opinions of Optatus, Augustine, Jerome, Cœlestine I., and Leo the Great: Book I. c. x. p. 231; Book II. c. i. p. 286, c. ii. pp. 294 et sqq., and c. iv. pp. 348 et sqq.

apostles. And in this view, his conception of the relation borders rather upon a symbolical than an actual oneness. Peter appears as the symbol rather than the personal representative of the outward unity.[f] The pope, indeed, accepts the eulogies of the patriarch of Alexandria, but sinks the dignity of St. Peter's chair in the oneness of the three principal sees; he strives to hold fast his supremacy, and the prerogatives implied therein, if possible, without offending against Gospel humility by the assumption of the names and titles properly denoting them. Though claiming, as pope, to be regarded as the "Father of fathers," he repudiated—probably with sincerity—all that might redound to the gratification of personal vanity; herein, as he believed, satisfying the Saviour's precept, "Be not ye *called* Rabbi." Although, therefore, his exultation in the dignity of his office is very apparent, his professions of personal self-abasement and humility are frequent, and sometimes overcharged; he is humbled to the dust by his sense of the tremendous duties cast upon him; he is appalled, even to death, by the dangers to which his elevation may expose his spiritual interests. On the other hand, he is wrapt in the contemplation of the sublime trust confided to him; and consoles himself with the reflection that he sought it not, that he fled from it, that it was the will of God and not his own will that had thus lifted him up on high above his fellows.[g]

His personal humility.

There is every reason to believe that this diffidence was a genuine feeling. It is, in fact, accounted for by his prior monastic habits, and by the traditional views of Christian life from which the conventual system took its origin.[h] This genuineness, we think, shows itself in the absence of that unchristian harshness of pretension which marks the language and demeanour of some of his most distinguished predecessors. In this humble disposition, Gregory is ready to share his honours with the sister sees; and in the same spirit, he desires to

[f] Conf. Book I. c. iv. p. 89.

[g] *S. Greg. Mag.* Epp. lib. i. epp. 1, 4, 5, 7, 29, 30, &c.

[h] Conf. Book I. c. iv. p. 96 of this work.

expel high-sounding titles and personal distinctions from the Church, and for his own person to be known only as the "*servant of the servants of God.*"[i]

In the like temper of mind he reproves his friend Eulogius of Alexandria for receiving his admonitions as "*commands.*" "I protest," he writes, "against every phrase implying command as between you and me; for I know who I am, and who you are: in station you are my brother; in spiritual attainments you are my father: I have therefore commanded nothing, I have but pointed out to you what I think expedient. But you, my brother, have not comprehended my meaning; and this I perceive from the form of your address: for in the very exordium of your letter I find *the forbidden words of pride* applied to me; you style me '*universal pope.*' I beseech your holiness to do this no more; for you must perceive that what is assigned to me beyond the measure of right, is withdrawn from the brethren. I do not desire to deprive them of their honours: I do not desire to make them poor; for my honour consists in upholding their honour. . . . . If you call me 'universal pope,' you deny yourself to be that which you say I am. Away, then, with all empty titles. Away with words and names that puff up unto vanity, which wound charity. And although you know that at the holy synod of Chalcedon, and by the fathers their successors, this title was assigned to my predecessors, yet not one of them ever thought it right to assume it; in order that by thus showing their jealousy for the honour of all bishops, they might not forfeit their own before Almighty God."[j]

He assumes the designation of the "servus servorum Dei."

He repudiates the title of "universal pope."

But the precautions taken on a subsequent occasion betray an apprehension that cannot be wholly accounted for by his jealous desire to protect the character and honour of his episcopal brethren. Cyriacus of Constantinople had summoned a general synod of the Oriental churches

Precautions of Gregory against the ambitious design of Cyriacus of Constantinople.

[i] "Servus servorum Dei." *S. Greg. Mag.* Epp. lib. i. ep. 34, ad Petrum.

[j] *S. Greg. Mag.* Epp. lib. vii. ep. 30.

to meet at the capital; and the pope was informed, or suspected, that he intended to use this meeting as a mode or opportunity of procuring a conciliar sanction—similar probably to that obtained by Pope Leo at Chalcedon—to the use of the title of "œcumenical patriarch." Gregory lost no time in apprising the prelates of Illyricum Orientale, more especially the primates of Thessalonica, Justiniania Prima, and Crete, of the presumed design of Cyriacus. He reminded them, that some time ago Bishop John (the Faster) of Constantinople had assembled a council of his church by the style and title of "œcumenical bishop;" and that his predecessor Pelagius II. had for that cause, *of his own authority, annulled all the acts of that synod;* yet Cyriacus had retained and used the forbidden title. He therefore warned them on no account to consent to, or to write—or, if written to, to approve or allow, or to countersign—any document in which the forbidden title should be used. "It had come to his knowledge," he said, "that a synod was convoked at Constantinople, and that they were summoned to attend it; and he had reason to believe that perverse men might be tempted to avail themselves of that meeting clandestinely to obtain undue sanction to the usurpation of Cyriacus." "And although," he continues, "you cannot be ignorant that *without the authority and consent of the holy apostolic see of Rome* the acts of such assembly can have no force or validity, yet I do hereby admonish and adjure you beforehand, that no one of you be induced by any persuasions or blandishments, by any hope of reward or fear of punishment, to consent to a proceeding of this nature; but that, on the contrary, you raise your voices with one accord against any such depraved design; and that, *taking your stand upon the apostolical authority,* you drive away the thievish wolf about to break into your fold: betray not your churches into the hand of the destroyer: permit no synod to be holden concerning this matter: thwart every device to bring it together. For such a synod is no lawful synod; it is no synod at all. If, however, the meeting should turn upon other matters, be upon your guard; be vigilant; be circumspect; lest any

derogation to person or rank be allowed to creep into the Church through your negligence."[k]

It is apparent that the renunciation on his own behalf of the title of "universal bishop" did not extend to the abandonment of a single article of prerogative claimable under that title. Gregory peremptorily debars the bishops he addresses from the free exercise of their private judgment, and interdicts all deliberation upon the merits of the claim of Constantinople. He dogmatically affirms, *as a matter of legal notoriety*, that all synodal assemblies unsanctioned by Rome are null and void; and strongly implies a right to stifle all opposition to the papal commands. He intimates that, as a matter of *strict* right, the Roman pontiff *was* entitled to use the designation in question; and that the nonuse was a matter of expediency: it might be personally discreditable to the pontiff; it might engender strife and jealousy; it might be regarded as derogatory to the rights and honours of other bishops. Yet upon no one of the many occasions upon which he claims the authority of Chalcedon on behalf of the Petrine universality, does he ever notice that alleged grant as an error or a mistake—as unduly or uncanonically conferred. He suffers it to stand upon the statute-book of the Church as a matter of established prerogative; approving the thing, reprobating the name only.

Latent equivocations of Gregory on the Petrine primacy.

We do not pretend to reconcile the moral equivocations and inconsistencies observable in the opinions and conduct of this distinguished pontiff. Whether they justify a charge of disingenuousness; or involve the deeper guilt of hypocrisy; or only raise a suspicion of paltering with an internal unacknowledged sense of the essential vanity of the pretensions implied in the title of "œcumenical bishop," and of a desire to satisfy his own misgivings by a colourable repudiation of an empty name, while reserving to himself the exorbitant powers which his secret conscience reproved;—these and similar questions must be left to the judgment of the individual inquirer, upon a careful and candid perusal of his works.

[k] *S. Greg. Mag.* Epp. lib. vii. pt. ii. ep. 70.

He renounces the communion of Cyriacus.

Gregory completed the schism by the recall of his apocrisarius, or resident legate, at the church and court of Constantinople, and by renouncing the communion of the patriarch Cyriacus. The vanity of the Greek court, and the ever-rankling jealousy of the church, left no room for compromise. As heretofore, a victory could be expected from political revolution only. And thus, perhaps, among other causes to be hereafter adverted to, it happened, that the bloody tragedy which befel the reigning sovereign and his unfortunate family soon afterwards fell upon the ear of Pope Gregory like tidings of great joy.

CHAPTER VII.

GREGORY THE GREAT.

Gregory and the Latin churches—Projects the Conversion of the Anglo-Saxons —Mission of Augustine—His success—Method of conversion—Regulation of Gregory for the Anglo-Saxon churches—British and Irish churches—Conference of Augustine with the British bishops—Its results—Instructions of Pope Gregory to Augustine—His toleration of pagan rites—Patronage of images, &c. —Ecclesiastical vestures—The Dalmatic and Pallium—Ecclesiastical government of Pope Gregory—Corruptions of the Frankish churches—Image and Relic worship in France—Serenus of Marseilles against Image-worship—Pope Gregory on Image-worship—Prevalence of Image-worship—The conventual system of Pope Gregory—Exemptions from episcopal jurisdiction—Tendency of these exemptions—Influence of Pope Gregory on France—Intercourse with the Spanish churches—Cause of Januarius and Stephen, &c.—Canon-law in the cause—Defects of papal proceeding—Prerogative *versus* civil and canon law—Pope Gregory and the African churches—Moderation of Pope Gregory —Edict of the Emperor Maurice—Remonstrance of Pope Gregory—Ordinance respecting the admission of Soldiers into Monasteries—Murder of Maurice—Phocas emperor—Pope Gregory congratulates the usurper—His peculiar views and his death—Character of St. Gregory the Great—His relation with the court of Constantinople—Judgment upon his conduct in the affair of Phocas—Sabinian pope—Decree of Phocas—Its authenticity, &c.—Construction of the decree—Results—Popes from A.D. 608 to A.D. 625—Honorius I. pope.

BEFORE we pass on to the further details of Pope Gregory's dealings with the Oriental churches, it is necessary to advert shortly to his intercourse with the churches of the Latin communion; and somewhat more particularly to his enterprising and successful attempt to extend the benefits of Roman Christianity to the heathen occupants of the British islands.

Gregory's dealings with the Latin churches, &c.

In the year 597, the attention of the pontiff was called to the religious destitution of the Anglo-Saxon conquerors of Britain; and he conceived the design of effecting their conversion, and thus reducing a powerful and vigorous race of barbarians under the spiritual dominion of the holy see. The opportunity which presented itself at this point of time was not to be overlooked. In the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Kent, the king, Ethelbert, had married Bertha, daughter of the Frankish king Charibert of Neustria; but under

His scheme for the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons.

express stipulation for the free exercise of her religion.[a] She was accompanied, as her chaplain, by a bishop named Luithard; and from him encouraging reports were transmitted to Pope Gregory of the disposition of the king and people of Kent to accept the faith of Christ.[b] This intelligence revived in his mind a desire which, as we are told by the Venerable Bede,[c] the aspect of certain Anglo-Saxon youths exposed for sale in the slave-market at Rome had suggested some years before his elevation to the papacy. An opportunity so favourable as that which now presented itself, appeared to Gregory in the light of a providential interposition on behalf of the benighted heathen of Britain. With this impression, he despatched a company of forty missionary monks, under the command of Augustine, the prior of his own monastery of St. Andrew, to preach the Gospel according to Rome to the benighted Anglo-Saxons. The zeal of the pope sustained the fainting spirits of the missionaries, whom ignorance of the language of the barbarians, and alarming reports of their savage character and habits, had at the outset seriously discouraged. They landed on the Isle of Thanet, and announced their arrival to Ethelbert, with good tidings of great joy from Rome to himself and his people. Augustine and his retinue were allowed to proceed to Durovernum, or Canterbury, the residence of the king; where also his Christian queen, Bertha, was permitted to hold Christian worship in the ruins of an ancient British church dedicated to St. Martin. A public audience was granted to him, and permission was given to preach the Gospel to the prince, his court, and people, freely and at all seasons. Ethelbert was favourably impressed; and the approval of the monarch opened the ears and the hearts of his subjects to the new teachers. Their national prejudices yielded to the royal inclinations, the example of their queen, and the earnestness of the missionaries. They had no properly religious impressions to oppose to the splendid promises of the Gospel; they saw little

Mission of Augustine.

His success.

[a] *Greg. Turon.* lib. ix. c. xxvi., ap. *D. Bouquet*, tom. ii. p. 348.

[b] *S. Greg. Mag.* Epp. lib. v. ep. 58.

[c] Hist. Angl. Eccl. lib. ii. c. i.

reason to believe that their Odin or Thor were more powerful protectors than the God to whom their thriving neighbours and kinsfolk, the Franks, had consecrated their political state. Ethelbert himself took care that the proceedings of the missionaries should be open to public observation, in order that no forbidden rites, no compulsory or clandestine methods, should be resorted to to gain converts. Augustine accommodated himself to these regulations; he preached freely and publicly to the people through interpreters supplied to him from Rome. Converts multiplied; and we are told that, on the Christmas Day of the year 597, no fewer than ten thousand heathen were gathered in a mass into the fold of the Christian Church by baptism. Ethelbert himself prudently forbore to announce his own conversion until he had not only satisfied himself of the genuine character of the missionaries, but had also formed a true estimate of the dispositions of his own subjects towards the new religion. After this he himself accepted baptism; and Christianity, in the Roman form, became the established religion of the Kentish kingdom as long as he lived to profess and protect it.[d]

Means of conversion, and their results.

The scheme of doctrine and discipline introduced by Augustine was essentially monastic; that is, it was narrow, exclusive, and intolerant. The missionary monk was little influenced by that spirit of patient forbearance which his master had imbibed from the wellspring of Christian wisdom. But his management was vigorous, and his method was well adapted to the coarse apprehensions of his barbarian hearers. Success like that which attended his labours might well disturb the equilibrium of a mind formed in the seclusion of the cloister, and stimulated by the contemplation of those miraculous interpositions by which it had pleased God to manifest himself to the heathen at the first preaching of the Gospel. Under the like circumstances, it was not unnatural that he should look for the like assistance. The heat of his zeal, and the incapacity of his mind to embrace all the aspects of his new position, disposed him to behold a miracle in each instance

[d] Ep. S. Greg. Mag. ad Eulogium,—*Bedæ*, II. E. Angl. libb. i. and ii.

of uncomprehended success, or some special incidents attending it. His own credulity stood probably much upon a level with the superstition of his converts; each aiding the delusion in the mind of the other, until neither was inclined to doubt the reality of that which both expected with equal faith and earnestness. The work of conversion and miracle went on hand in hand; till Pope Gregory found it necessary to check the self-sufficient spirit which such a state of things was sure to engender, and to reduce the elated apostle of the Anglo-Saxons to the position of a humble emissary of the Gospel of Christ.[c]

Regulations of Gregory for the government of the Anglo-Saxon church.

Among the Anglo-Saxons, as among all the Germanic races, the first adoption of Christianity was suggested or favoured by temporal motives. But when their conversion, such as it was, was accomplished, the Christian scheme was found admirably suited to the strong and virgin soil into which it was thus transplanted. That scheme was offered to them as the sole gift of Rome; the means as well as the tidings of salvation came from Rome rather than from Christ. The converts themselves perceived no distinction between the source and the means of grace; both were represented to them as at the disposal of the Roman pontiff. The constitution of the Anglo-Saxon church therefore assumed an exclusively Roman form. There was no living tradition of a more primitive date to control the operation of the missionary scheme. Not many years before the advent of Augustine, the last British bishop of London had died or emigrated; and it is probable that the remnant of his flock existed only as the ignorant and helpless bondsmen of the conquerors. In the year 601, Gregory despatched a new colony of missionary monks under Mellitus and Justus, to reinforce the establishment of Augustine. The latter meanwhile had settled himself at Durovernum, or Canterbury, the capital of his royal convert; where also a church and a monastery had been built for him. Mellitus brought with him the pallium of an archbishop for Augustine, with instructions from the pope to consecrate twelve bishops for his pro-

[c] *S. Greg. Mag.* Epp. lib. ix. ep. 58, ad August. Conf. also *Id.* lib. xii. ep. 34.

vince; and, if he should see a prospect of advantage to the propagation of the faith, to establish a bishop at York, who should then have authority to nominate twelve other bishops for the northern districts of the island. Augustine himself was empowered to retain the general superintendence of the Anglo-Saxon churches during his lifetime; but after his decease, the bishop of York, with the pallium of metropolitan, was to assume the independent government of his provincial suffragans.[f]

British and Irish churches.

In the ecclesiastical view of the case the Anglo-Saxon church was the genuine daughter of Rome. But beyond the limits of that establishment, no right of parentage can be assigned to her within the British islands. A numerous Christian population still existed in the northern and western districts, whose traditions gave no countenance to the Roman claim of maternity. The ritual and discipline of the British, Welsh, and Irish churches differed in many points from those of Rome and the Latins generally. They celebrated the Easter festival in conformity with the practice of the Oriental churches; and in the form of their tonsure, as well as in that of the baptismal rite, they followed the same model; differences which of themselves seem sufficient to preclude all probability of a purely Latin pedigree. Thus we find the Irish missionary Columbanus, from his monastery at Luxeu (Luxovium), in the Ardennes, disdainfully rejecting the instances of a papal legate, seconded by the Frankish bishops, to induce him and his companions to depart from the ancient practice of keeping Easter, as observed in the Irish church; at the same time boldly assuring Pope Gregory, that if any man should upon that point controvert the authority of Anatolius of Laodicæa,[g] as approved by St. Jerome, he would be regarded as a heretic by the British Christians.[h]

The ignorant Anglo-Saxon convert was incapable of distinguishing between the religion and its messengers; the authority of the priest was the authority of the Deity

[f] *S. Greg. Mag.* Epp. lib. xii. ep. 15.

[g] Anatolius was bishop of Laodicæa in the year 269, and wrote a treatise upon the Easter festival, which Jerome knew and thought well of.

[h] *Fleury*, H. E. tom. viii. p. 222.

Augustine's conference with the British bishops.

in whose name the priest appeared and taught. On the other hand, the British Christians knew the pope only as bishop of Rome, and were well disposed to pay him that free deference due to the head of so important a branch of the Christian Church. Beyond this, they saw no reason to impute to him any more comprehensive authority than that they attributed to the primate of Caerleon in their own primitive establishment. The introduction of the Christian faith among their enemies, the Saxons, could not be expected to increase their respect for their pastors the missionaries; and the conduct of Augustine in no respect tended to mitigate the national aversion which divided the two races. The new archbishop made no distinction between the unconverted heathen and the Christian not within the pale of Rome. He was, if possible, more anxious for the subjugation of the latter than the conversion of the former; and with this view, he prevailed upon king Ethelbert to negotiate a meeting with the British bishops at a spot on the borders of the Anglo-Saxon territory. At the first meeting, Augustine limited his demands to the adoption of the Roman ritual in the celebration of Easter and the administration of baptism. The abbot Dynoch of Bangor, in the name of the British bishops, replied, that though they should always feel bound to follow the precepts and monitions of the Church of God, whether proceeding from the bishop of Rome or any pious Christian, yet they knew of no other kind of obedience; and *that* obedience they were at all times ready to yield to any who came to them in the name of the Lord. The demands of Augustine were, however, of a nature to require a more general discussion, and a second meeting was agreed upon for that purpose. The simple Britons knew of no mode of trying the spirits, whether they be of God or man, but the law of their Master—the law of fraternal affection and humility: and it was resolved that if the missionary should meet them upon terms of Christian brotherhood, it would then become them to hear him in a corresponding spirit, and upon conviction, to follow his councils; but if, on the

contrary, he should come with a proud and haughty bearing, they would decline all further intercourse: and the test was to be, that if, upon entering the place of meeting, he should rise from his seat and come forward to greet them as his brethren, they should regard him as a man of God, and give him a patient hearing. Augustine arrived first at the place of meeting; where, seated and surrounded by his scanty retinue, he witnessed the entry of the numerous train of British bishops, but rose not from his seat or gave sign of recognition. The impression was instantaneous and indelible; he who disdained to rise at the approach of his episcopal brethren could be no genuine messenger of the meek and gentle Saviour; and they declined all further discussion. Not even miracle, they justly thought, could reconcile the palpable contradiction between the real and the assumed character of the man of God; and if further evidence had been wanting to unmask the impostor, the concluding threat of the wrathful priest would have supplied it. "If," said he, "ye will not acknowledge the Saxons as brethren, and proclaim to them the way of life, they shall be your enemies, and their vengeance shall surely fall upon you."[i]

The conference broken up by the demeanour of Augustine.

It may be presumed that Gregory understood the character of the man to whom he had intrusted this critical errand. There is little doubt that he suspected him of contracted and ambitious views. He repeatedly cautioned him against inordinate assumption of power, and that spiritual pride which invades feeble minds raised to sudden eminence and authority.[j] But the spiritual conquest achieved through him gave the pope unmingled delight. He spared no labour or expense to promote the success of the mission; nor does he appear to have weighed the means to be resorted to for that purpose in any very delicate balance of religious propriety. He desired that Augustine should throw away no chance of extending the dominion of the Saviour, and of his representative on earth, which the

Instructions of Pope Gregory to Augustine.

[i] *Bedæ Ven.* Hist. Eccles. lib. ii. c. ii. ed. Smith, p. 79.

[j] *S. Greg. Mag.* Epp. lib. ix. ep. 58; and lib. xii. ep. 31.

course of human events, or the religious prepossessions of the people, might offer. He therefore instructed his emissary not to overthrow the idol altars; but after a solemn purification, to dedicate them to the worship of the true God. He cautioned him against the indiscriminate abolition of heathen sacrifices; and recommended that the victims that had been theretofore slain in honour of idols, should thenceforward be killed and eaten by the worshippers at the celebration of the great Christian festivals, the consecration of churches, the birthdays of saints and martyrs, the solemn deposition of holy relics, and other occasions of ecclesiastical festivity.[k]

His toleration of pagan rites,

In order to supply visible objects of devotion in the place of those abandoned by the converts, Gregory transmitted to Augustine abundance of relics and church-furniture.[l] The vacancy of the religious mind was thus promptly and adroitly filled up: those outward usages and customs which adhere most pertinaciously to the popular affections were saved to them; and it was believed that thereby a path would be kept open for the introduction of a more genuine spiritual worship. We cannot doubt that such was the intention of Pope Gregory; nor do we think that that distinguished pontiff was tinctured with that idolatrous symbolism to which this and the subsequent ages bear such abundant testimony. But he approved of the use of images in churches as a means of popular instruction in the absence of books, or the incapacity to make use of them.[m] He held the relics of saints and martyrs in the highest honour, and required the like observance from others. It probably did not occur to him to inquire into the relationship between the kind of *veneration* he contemplated, and the popular idea of *worship*. In both, the sentiment is generically the same, differing only in intensity; the visible manifestation is in both cases identical; the sentiment naturally follows and partakes of the character of the outward act of worship. The distinction

and patronage of images, relics, and religious symbolism.

[k] *S. Greg. Mag.* Epp. lib. ix. ep. 71. Conf. *Bedæ Ven.* lib. i. c. xxx. p. 71.

[l] *Bedæ Ven.* E. H. lib. i. c. xxi.

[m] *S. Greg. Mag.* Epp. lib. ix. ep. 9.

transcends the discrimination of the mass; and it was against this natural infirmity of the human heart that the Mosaic law provided by an absolute prohibition of the use of images or visible symbols of any kind in the ceremonial of divine worship. That he overlooked this danger in consideration of the manifest utility of symbols and images for the instruction of the ignorant multitude, will shortly appear. At the same time, it is not to be denied that he imputed miraculous virtues to the relics of saints and martyrs. He was extremely solicitous about the *genuineness* of relics, and gave special directions to Augustine upon this important topic.[n] The religious policy of Gregory the Great took into account the carnal as fully as the spiritual nature of the beings he had to deal with. But the greatest leaders of mankind have—with but One exception—never been free from the bias of the age in which they lived; had they been otherwise, they would probably have been unfit for the limited task intrusted to them.

Papal presents of sacerdotal robes.

During the pontificate of Gregory the Great, ecclesiastical fashions flowing from Rome spread with unexampled rapidity over the Western churches, more especially those of France. In the ordinary every-day dress of the priesthood, there had probably been little distinction between clergy and laity. In the celebration of Divine service, however, some additions and changes were usual; more particularly in the use of the dalmatic and the pallium; the latter only on extraordinary occasions, and by bishops of metropolitan rank. The greater prelates were in the habit of sending presents of clerical vestures to their subordinate clergy as testimonials of affection and confidence. In this way the popes often sent dalmatics, and other sacred vestures, to their confidential friends as symbols of office conferred, or in reward for services rendered. For some time past it had been customary for the metropolitan bishops to officiate in a particular dress of ceremony, the principal article of

The dalmatic and the pallium.

[n] See his reply to the ninth interrogatory of Augustine, Epp. lib. xii. ep. 31: and conf. his letter to Serenus of Marseilles, lib. viii. ep. 110.

which was the pallium—a scarf of white linen or wool, worn over the shoulders, the ends of which were allowed to hang down the back. These scarfs, or pallia, were frequently presented by the Roman pontiffs to the metropolitans of those churches which maintained a more intimate correspondence with Rome, though at first only as symbols of approval or acknowledgment of rank. In process of time it became usual to send these robes to the remoter churches; and when received, they appear to have been regarded as conferring precedency in rank only over those bishops to whom they had not been vouchsafed.[o] In the sixth century, we see no reason to believe that these presents were looked upon in any other light than as spiritual tokens of intimacy and good-will, and not as symbols of official investiture. Yet the high rank of the giver imparted an additional value to the gift; and Pope Gregory himself imputed overweening significance and importance to such tokens of favour when bestowed by the holy see;[p] but he treated the grant of the pallium as a custom only, though of long standing, and thought it ought not to be conferred without the consent of the temporal prince, and never except at the earnest desire and personal application of the bishop who wished for it.[q]

Ecclesiastical government of Gregory the Great.

The scheme of ecclesiastical government pursued by Pope Gregory I. was greatly modified both by his personal convictions and his outward position. Unlike his distinguished predecessors, Felix, Gelasius, and Hormisda, he made no ambitious efforts to extend his jurisdiction. But he spared no exertions to establish the influence of his see wherever it could be planted without offence, and with a prospect of advantage to the cause of vital Christianity. He restricted the exercise of the supreme superintending power, which he as fully as any previous pontiff believed to re-

[o] But they did not raise them to metropolitan rank or jurisdiction. Thus Syagrius, bishop of Autun, received the pallium from Gregory the Great, but was not thereby released from the jurisdiction of his provincial metropolitan the archbishop of Lyons.

[p] See his letter to Vigilius, archbishop of Arles, Epp. lib. v. ep. 53,—ap. *D. Boug.* tom. iv. p. 14. Conf. *Fleury*, tom. viii. p. 149.

[q] Conf. *Ducange*, Gloss. voc. "Dalmatica" and "Pallium."

side in the holy see, to those churches with which he stood in more ancient and more immediate communion. The churches of France, Spain, Africa, and Illyricum fell within that description; but we do not find that he ever hazarded any decisive operation of Petrine omnipotence in either of the other great patriarchates. It is true that he reproved Bishops John[r] and Cyriacus of Constantinople on more than one occasion; and that he finally renounced the communion of the latter as an incorrigible offender against the first principle of the episcopal polity. But Constantinople was beyond his reach, and he wisely forbore to widen the breach by any excessive stretch of the Petrine prerogative. Again, his high respect for the apostolical dignity of Alexandria and Antioch seems to have withheld him from all interference with the internal government of those churches. But in other portions of Christendom no previous pontiff had ever exercised a more active and persevering superintendence. The Gallic and Frankish churches were, as we have seen, polluted by abuses of many kinds, of which simony was the most common. Against this practice, as well as against the non-observance of clerical celibacy, he loudly and incessantly protested. He wrote urgent letters to the queen Brunehildis, widow of Sigebert, king of the Austrasian Franks, and regent of the kingdom during the non-age of her son Childebert II., exhorting her to put an end to this shameless traffic in ecclesiastical benefices; to the consecration of laymen to bishoprics; the forbidden practice of marriage or concubinage, almost universal among the Frankish clergy; and upon the priesthood themselves he impressed the necessity of frequent synods, with a view to the suppression of these and numberless other abuses.

Corruptions of the Frankish churches.

But the attention of Pope Gregory was called rather to the disregard of canonical ordinances, and departures from the practice and discipline of

Image and relic worship.

[r] Among others, for his harsh and unjust condemnation of two ecclesiastics of his diocese for imputed heresy. He absolved them from the charge, and received them into his communion. But he made no decree of reinstatement, nor interfered in any way with the proper jurisdiction of the patriarch. *S. Greg. Mag.* Epp. lib. ii. ep. 52.

Rome, than to that moral decay which tainted the whole body of the Frankish church. If the candid history of his namesake, the bishop of Tours, had been before him,[t] his Christian discernment must have discovered far deeper wounds than the restoration of formal discipline could have cured. In truth, little short of a republication of the Gospel in a purer form—the infusion of a nobler spirit, of a higher conception of Christian duty—could suffice to remedy the evils introduced by the semi-pagan habits and practices which the Frankish clergy had tolerated and encouraged, till they themselves became infected, and swam with the current of idolatry and superstition. Yet neither the means nor the zeal necessary for such a reformation were altogether wanting. The very first requisite was to check the universal practice of image and relic worship. Serenus, archbishop of Marseilles, was foremost to raise his voice against the monstrous abuse of images and pictures in his own diocese. He had witnessed and deprecated the palpable adoration paid to these representative symbols; he had broken them in pieces, and cast them out of his temples with abhorrence. In this violent act of faith, Gregory detected an excess of zeal, and a serious error of judgment. It did not square with the accommodating policy he had adopted in dealing with an ignorant and superstitious generation. "You have done wrong," he wrote to Serenus, "to break those images in pieces; for they have been put up in the churches from time immemorial. They ought not, indeed, to be adored; and it is your duty to warn your flock against paying them any kind of worship. Never-

Serenus against image and relic worship.

Rebuked by Gregory.

[t] Gregory of Tours had visited Rome, and conversed with the pontiff, in the year 594. He brought down his history of the Gallic churches to the year 595, the year of his death. His work depicts the corruptions of the clergy, but more particularly the evils of saint and image worship, in the darkest colours; yet without the least apparent suspicion that the mischief he describes really resulted from those practices. His honest but boundless credulity; his unshaken belief in the virtues of relics, the power of the saints, and the efficacy of pious gifts to churches and monasteries, for the pardon of sins, and the settlement of accounts with the next world; his bitter resentment of injuries, real or imaginary, to Church or churchman;—these, and other indications of a coarse, vulgar, and unchristian spirit, place him far beneath the level of his illustrious namesake; whose mind, with all its weaknesses, was attuned to a far higher standard of Christian virtue.

theless, you ought not to set yourself up for more pure and pious than your brethren. It is your duty to teach your flock the proper use of pictures and images, but not to destroy them; for these pictures and images are the substitutes for the books which they cannot read. Besides, you have given great scandal to the people by your violence; and many have in consequence withdrawn from your communion. You ought, therefore, to call them together, and to prove to them from the Holy Scriptures that they are on no account to adore any thing that is the work of man's hands: you should give as the reason why you have thus cast out and broken their images, that they had swerved from the proper use of them; and tell them that if they desire to have them restored, they must learn to regard them only as memorials of the faith, and a means of instruction, but that they must on no account presume to adore them."[u]

Prevalence and intensity of image-worship.

But while Gregory thus denied the divine virtues, and forbade the worship, of images, the Frankish clergy were striving with all their might to impart to them the forbidden character. The saints were every where regarded as local divinities, endowed with power to reward friends, favourites and devotees, and to punish with the most sudden and appalling visitations any disrespect to themselves, their images, their churches, and the guardians of their shrines. The universal faith reposed in the miraculous virtues of relics became a source of gainful traffic; relics of reputation were bought and sold at fabulous prices; they were worn as amulets and charms against all sorts of chances and mishaps; they wrought miracles, rendered the soldier invulnerable, saved the sailor from shipwreck and disasters of every kind; they absorbed, in short, the religious interest of the age, and withdrew it from the vital duties of a moral and religious life.[v] Of all this Pope Gregory appears to have taken little notice; so

[u] The substance of two letters of Gregory to Serenus—the first written in 599 (Epp. lib. vii. ep. 110), the second in 600 (lib. ix. ep. 9)—is given in the text. Conf. his letter to Secundinus concerning the sacred images and relics sent him, ap. *Baron.* Ann. 599, §§ 16, 17.

[v] Conf. History of the Germans, pp. 681, 682, and the authorities there quoted.

little, in fact, that when an opportunity occurred to check an evil he himself admitted and condemned, he allowed the feeble plea of convenience to prevail against the discontinuance of a practice which had already poisoned the source of pure religion in the heart of Christendom.

The conventual system under Gregory the Great.

Under the patronage of Pope Gregory the Great the monastic system acquired an accelerated movement. All the ordinary occupations and duties of life appeared to the religious mind of the age as incurably tainted with the corruptions prevailing in the world,—corruptions from which there was no escape but in absolute seclusion from all the common pursuits of men in the world. Gregory himself was impressed with the belief that such seclusion alone could afford the needful security against the abject carnalism of the times. He regarded monachism as the perfection of Christian life, and the fittest instrument for reforming mankind. Nothing pleased him more than the foundation and endowment of monasteries; and in this respect the religion or superstition of the age favoured his predilections. Many new congregations of monks had sprung up in France. Kings and nobles had built houses for those pious recluses, and endowed them with lands, revenues, and serfs. After this fashion many opulent sinners were persuaded to settle their accounts with the next world; and the Church accepted the composition in full atonement and satisfaction for sins of the blackest die.[w] But these establishments had hitherto fallen under the direct control of the prelacy, and had in consequence suffered greatly from episcopal tyranny and extortion. The independent founders and inmates were naturally averse to external interference with their domestic government; and began at an early period to look to Rome as the only competent protector against the vexations of their ordinaries and the secular clergy. Rome was nothing loth to meet the wishes of her petitioners; and thus privileges were from time to time granted to the monasteries, in the first instance for

Exemptions from episcopal control.

[w] See extracts from *Gregory of Tours* in my Hist. of the Germans, pp. 687, 8.

the security of the conventual property, and soon afterwards for their total exemption from episcopal visitation and government.[x]

Tendency of these exemptions.

It cannot escape us that these grants of privilege imply an important step in advance of the Roman prerogative. The power assumed on these occasions arbitrarily to curtail the ordinary jurisdiction of the bishops, cannot be brought under the description of simple acts of visitation or superintendence; they can be regarded in no other light than as direct violations of the episcopal constitution. But it is improbable that they were so considered at the time. In a rude age, men rarely look beyond the expediency of the moment in preserving the consistency, or calculating the consequences of their own acts: yet in these apparently inconsiderate grants we discern the first beginnings of that combination between popes, princes, and monks, which gradually undermined the episcopacy, and contributed perhaps more powerfully than any other cause to exalt the papacy high above the heads of all the parties to the original movement.

Influence of Pope Gregory in France.

Brunehildis, the regent of France, drew Pope Gregory into her councils in many weighty affairs both of Church and State. In his replies, the pope assumed a tone of simple advice or admonition in no manner inconsistent with the independence of the temporal sovereignty. He reproved, indeed, the simoniacal practices so common in the Frankish churches, as well as the uncanonical promotion of laymen to bishoprics; but he did not meddle with the usual mode of appointment, though it might not be unknown to him that the real evil originated in the profligate dealings of princes and courtiers with candidates and applicants[y] for ecclesiastical appointments. The Frankish bishops

[x] Gregory the Great granted such privileges to the religious houses founded by queen Brunehildis at Autun. He was aware of the rapacious character of the Gallic bishops, and recommended the recluses to look sharply to the preservation of their independence. Conf. *S. Greg. M.* Epp. lib. vii. ep. 12; lib. ix. ep. 111; lib. xiii. epp. 8–10, — ap. *D. Bouq.* tom. iv. pp. 21, 27, 35, 36. In the following ages forged "privilegia" were circulated under the name of Gregory the Great. Conf. *Baron.* Ann. 593, §§ 85, 86; *Dupin*, De Antiq. Eccl. Discipl. dissert. vii. pp. 504, 505; *Fleury*, tom. viii. p. 221.

[y] Conf. ch. vi. p. 226 of this Book.

had, in fact, forfeited their independence by their own vices. Yet among them there still remained a fund of genuine piety, and an anxious desire to retrieve the lost ground. To that spirit Gregory appealed; and upon this he relied as a powerful counterpoise to the corrupting influence of secular habits. He appointed Virgilius archbishop of Arles and Syagrius of Autun his ordinary vicars in France; he encouraged religious foundations; he kept up an intimate correspondence with the princes; he acted where and as he could in harmony with them; and by degrees established a system of superintendence, the expediency of which was undeniable, and which was unaccompanied by any display of those offensive or alarming pretensions which might have irritated the high-spirited barbarians he had to deal with.[z]

Intercourse of Gregory with the Spanish churches.

The Spanish churches were in a condition not very different from those of France. At the solicitation of Gregory, a council was assembled in the year 599 for the purpose of putting down the venal traffic in holy orders, and the elevation of laymen to the episcopal bench. The synod decreed that all such appointments were unlawful, though sanctioned by the sovereign himself; and they resolved that, in filling up vacant sees, the clergy and people should elect and present three candidates to the archbishop of the province, and that he should choose one of them by lot. In conformity, it is said, with ancient custom, Gregory sent the pallium to Leander, archbishop of Seville, as a token of his regard for that prelate. He corresponded familiarly with the Gothic king Reccared, whom, from his recent conversion, he considered in some sort as his son in the faith. Questions of discipline were frequently referred to his decision by the Spanish churches. Whenever any complaint was brought under his notice of an infraction of discipline, he was, it seems, accustomed to appoint delegates, whom he called "defensores," to inquire into the

[z] *Dom. Bouquet*, editor of the "Historiens des Gaules," has collected all the letters of Pope Gregory the Great which touch upon Gallic affairs in the fourth volume of his collection, pp. 1 to 36.

matter on the spot, and to give judgment, if need be, without further reference to himself, in conformity with instructions previously furnished to them.

Papal interference in the cause of Januarius and Stephen.

In the year 603, Januarius and Stephen, two bishops of the province of Malaga, complained that the civil magistrate of the district had broken into their churches by force, seized their persons, and arraigned them of certain crimes and misdemeanours before the secular courts; that they had been thereupon condemned and deposed; and that intrusive bishops had been inducted into their sees. Upon receipt of this report, Pope Gregory sent his presbyter John as "defensor" on behalf of the Roman church, with precise instructions how to proceed against the civil magistrate and the intrusive bishops if the deposed prelates should make good their complaint. The defensor was directed in the first place to depose the intruders, to degrade them from their orders, and either to deliver them over into the hands of the appellants, or to send them, with all the documents in the cause, to Rome, there to abide the papal judgment. This proceeding might be thought abundantly sufficient to vindicate the privileges of the clergy as against the civil magistrate. But Gregory's instructions did not stop there. The defensor was next to condemn the district judge, or, if no longer living, his heir or representative, to the payment of all costs and damages sustained by the two bishops in consequence of his illegal proceedings; and to punish all bishops and clergy who should have assisted at the consecration of the intruders with seclusions and penances proportionate to the amount of their guilty participation; lastly, he was authorised to rest the case of the complainants upon their own oaths, without requiring any confirmatory testimony.[a]

Malaga was at this point of time still subject to the Byzantine Cæsars.[b] Pope Gregory was therefore justi-

[a] *S. Greg. M.* Epp. lib. xii. ep. 52.

[b] The whole of the southern coast from Cape St. Vincent to Cape Spartivento, and perhaps beyond it, was still held by Roman, or rather, Byzantine, garrisons. See *Kruse's* Historical Atlas (Atlas der Geschichte aller Europäischen Länder und Staaten), Seventh Century. The Byzantine dominion in Spain was finally put an end to by the Visigothic king Suintila, in the year 624.

Canon-law as applicable to the proceedings in the cause.

fied in appealing to the imperial laws in support of his proceedings. In his instructions to the defensor, he stated, correctly enough: 1. That the crimes of breaking into a church, interrupting divine worship, or doing violence to the officiating clergy, were equivalent to treason, and punishable with death.[c] 2. That no bishop could lawfully be tried by the civil magistrate, except by the order of the sovereign, for any cause, whether pecuniary or criminal, without his own consent, under a penalty of twenty pounds of gold, to be paid to the bishop so illegally impleaded.[d] 3. That if either layman or priest have any cause against a bishop, he shall carry his complaint before the metropolitan, so that no bishop be compelled to answer out of his own province; and that if exception be taken to the decision of the metropolitan, an appeal shall lie to the patriarch of the diocese, to be determined by him in accordance with the law of the land and the canons of the Church.[e] By way of further caution, the pope added a formula of acquittal in favour of the appellants, and of the sentence to be pronounced against their accusers, with blanks for their names. This sentence ran in the name of Gregory, and purported to pass as of his sole authority.[f]

Defects of the papal proceeding.

The formula, however, though prepared beforehand, may have been provisional only and directory, not peremptory. But the functions of the defensor were not limited to inquiry into the truth of the charges exhibited before the civil magistrate against the appellant bishops. It is obvious that he was sent in the character of judge of appeal in the last resort, and that his commission invested him with a power for which no legal warrant could be alleged. He arrived in Spain not merely as judge in the cause, but as the executive officer of the holy see, authorised to inflict fines and

[c] *Cod. Theod.* lib. xvi. tit. ii. l. 31; *Cod. Just.* lib. i. tit. iii. l. 10.

[d] *Coll. Auth.* ix. tit. vi. novel. cxxiii. § 8.

[e] *Ibid.* novel. cxxiii. § 22. It is possible that the church of Malaga belonged to a class of churches known as "acephalæ," that is, not subject to metropolitan control. Gregory instructed his defensor, in case *that* should be alleged in defence, to reply that in such case the apostolic see, *which is the head of all churches*, was fully competent to hear and decide the cause, notwithstanding any such privilege.

[f] *S. Greg. M.* Epp. lib. xii. ep. 55.

to exact damages against the civil magistrate in a cause cognisable only by the civil courts or by the sovereign himself. Though by the law, as it stood, the crime might be of the most penal character, yet it could be dealt with only by the secular tribunal; the sentence of the pope could have no legal validity, and was in itself a manifest invasion of the secular jurisdiction.

In its ecclesiastical aspect this proceeding appears therefore to have been equally irregular and exceptive. The course of law described by Gregory himself was not observed, nor intended so to be. No provision of ecclesiastical law existed to justify the papal intrusion upon acephalous churches, even upon the supposition that Malaga belonged to that class; neither is it alleged on the part of the pope that such was the case. The deposition of Januarius and Stephen was an ecclesiastical act, to which the civil governor had lent his executive aid; and the appeal still lay to the metropolitan bishop and his council. Till that judgment was published, there was nothing to appeal against, and the supreme appellate authority could not be called into action.[g] But even in that case, it ought to have clearly appeared that there existed no competent patriarchal jurisdiction to appeal to in the last resort before the Roman pontiff could claim a shadow of canonical jurisdiction. This, however, is not alleged; so that under every aspect of the cause the papal interference appears to have been altogether extra-judicial and anomalous. The law is paraded only to be set at naught, and an executive power assumed for which neither canon nor precedent could be alleged.[h]

Canonical defects, &c.

Yet there is no valid reason to believe that Pope Gre-

[g] The letter of ecclesiastical law is clear upon this point. After setting forth the course of proceeding in the case of a clerk of inferior rank, it goes on to prescribe what is to be done where the culprit was of episcopal rank: "Hoc idem servandum est si . . . episcopus accusatus sit; nam ut statim accusatio ad sanctissimos patriarchos deferatur, et ut accusati in aliam provinciam mittantur, *omnino prohibemus*," &c. The first resort was to the metropolitan; the second and the final resort to the patriarch of the diocese, from whose decision there was no further appeal. *Cod. Just.* lib. i. tit. iv. l. 29. The pope was neither metropolitan nor patriarch of the province of Malaga.

[h] The decree of Valentinian III. would not help out the case; for even that decree gave no executive power to the pope to compel the appearance of those whom he might summon before his judgment-seat. That power rested always with the governor of the province: Book II. c. iv. p. 354 of this work.

Civil and canon law regarded as ancillary to the prerogative of the cathedra Petri.

gory was disposed to sacrifice the interests of justice to promote those of his see. It is obvious, that in his views of ecclesiastical judicature he had so confounded the positive principles of ecclesiastical law with the anomalous practice of his predecessors and the traditional pretensions of St. Peter's chair, as to be no longer able to reconcile or even distinguish between law and prerogative. Thus he overlooked the obvious inconsistency of requiring the removal of spiritual delinquents to Rome for trial with the law to which he himself emphatically directed the attention of his agent. Though, therefore, we believe that no injustice, or even any breach of ecclesiastical rule, was intended, we perceive in this transaction a step towards the establishment of a spiritual police for bringing the bodies of misdemeanants into court. The pope of Rome, though still a subject of the empire, was to be bound by its laws, spiritual or temporal, no further than as those laws might serve to support the prerogative of St. Peter's chair. The discretionary adoption of secular forms was not to be construed as a homage to the State-laws. Those laws were to be regarded, not as principles, but as instruments only, to be used or cast aside as they might turn out to be useful or useless for the emergency in hand.[1] The result is unknown; but the attempt furnishes one of the most instructive pages in papal history.

Pope Gregory's superintendence of the African churches.

The attention of this active pontiff had been much engaged by the disordered state of the African churches. He assumed the most ample spiritual jurisdiction over the metropolitans and prelates of Mauritania and Numidia; he called on them to render frequent and accurate accounts of their stewardship to the holy see; he reproved their simoniacal practices; he reprobated their habit of promoting boys and raw youths to the priesthood; he condemned their lukewarmness for the suppression of heresy. He corresponded at the same time with the civil governors of

[1] See the manifesto of Pope Gelasius to the Illyrian bishops, chap. ii. pp. 56 to 63 of this Book.

these provinces, with a view to prevail upon them to put in force the existing laws against the Donatist heretics.[j] The bishops, on the other hand, complained to him of the governors; the laws, they said, were allowed to sleep, and the faithful were sold to the heretics for the price of gold. The pope sent the complainants to the emperor for redress; but the latter was loth to take upon himself the correction of ecclesiastical abuses; and thus, when the primate of Byzacenë was impeached by his bishops, the emperor referred the inquiry back to the pope for canonical adjudication. Gregory declined the task; but rather from a conscientious fear that the difficulties he would have to encounter were beyond his powers of discernment than from any doubt about his jurisdiction: "for," said he, "the primate may well affirm that he is subject to the holy see, for I know not what bishop is exempt from such subjection when in error; although, that case excepted, all bishops are made equal by the law of humility."[k]

Moderation of Pope Gregory.

This transaction, and some others, indicate an unwillingness on the part of the worthy pontiff to put the powers of the Petrine principality in action where the ordinary ecclesiastical powers seemed sufficient for the purpose. A case of this nature occurred in the year 601. Certain African bishops and clergy complained to him of the oppression of their superiors; but, instead of treating the complaint as an appeal, he referred them back to the primate of the neighbouring province of Numidia, requesting him and another prelate to inquire and do justice between the parties; adding that, if needful, he had given directions to the land-steward of the Roman patrimony in Africa to be present at the hearing on his behalf.[l] The tone of these letters is monitory rather than imperative; hortatory rather than peremptory; referential rather than absolute; legal rather than despotic: a departure *this* from the habitual formulæ

[j] With the exception of the Nestorians, the Donatists were the most long-lived of all the Christian sects. They formed at this moment a rich and influential class of seceders from the Latin church. They repudiated the orders of the catholic clergy, and rebaptised all whom they received into their communion.

[k] *S. Greg. Mag.* Epp. lib. vii. ep. 65. Conf. *Fleury*, tom. viii. p. 157.

[l] See the letters of Gregory on this subject, ap. *Baron.* Ann. 602, §§ 4 and 5. Conf. *Fleury*, tom. viii. pp. 218, 219.

of his predecessors indicative of a wiser and humbler spirit. And in justice to this good man it should be observed, that in all his communications with his episcopal brethren he prefers appearing before them as their paternal president and monitor rather than as the spiritual monarch and sovereign lord. In his management we perceive little of that eager encouragement of appeals from the ordinary tribunals of the Church so common in the practice of his predecessors. In his language and demeanour there is an unaffected respect for the rights and privileges of other churches; and although his conception of his own position was quite as lofty as that of a Felix, a Gelasius, or a Hormisda, it was tempered down by a stronger sense of official and personal responsibility, by natural beneficence and acquired self-control.

The emperor Maurice forbids the soldiery to turn monks.

Yet Pope Gregory I. believed that the welfare of religion was essentially dependent upon the maintenance of the prerogatives of the holy see, as well as the rights of the churches subject to his superintendence. Political measures, or State ordinances, which he regarded as inconsistent with the spiritual interests of the great flock intrusted to his care, were set down as infractions of Church privilege. He roundly affirmed that kings and princes who governed ill might be treated as tyrants, more especially those who encroached upon that "liberty which Christ had bought for his Church by the shedding of his precious blood;" for such rulers were to be deemed transgressors of all the limits of the royal authority, and might lawfully be treated as usurpers.[m] This opinion is expressed in his commentaries upon the penitential psalms of David, in which the royal poet complains against the transgressors of God's laws. But it appears rather in the shape of an occasional reflection than of a principle of conduct, intended to define dogmatically the obligations of the subject towards the sovereign. In the year 592, Gregory thought he had abundant reason to complain of the emperor Maurice. That prince had prohibited his soldiery from evading their service by turning monks. The pope

[m] *S. Greg. Mag.* in Ps. Pœnit. c. iv.,—ap. *Baron.* Ann. 593, §§ 14 et sqq.

regarded this ordinance as a grave spiritual error, and highly obstructive to the salvation of souls. In a respectful and submissive remonstrance, he declared his conviction of the unlawfulness of the edict. "I speak," said the pope, "in my private capacity, as the least worthy of your majesty's subjects, and neither as bishop nor as servant of the State. Your law has been laid before me; but I was disabled by infirmity of body from replying by the messenger who brought it. You have ordained that no one engaged in the public service shall take upon him the ecclesiastical state. This I greatly approve. . . . . Not so what follows; for you have also decreed that no such person, nor any of your soldiery, shall be permitted to enter the monasteries. This law has greatly alarmed me; because thereby the road to heaven is closed against many. For though many there are who are capable of a religious life even under a secular habit, yet there are many more who, unless they cast all other things behind them, can by no means be saved. And I, who say these things, who am I but dust and ashes! Yet, inasmuch as I feel that this ordinance is directed against God, the Ruler of all, I dare not be silent before my earthly master. For unto this end was the power given unto him from above, that he might be a help to those who seek after that which is good; so that the gates of heaven may be thrown wide open, and that the terrestrial may become the handmaiden of the celestial kingdom. Yet by this decree it is proclaimed aloud that he who hath once been branded for earthly warfare, shall never, except by the expiration of his service, or by infirmity of body, be allowed to become the soldier of the Lord Jesus Christ. To this Christ, through me, the meanest of his servants, saith unto you: 'I made thee Cæsar and emperor; was it for this that I committed my priests to thy charge, that thou shouldest withdraw thy soldiers from my service?' What answer, I pray, will you return when you stand in judgment before your Lord? . . . . Nevertheless *I, as subject to your order,*[n] have caused this your edict to be circulated for publication; and have pro-

Remonstrance of Gregory.

[n] "Jussioni subjectus."

tested against it, as plainly repugnant to the law of God. Thus have I in both respects performed my duty; yielding due obedience to the sovereign, yet speaking my mind with all openness and freedom."

Gregory's idea of the relation between the spiritual and temporal powers.

In a letter written to his confidential friend the physician Theodorus, with a view to engage his interest for the repeal of this decree, he thus expresses his idea of the relation of the civil to the ecclesiastical power: "Language fails me to express how many favours I have enjoyed from Almighty God and my most serene lord the emperor. For all these favours, what better return can I make than by following their footsteps in purity of heart and affection? But,—whether for my sins or for yours I know not,—he hath in the year last past published such a law, that whosoever truly loveth him must mourn over it with many tears. . . . . Hard indeed doth it appear to me that he should withdraw his servants from the service of Him who gave him all he hath, and granted him to have dominion not only over the soldiery *but likewise over the priesthood.*"[o]

His ordinance respecting the admission of soldiers, &c.

But the pope honestly desired to reconcile his duty to the Church with his obligations as a subject. He therefore recommended the bishops of the Italian provinces, as well as those of Illyricum Orientale, to use the utmost circumspection in the admission of military men into their convents. He directed that no one should be received till after a three-years probation, before the expiration of which he was not

[o] See the letters *in extenso*, ap. *Baron.* Ann. 593, §§ 8–13; and see *S. Greg. Mag.* Epp. lib. ii. epp. 62, 65. The cardinal is sadly shocked at the use made by the centuriators and the Protestants of these latter expressions. Gregory, he says, spoke not of any *legal subjection*, but only of a subjection *de facto*, in the same sense as the bishops of Rome were the subjects of Nero and Domitian, or as, by divine permission, Christ became subject to Pilate. Besides, he adds, Gregory did not speak in his episcopal, but only in his private character; and therefore used words adapted to the character personated. But it is almost needless to reply that there is nothing whatever in these letters to show that Gregory was speaking in a double sense, or that he did not regard himself as quite as much *de jure* as *de facto* the subject of the emperor. The prompt publication of the edict, though as bishop he objected to it, was a public official act accompanying the declaration, and shows that he deemed himself bound by the decree as much in his character of pope as in that of subject. And compare his conduct in the case of Alcyson bishop of Corfu, ap. *Fleury*, tom. viii. p. 228.

to be allowed to assume the monastic habit. By this and other precautions he hoped to deter from simulated conversion, and to convince the emperor that under such regulations no public inconvenience could arise from the admission of military penitents into the monasteries.[p]

Murder of Maurice and his family by Phocas.

But the loyalty expressed in this correspondence appears to have grown more and more faint in his mind as time wore on. The schism of the "three chapters" still continued to divide the Italian churches, especially in the districts still subject to the exarchate of Ravenna. In that region the pontiff found it impossible to engage the co-operation of the Greek governor for the suppression of the schism. This misunderstanding was no doubt enhanced by the continued adherence of the court and bishop of Constantinople to the title of "œcumenical patriarch." These and perhaps other causes of offence appear to have dried up the wellspring of charity in the heart of Gregory; and when, in the year 602, the unfortunate emperor Maurice and all his family were ruthlessly murdered by his worthless subject Phocas, the event appeared to Gregory in the light of a providential dispensation, and the actors in that bloody tragedy as the divinely appointed instruments for the chastisement of tyranny and the deliverance of the Church from intolerable bondage. As soon as the news of these frightful crimes reached him, he hastened to set up the image of the usurper in the oratory of St. Cæsarius of the Palatine; and, with a full knowledge of all the odious particulars, wrote a congratulatory epistle to the new emperor.

Gregory's congratulation to the usurper.

"Glory to God in the highest," he wrote,—"glory to God in the highest, who changeth seasons and transferreth kingdoms. Also for that he hath made manifest the things which he spake by the mouth of the prophet, saying, 'The Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will.'[q] Sometimes he raiseth up a *severe* ruler to punish

[p] *S. Greg. M.* Epp. lib. vi. ep. 2.

[q] See *Daniel* iv. 17. Gregory might have added the sequel of this passage: "And setteth up over it the basest of men."

the unrighteousness of men, and to bow down the necks of the disobedient. But when he prepareth comfort for the hearts of his afflicted servants, he raiseth up one among them whose *bowels of mercy* make others to partake of that joy which he himself feels in his own exaltation. And thus it is that we also are refreshed by the abundance of your joy. Therefore let the heavens rejoice, and let the earth be glad. Nay let the whole realm, hitherto plunged in mourning, be of good cheer. *May the proud neck of the enemy* bend beneath your yoke. By your loving-kindness may the contrite and dejected spirits among your subjects be lifted up.[r] By the virtue of divine grace, may you be made a terror to your enemies and a blessing to your people."[s]

His peculiar views of this revolution.

Gregory wrote in the same strain of compliment to Leontia,[t] the vicious consort of the blood-stained usurper. And when Phocas complained to him that when he mounted the throne he found no resident apocrisarius of Rome at the capital, Gregory replied, that in consequence of the *tyranny* of Maurice, and the vexations he had inflicted upon the Church, he had been compelled to suspend all intercourse; but that, now that by the beneficent interposition of Providence all impediments were removed, no inconvenience of that kind should occur for the future.[u] The crimes of the usurper had, in short, been all purged away by the incidental benefit accruing from them to Pope Gregory's peculiar views of religious duty and the exaltation of his see. The pope himself did not survive to reap the full harvest of advantage which the hopes or fears of the new emperor might cast into the lap of Rome.

His death.

He died on the 12th of March A.D. 604, worn out by disease of body, engendered or aggravated by incessant application to the duties and fatigues of his high office.

The conduct of Gregory as bishop of Rome displays less of that haughty self-sufficiency which distinguished

[r] In allusion to the exclusion of the penitent soldiers from the convents.

[s] *S. Greg. M.* Epp. lib. xi. ep. 38.

[t] See the character of Leontia in *Cedrenus*, ap. *Baron.* Ann. 603, § 9.

[u] *S. Greg. M.* Epp. lib. xi. ep. 45.

the public acts and language of his great predecessors, Leo, Felix, Gelasius, Hormisda. In his hands the theory of the papal supremacy assumed an aspect modified by his personal virtues. The distinction between his authority as head of the Church and his duty as a subject, though vague and ill-defined, was nevertheless strongly present to his mind. Though he was never in doubt as to which of the two was entitled to the preference, yet when the obligations of both came into conflict with each other, the struggle of the spirit within him is not to be mistaken. The piety or the superstition of the age in which he lived, and the peculiar temper of his monastic profession, inclined him to look to divine interposition for the solution of his conscientious difficulties. Gregory regarded political events as providential expositions of the duty of religious government; no wonder, then, that he should have considered the murder of Maurice, and the elevation of Phocas, as a providential solution of all his doubts, and a relief vouchsafed to him from above from the terrible dilemma of transgressing one great duty in the performance of another.

Apologetic character of Gregory the Great.

To a conscientious mind, this dilemma was indeed of serious moment. For a period of more than a century and a half the great object of papal policy had been the overthrow of the pretensions of Constantinople, and the reduction of that church to its primitive rank among the sees of Christendom; incidentally, therefore, to humble the temporal power which encouraged and supported it. Such objects were in their nature inconsistent with the allegiance of the pontiffs towards the temporal sovereign, and involved both in a state of perpetual warfare, now and then suspended by temporary truces of a political rather than a religious character. The difficulties arising out of this state of things were more acutely felt by Gregory than by any of his predecessors; partly because his mind was of a more delicate moral texture, and partly because his dependence upon the Byzantine court was direct, and his duty as a subject positive and unequivocal. Concurrently,

His equivocal relations to the court of Constantinople.

therefore, with the strongest professions of duty and allegiance, he was unremitting in his endeavours by remonstrance to modify, or by management to elude, the execution of the imperial mandates, rather than to thwart them by open resistance or contradiction. In his correspondence with the court he never assumed a harsh or peremptory tone; he was anxious to avoid those occasions of collision between the states temporal and spiritual which always involve the most perplexing and distressing struggles incident to human government. Yet when he thought he had arrived at the limits of dutiful forbearance, and plunged past remedy into the conflict, he accepted what he had taught himself to believe to be providential aid in the performance of his duty, in any shape it might please God to send it; it was, he thought, his part to rejoice in the result, not to scrutinise the means.

Judgment upon his character and conduct in the affair of Phocas.

Though it be true that in none of the letters of Pope Gregory, written within the sixteen months which intervened between the usurpation of Phocas and his own death, any notice is taken of the crimes and cruelties perpetrated by the usurper upon the innocent family and kindred of the emperor Maurice,[v] yet we cannot think that the absence of reprobation in this case raises any direct or unavoidable presumption of approval on the part of Gregory, or of a natural callousness of moral feeling. If error there was, it appears to have lain in regarding the crimes of Phocas through a medium better suited to the old than to the new dispensation. After the publication of the Gospel, the deed of a Ehud or a Jael could no longer take shelter under the sanction of a divine command; and the zeal which would extend that sanction to the offences of a Phocas cannot meet with sympathy of any kind in the heart of a Christian. Providence has in mercy saved us, through Christ, from the dreadful necessity of denying our own moral nature in obedience to his more secret and mysterious dispensations. But the cloud still hung over the mind of this distinguished pontiff; and we are disposed to regard this passage in his otherwise conscientious and

[v] *Bower*, vol. ii. p. 538.

useful career rather in the spirit of commiseration than of censure.

Pope Gregory the Great was succeeded by Sabinian; but the new pontiff held the see only five months and sixteen days. At his death a vacancy of nearly a twelvemonth intervened, unaccounted for by the Roman annalists. At the end of that term Boniface, a deacon of the church of Rome, was installed in the pontifical chair. At the death of Sabinian the new pontiff was at Constantinople, whither he had been sent by Gregory as his resident apocrisarius or representative. During his sojourn in the capital he had insinuated himself into the favour of Phocas; while the patriarch Cyriacus and the metropolitan clergy had incurred his resentment by their humane attempts to protect the empress Constantina and her three daughters against the brutality of the tyrant. It can hardly be doubted that one object of the mission of Boniface was to obtain from the court the rejection of the claim of the patriarch to the title of "œcumenical bishop." The juncture was favourable; and we are told that at the instance of Boniface it was decreed by Phocas —"that the apostolic see of Rome was the *head of all churches, for that* the church of Constantinople had taken to itself the title of *primate of all the churches*."[w]

Sabinian pope.

Boniface pope.

Decree of Phocas.

The authenticity of the report is questionable. It occurs in a single, short, and unconnected passage in Paul Warnefrid's History of the Lombards, written at the close of the eighth century. We next meet with it a century afterwards, in the writings of the Venerable Bede,[x] copied literally from the notice of Paul the Deacon; again, after the lapse of three centuries, we find it inserted verbatim by Anastasius the

Authenticity of the decree questionable.

[w] *Paul. Diac.* De Gest. Longob. lib. iv. c. 7, in edit. Lindenbrog. p. 272,—ap. *Murat.* Ss. Rr. Ital. tom. i. p. 465. The words run thus: "Hic (Phocas) rogante papa Bonifacio statuit sedem Romanæ et apostolicæ ecclesiæ caput esse omnium ecclesiarum, *quia* ecclesia Constantinopolitana primam se omnium ecclesiarum scribebat."

[x] De Sex Ætat. Mund. ed. *Smith*, p. 29: "Hic (Phocas) rogante papa Bonifacio statuit sedem Romanæ et apostolicæ ecclesiæ caput esse omnium ecclesiarum, quia ecclesia Constantinopolitana primam se omnium ecclesiarum scribebat."

librarian, in his Lives of the Roman Pontiffs, a work of very doubtful authority.[y] After him it was inserted by Siegebert of Gembloux in his work entitled "Chronographia."[z] From these works it has been simply copied by all subsequent writers. Many succeeding historians and controversialists have, strangely enough, taken it for granted that this was the *first* legislative recognition of the *sole primacy* of the see of Rome over all Christian churches.

Construction of the decree.

The pontifical advocates allege that the decree of Phocas was a simple act of confirmation, or legislative republication, of that primitive primacy assigned by the Church-catholic to that of Rome from the foundations of the Christian Church. Both they and their opponents appear to agree in construing it as adverse to the claim of Constantinople.[a] Yet it is sufficiently clear that the decree was not the first solemn adjudication in favour of the Roman primacy; and, if the words have any meaning, neither assigns an *exclusive* primacy to the holy see, nor abrogates the title of "œcumenical patriarch" claimable under the same authority by the bishop of Constantinople, at least since the reign of Justinian.[b] We do not hear that any protest was ever put in by Constantinople against the decree; and it is notorious that her patriarchs did not discontinue the use of their customary title of honour.[c] The decree of Phocas, as it stands, in substance imports no more than a confirmation of the precedency previously granted to Rome by the councils of Constantinople (I.) and Chalcedon, strengthened by the more recent recognition of the emperor Justinian;[d] but in no respect varies the

[y] *Anastas.* Vit. Bonif. III., ap. *Murat.* Ss. Rr. Ital. tom. iii. p. 138.

[z] *Siegeb. Gemblac.* Chronogr., ap. *Pistorium*, Rr. Germ. Ss. tom. i. p. 746.

[a] *Baron.* Ann. 606, §§ 11 et sqq.; *Fleury*, H. E. tom. viii. p. 238. See contra *Philip de Mornay*, Myst. Iniq. p. 106; *Cent. Magd.* cent. vii. p. 228; and *Bower*, vol. ii. p. 146.

[b] *Novell.* cxxxi. c. 2. It should be observed, that the whole question of construction turns upon the single word "*quia*" in the report of Paul the Deacon. Rendering the word by the English equivalent "because," the construction contended for by the papal writers falls to the ground. Other words must be introduced into the second clause of the sentence to give it such an import; as, for instance, "*Because* Constantinople has wrongfully written herself down primate of all churches, therefore it is decreed that Rome is *really* the head of all the churches."

[c] Conf. *Fleury*, ubi sup. *De Mornay* has collected the passages in the novells of the emperor Leo the Isaurian, and in the acts of the second Nicene council, in which the title of "œcumenical bishop" is given to the bishop of Constantinople.

[d] Conf. Book III. c. iv. p. 134; and c. vi. p. 179.

position of the church of Constantinople to that of Rome.

There is no reason to believe that Rome herself took any steps to improve the presumed advantage. All we know with any degree of certainty is, that after the receipt of the decree, Pope Boniface III. assembled a council in the basilica of St. Peter's for the correction of divers abuses in the papal and episcopal elections.[e] Boniface himself held the chair for the short period of eight months and twenty-three days only. Between the years 608 and 625, Boniface IV., and after him Deusdedit and Boniface V., occupied the papal chair. In the latter year Honorius I. mounted the papal throne. His pontificate introduces us to a new phase in the relations between the Eastern and Western churches,—a revival, in a somewhat different form, of the old Monophysite controversy; and scarcely less efficacious in stimulating those heart-burnings and jealousies which ended in the final separation of the two main branches of the Christian profession.

Results.

Honorius I.

[e] *Platina*, a papal biographer of the fifteenth century, affirms that Boniface III. hastened, upon the arrival of the decree of Phocas in Rome, to assemble a synod consisting of sixty-two Italian prelates; and that, in conformity with its tenor, he solemnly proclaimed the holy see to be the "head of all churches," and the pope "universal bishop," &c. We know of no original or contemporary authority for this transaction. It will be seen that it is not borne out by the statement of Anastasius (ap. *Murat.* Ss. Rr. Ital. tom. iii. p. 135), and cannot be taken upon the sole credit of a writer who lived six centuries further removed from the date of the event. It is, however, quoted from Platina by the *Centuriators* (cent. vii. p. 251), and by *Bower* (vol. ii. p. 548). *Ciacone* (Vit. Pont. tom. i. p. 425), though he writes from Platina, yet doubts a part of his statement, "because," says he, "the acts of Boniface III. have died with him."

BOOK IV.

CHAPTER I.

THE TEMPORAL SOVEREIGNTY.

Approaches of the papacy towards temporal sovereignty—Relative position of the nations of Christendom to each other and to Rome—Objects of papal ambition—Subjects of inquiry—Position of the papacy in relation to Greeks and Lombards—Reign of Agilulph—Of Adalwald—Arioald—Rothari—Aripert—Bertarid and Godibert—Succession of popes—Martin I. and Constans II.—Deportation and death of Pope Martin I.—Constans II. in Rome—His death—Reign of Grimoald—Bertarid restored—Kunibert—Extinction of Arianism in the duchies of Beneventum and Spoletum—Monte Casino—The "patrimony" of St. Peter—Its exposed position—Ansprand and Luitprand—The Lombard government—Papal succession—Papal policy—Invasions of the "patrimony" by Lombards—Rome and the Byzantine connection—Leo the Isaurian prohibits image-worship—Progress of saint and relic worship—Rebellion against iconoclasm—Gregory II. saves the exarchate—Defeats the reforms of Leo the Isaurian—Successes of Luitprand—Gregory III.—Luitprand before Rome—He dismembers the "patrimony"—Zachary pope, procures restitution—He protects the exarchate—Ascendency of Luitprand—His death and character—Hildebrand—Rachis—Ascendency of Pope Zachary, and abdication of Rachis—Aistulph and Zachary—Gradual secularisation of the papacy, a consequence of its territorial wealth and ambiguous position—General plan of papal acquisitiveness—Prospective connection with France.

In the preceding Books we have passed in review the first six centuries of papal history. Within that period we have detected the germ, and exhibited the gradual advances of the see of Rome towards the establishment, of a hierarchical monarchy: we have found that every principle of an unlimited religious autocracy had been avowed and adopted by or on behalf of the holy see, and that these principles had been to a considerable extent practically established. The outward machinery of this spiritual absolutism had been put in motion; yet many impediments to the smooth working of the system still existed. The hand which guided it was not its own master; and it is obvious that, until the fetters of political dependence were removed, it could never be safe from those disturbing external influences which

Advances of the papacy to political sovereignty.

must render all its operations inconsequent and uncertain. But the commencement of the seventh century marks a new period in the history of the Latin patriarchate. Hitherto the *political* headship which the popes of Rome had assumed had been the offspring of unforeseen or accidental emergencies, and had never outlasted the occasions which called it forth; but ever since the downfall of the Western empire, the absence of any truly national government had directed the attention of the Roman people to their bishop as their natural chief, and contributed to invest him with a special political influence distinct from his religious character. After the overthrow of the Ostrogothic power, the short-lived ascendency of the Byzantines was in no respect more popular than that of Odovaker or Theodoric. The invasions of the Lombards and the merited reverses of the Greeks in Italy were productive of a large increase of political power in the hands of the pontiffs. Oppressed first, and afterwards deserted, by their sovereign protector, the senate and people of Rome leaned upon their spiritual chief for counsel and support under the calamities of their political position, and soon learnt in a great measure to overlook the distinction between the essentially religious and the incidentally political character accruing to him. Both powers began, as it were by a natural necessity, to flow into the hands of the pontiffs; and now a combination of external causes unparalleled in the history of the world favoured the emancipation of the papacy from the last feeble trammels of a nominal dependence, and added the substantial attributes of temporal sovereignty, though without the name, to the boundless spiritual prerogative already practically acknowledged by some of the most important sections of the Christian community.

Relative posititon of the nations of Christendom to each other and to the papacy.

The characteristics of the period we are now entering upon, in their bearing upon the advances of the papal power, are very remarkable. The seventh and eighth centuries of European history exhibit the elements of religious and political life in a state of incessant and violent fermentation. The relative positions of races and nations were undergoing

great and sudden changes. Many of the older constituents of the Christian commonwealth were struck out, and some new ones introduced. The political governments of the world were as yet destitute of system, and were carried on in conformity with customs and habits suited rather to a migratory than a settled state of inhabitancy. The position of the subsisting political associations was altogether new and unsettled; and thus, while the ecclesiastical system flowed steadily on in the ancient channel which it had worn for itself, the more recent states had painfully to work their way into some kind of national consistency. The papacy, though not yet numbered among the kingdoms of the world, stood before them all as a self-existent power, exercising an influence of a character to command the personal obedience of princes and subjects. The ignorance and the indolence of the northern barbarians, and the supercilious neglect or the crooked policy of the feeble Byzantines, kept the new states in estrangement, and there remained only the common religion and its ministers to connect them with each other. Governments were every where isolated and anarchical: in the Church alone there was method, order, subordination, vigour, and unity of design; there was among its members a facility of communication, a cordial and rapid interchange of views and ideas, of knowledge and intelligence, of which there are few traces in the intercourse of the nations. From the Bosphorus to the shores of the Atlantic, the European tribes knew little, and cared less, about each other's movements, wants, dangers, or embarrassments. On the other hand, the bishops of Rome were in active communication with them all: they were busily engaged in fortifying their position within, and in propagating Roman religion beyond the pale of Christendom; and thus forming an external belt of intelligence and influence which encircled and bound up in its embrace all the elder branches of the Christian family.

Objects of the papal ambition.

But during this period the current of papal history is found no longer to flow in the same uniform course. On the contrary, it mixes itself up with, it diverges from, and again runs into, the

current of political history through a hundred different channels: its religious character is for a time almost swallowed up in the secular struggle for political life and power; yet we can very clearly discern a double object in view throughout the policy of Rome during the whole course of the seventh and eighth centuries. The great problem she had to solve was, how to manage the spiritual ascendency already achieved over one half at least of the Christian world, so as to render it serviceable in the acquisition of that *political self-existence* essential to the maintenance of the position she had already gained, and the unlimited extension of those principles of religious government upon which she had staked her existence. Though the double object adverted to introduces complication into the narrative, yet it is necessary to keep it steadily in view in order to do justice to the leaders and managers of the great movement, and at the same time not to lose sight of its bearing upon the progress of civilisation and the interests of civil and religious liberty.

General plan of inquiry.

The period to be reviewed in this and the following book of this work embraces the seventh and eighth centuries of the Christian era, and may be properly described as the transition period of the papacy from a state of subordination to the civil power to that of political self-existence. The ecclesiastical and the political branches of the inquiry diverge for a season: it may therefore be convenient, for the sake of perspicuity, to treat them in some respects separately; noticing their mutual connection at those special periods when that connection naturally challenges our attention. The topics to which we shall advert are generally the following:[a]

I. The political history of the papacy in Italy during the seventh and eighth centuries of the Christian era.

II. The progress of Roman influence and religion in the Visigothic and Franco-Gallic states.

III. The advances of the papacy in the Anglo-Saxon and more northern portions of the European continent.

IV. The Roman missions in France and Germany;

[a] This enumeration of topics is intended only as a general guide to direct the reader's attention. The writer does not engage to pursue them in their strict order, further than is requisite to show their connection.

and the methods resorted-to to render them productive of advantage to the progress of the papal supremacy, temporal and spiritual.

V. The final establishment of the political independence of papal Rome as a member of the restored empire of the West.

VI. The effects of the Arab conquests and Byzantine misgovernment upon the political and religious state of the Eastern empire; and the policy of Rome in the Monothelite and Iconoclastic controversies.

Position of the papacy in relation to the Greeks and Lombards.

Pope Gregory the Great had accomplished the formal reconciliation of the Lombard monarch and people with the church and republic of Rome. But this reconciliation involved a separate compact with the enemy of his own sovereign the emperor; and though it was a strictly natural consequence of the inability of the Byzantines to afford the protection the Romans had a right to expect, yet it was extremely offensive to that haughty and imbecile power. The success of the Nicene confession in the Lombard states of Italy was rapid, indeed, but incomplete, and did not emancipate the popes from the dangers incident to the unsettled state of the country. As subjects of the emperor, they could never reckon upon the forbearance of his enemies. While the Lombard princes were straining every nerve to expel the Greeks from the last remnants of their Italian possessions, the wily Byzantines strove to re-establish their dominion by the arts of deceit and intrigue, in the use of which they had arrived at unrivalled proficiency. Between them stood the popes of Rome, equally exposed to the assaults of both, and thrown wholly upon their own feeble resources for the defence of their widely-spread territorial domains and the numerous population practically dependent upon them for the safety both of life and property. Thus though still a nominal dependency of the Byzantine empire—though even an imperial duke or viceroy might still reside there—the duchy of Rome was without any military defence except the rude militia which the emergencies of the times had called into existence. The ancient senate of Rome vanishes

gradually from the page of history; and no names but those of the popes seem to float on the surface of the turbid stream of her domestic annals. In such a state of things, the pontiffs stepped spontaneously into the position of temporal princes; the community attached themselves to them as their natural chiefs; and, as a matter of course, the former converted their spiritual powers into instruments of temporal government,—for they possessed no others.

Touching the relation of the duchy of Rome to Constantinople during the continuance of the struggle for the dominion of Italy between the Greeks and Lombards, we observe, that during the whole of that period the authority of the empire had been uniformly exercised to the detriment of its Italian dependencies. From the death of Justinian to the age of the vicious Constans II. extortion and oppression had done their worst on the unfortunate inhabitants of the scattered cities and districts in which the Byzantine garrisons and governors still maintained a precarious dominion. And here the political state of the papacy connects itself so essentially with the history of the Lombard ascendency in Italy, that a somewhat particular account of that people must be given in this place.[b]

Lombard history: reign of Agilulph.

The political conduct of the kings, after the restoration of the royal authority among the Lombards, had been, upon the whole, moderate and pacific. Early in the reign of Agilulph, that prince had converted the truce which his predecessor Authari had concluded with the Franks into a solid peace; the khan of the Avaric tribes, which bordered on his Histrian and Friulian provinces, courted his alliance; and internal rebellion was every where repressed and punished. The impotent pride of the Byzantine court, indeed, revolted from a formal treaty with one whom it affected to regard as a barbarian rebel; but the exarch of Ravenna was empowered to conclude successive truces, by which active hostilities were periodically suspended.

[b] I make no scruple of reprinting almost *in extenso* the narrative introduced into the 1st section of the xivth chapter of my History of the Germans, published more than twenty years ago. All the authorities will be given as they stand in the notes to the passage in my former work.

In the year 599, however, the exarch Callinicus thought fit to break the then subsisting truce, and was punished by the loss of the cities of Padua, Monselice, Cremona, and Mantua; and from the year 605 to the death of Agilulph, in 616, no foreign or domestic enemy appears to have materially disturbed the tranquillity of his dominions.[c]

Adalwald, the son and successor of Agilulph, was in his thirteenth year at the death of his father.[d] The regency during his nonage was intrusted to his mother Theudelinda; and she employed her influence for the confirmation and extension of Catholicity in Lombardy. But when the young king entered upon the government, he was found to labour under a mental malady which manifested itself in a wanton delight in bloodshed and cruelty, to which many of the first persons in the kingdom fell victims. He was at length deposed, and placed in confinement; and the Lombard nobility chose Arioald duke of Turin, who had married a daughter of Agilulph, to succeed him.[e] Reign of Adalwald.

The reign of Arioald has left no record, except the name and the period. After governing the Lombards for the space of twelve years, he was succeeded by Rothari, a noble of the royal sept[f] of Arad. "This prince," says the historian, "was strong in person, and a great lover of justice, though stained with the faithless heresy of the Arians." The Catholics were not, however, disturbed in the enjoyment of their civil or religious liberties; though both the pope and the court of Constantinople chose to treat this king as a usurper.[g] The latter paid the penalty of its folly and presumption, by a severe defeat in a battle fought on the banks of the Scultenna in Æmilia, and the capture of all the towns still occupied by the Greeks on the Ligurian coasts as far as the confines of the province.[h] Arioald: Rothari.

[c] *Paul. Diac.* lib. iv. cc. xiii. to xxix. Conf. *Mascou*, Hist. of the Germans, vol. ii. pp. 218 to 222.

[d] He was born in 603. *Murat.* ad Paul. Diac. note 213, p. 469.

[e] *Paul. Diac.* lib. iv. c. xliii. *Fredigar.* Chron. c. xlix. p. 432. The disorder of Adalwald was currently imputed to a charm or poison administered by the Greek envoy Eusebius. He died soon after his deposition, as it was believed, of poison.

[f] "Fara," translated "generatio" by Paul the Deacon. The name "Arad" is otherwise spelt Harad: qy. "Harold?"

[g] See the letter of Pope Honorius, ap. *Mascou*, vol. ii. p. 259.

[h] *Paul. Diac.* lib. iv. c. xlvii. p. 471.

Rodoald, Aripert, Bertarid, and Godibert.

In the year 652, Rothari was succeeded by his son Rodoald, who had married Godeberga, a daughter of Agilulph and Theudelinda. The new queen protected the Catholics, and incurred serious danger from the partisans of the Arian confession.[i] Rodoald himself was slain by one of his own subjects, in revenge for a private injury; and the Lombards chose Aripert, a nephew of Queen Theudelinda, for their king.[j] In his reign the orthodox faith gained a decisive ascendency in Lombardy. At his death, in the year 661, he was peaceably succeeded by his two sons Bertarid and Godibert; but, in consequence of an intrigue set on foot by Garibald duke of Turin, the two kings fell out; and a road to the throne was opened to Grimoald, the powerful duke of the Beneventine Lombards. Godibert fell by the hand of his rebellious vassal; and Bertarid fled for protection to the khan of the Avars of Pannonia.[k]

Succession of popes.

From the death of Gregory the Great, in the year 604, to the accession of Honorius I. in 625, five successive popes had, as already observed, occupied the chair of Peter. These pontificates present no matter of importance to our subject. But that of Honorius once more introduces the papacy into active and ill-omened participation in the affairs of the Church. In his pontificate, the Christian world involved itself in a dispute respecting the nature of the divine and human will in the person of the Saviour, to which we shall hereafter have to advert more particularly. Honorius died in the year 638, after a reign of nearly thirteen years. Between the year of his death and the accession of Pope Martin I., in 649, Severinus I., John IV., and Theodore had successively mounted the papal throne. We have no precise information as to the freedom of election in the choice of the bishops of Rome within the first half of the seventh century. A Byzantine governor still exercised certain civil powers within the city and duchy of Rome; and oc-

Honorius.

Martin I.

[i] An attempt was made to establish against her the charges of adultery and treason; but her champion was victorious in the wager of battle on her behalf, and the king and nation bowed to the "judgment of God."

[j] *Paul. Diac.* lib. iv. c. xlix. p. 473.

[k] *Id.* lib. iv. c. liii. p. 475.

casionally we hear of an imperial garrison stationed there. There is, however, no doubt that the confirmation of the emperor was still regarded as essential to complete the title of the pope-elect, and that he could not be inaugurated until the formal consent of the court arrived from Constantinople. Honorius I. was strongly impressed with the importance of maintaining the union of Church and State in the actual position of the papacy in Italy; he had, in fact, carried his acquiescence in the theological schemes of the emperor Heraclius far beyond the line that a prudent regard for the opinions of the Western churches would have induced him to pass. Meanwhile the controversy in the East had assumed that acrimonious character which almost always accompanied Oriental dogmatism; and Pope Martin I. was dragged into the vortex by the intolerance of the grandson of Heraclius, Constans II. Pressed onwards by the strong prepossessions of his own church against the Monothelite dogma, he boldly repudiated the middle term, or compromise, proposed by the court, with a view to smother a controversy that had become inconvenient. In the year of his election he convoked a council of Italian bishops in the church of the Lateran, and obtained from them a formal condemnation of the new heresy. Carried away by their zeal, the Latin fathers imprudently excommunicated the patriarch Paul of Constantinople, as a reviver and patron of the exploded heresy of Eutyches.[l] Irritated by the indignity to his church, and flagrant disregard of his sovereign pleasure, the Byzantine tyrant caused the pope to be secretly conveyed to Constantinople; where he underwent a mock trial upon charges unconnected with the real subject of complaint, and was afterwards condemned to linger out the few remaining months of his life in an obscure prison on the Hellespont.[m]

A.D. 654. Deportation and death of Martin I.

This violent proceeding embittered the quarrel between the two churches. In the year 661 Constans was driven from his capital by the

Constans II. in Rome.

[l] *Baron.* Ann. 648, with *Pagi's* note, pp. 387 et sqq. Conf. Epp. *Mart. I.*, ap. *Hard.* Conc. tom. iii. pp. 645 et sqq.

[m] A memoir of his imprisonment and sufferings, written by a humble attendant, who was permitted to wait upon him in his affliction, is still extant. See *Mans.* Concil. tom. x. pp. 786 et sqq.

indignation of his subjects; but with the treasure at his command he collected a large mercenary force, landed at Tarentum, and totally destroyed the Lombard city of Lucera. After this success, he advanced against the strong fortress of Beneventum; but the brave defence of Romuald, son of duke Grimoald, compelled him to abandon the siege, and to take refuge in Naples.[n] Soon afterwards, the gallant youth encountered Suburrus, the lieutenant of Constans, in the field; and though greatly inferior in numbers, completely defeated him. Constans, thus compelled to abandon his designs against the Lombards, prepared to wreak his disappointment upon the disaffected Romans. The venerable aspect of the fallen mistress of the world, the submissive reception he met with from the pope Vitalian, the clergy and principal citizens, failed to awaken any feeling of sympathy for the departed glories of the empire, or regard for the property of the citizens. With scarcely conceivable cupidity, he employed the twelve days of his residence in the ancient capital of the empire in stripping her of all her most portable public wealth and ornament. He robbed the gorgeous dome of the Pantheon of its brazen tiles, and carried off the metal ornaments and statues, which even in her decay still decorated the public buildings and palaces of Old Rome. After shipping off his plunder to Syracuse, he followed into Sicily; where he was permitted for a short time longer to try the loyalty of his subjects by all those outrages from which a heart seared by debauchery and blood-guiltiness may derive a momentary oblivion or a passing excitement.[o] At length a common serving-man took upon himself the revenge of outraged humanity, and struck the tyrant to death in the bath.[p]

Reign of Grimoald.

The victory of Romuald drew after it the conquest of nearly all that remained to the Greeks in the province of Apulia, and added the cities of Bari, Brundusium, and Tarentum to the acquisitions of the Beneventine Lombards. The war with the Greeks of Ravenna languished during the remainder of the reign of

[n] *Paul. Diac.* lib. v. cc. vi.-ix. pp. 479, 480.

[o] The plunder of Rome lay at Syracuse till the Saracen invasion of Sicily; when it fell into their hands, and was carried away to Alexandria.

[p] *Paul. Diac.* lib. v. cc. x. xi. xiii., pp. 480, 481.

Grimoald; and upon his sudden demise in the tenth year of his reign, the Lombard nobility reverted to the line of Agilulph and Theudelinda, in the person of the exiled king Bertarid. Garibald, the elder of the two sons of Grimoald, took refuge with his younger brother, Romuald, at Beneventum. No attempt was made to retrieve the honours of royalty; and the enmity of the Agilulphian and Beneventine races was extinguished by the marriage of Grimoald, a son of Romuald, with the princess Winolinda, the daughter of Bertarid. After a reign of five or six years longer, Romuald transmitted the duchy of Beneventum to his son; and in the year 688 Bertarid was succeeded upon the throne of the Lombards by his son, the valiant and orthodox Kunibert.[q]

Bertarid restored.

Kunibert.

This king and his father were both zealous Catholics. Agilulph, Rothari, Rodoald, Garibald, and Grimoald had extended at least equal protection to the two great religious parties in the Lombard dominions; the queens Theudelinda, Godeberga, and Rodelinda,[r] had proved the nursing-mothers of orthodoxy; and though the Arian party was still strong in numbers, it appears that by this time the principal families of the kingdom had slidden gradually into the catholic profession. It is probable that it was to the support of that party that Bertarid was indebted for his throne; and it is certain that the only civil commotion which disturbed the reign of Kunibert was caused by the efforts of the Arians to regain their ancient ascendency. The strength of the old religion of the Lombards consisted mainly in its alliance with the pagan superstitions of the people; Christianity had not as yet overgrown, much less superseded, the more inveterate prejudices of barbaric religion; and the assaults of the orthodox were directed at least as much against the practices of the heathen as against the speculative tenets of the heretic. The more methodical zeal of the catholic clergy had, however, by this time placed them upon firm ground; by assi-

Gradual extinction of Arianism in Lombardy.

[q] *Paul. Diac.* lib. v. cc. xvii.-xxii. xxvi. xxvii. xxxii. xxxiii., pp. 484, 485; and lib. vi. c. ii. p. 490.

[r] The wife of Bertarid.

duity and perseverance they had raised themselves to acknowledged rank, wealth, and social respectability: in lieu of their ancient groves and fountains and rude altars, their converts were provided with stately temples, relics, images, and processions; and a showy ritual offered an acceptable substitute for their bloody sacrifices, their riotous festivals, and mischievous mummeries.[s] Still much of the old leaven remained to be purged away; and the reign of Kunibert was for a time suspended by an insurrection, arising in a great degree from the dissatisfaction of the people with the growing power of the catholic clergy, the decline of the older religion, and the privation of the pagan indulgences connected with it.

The same in the duchies of Beneventum and Spoletum.

Kunibert was driven from his capital; but a short time sufficed to prove the power of the catholic party. The usurper, Alachis duke of Trent, was expelled from Pavia, and Kunibert was restored amid the acclamation of all classes.[t] Meanwhile the progress of orthodoxy among the southern, or Spoletan and Beneventine Lombards had been at least equally rapid. Romuald and his successors, Grimoald and Gisulf, were steadily attached to the catholic doctrine and ritual. Under the auspices of the latter of these princes,

Re-establishment of Monte Casino.

the monastery of Monte Casino, founded by the patriarch of Latin monachism, the celebrated St. Benedict, towards the close of the fifth century, but which had been unoccupied for a period of one hundred and ten years, was re-peopled by a numerous colony of monks, under the presidency of St. Petronax.[u] The Lombard clergy of the two duchies testified their adhesion to the Roman scheme of orthodoxy by the solemn adoption of the sixth general council, held at Constantinople in the years 680 and 681, in which the heresy of the Monothelites was condemned.[v] Priests and people had passed silently and gradually into the worship of the saints, relics, and images, which their teachers had substituted for the numerous objects of su-

[s] For a more detailed account of these superstitions, I must refer the reader to my Hist. of the Germ. ch. xiii. p. 770.

[t] *Paul. Diac.* lib. v. cc. xxxviii. xxxix. pp. 487, 488.

[u] *Id.* lib. vi. c. lx. p. 503.

[v] *Id.* lib. vi. c. iv. p. 492.

perstitious or idolatrous reverence of which they had been deprived. They now trusted to the mediation of saints and the virtues of relics, as formerly to their charms and amulets and incantations, to avert natural calamities, contagious disorders, and other public and private mishaps. They became equally eager with the devout Frank for the acquisition of efficacious relics, and vied with each other in the construction of shrines and churches for their due commemoration and worship.[w]

The patrimony of St. Peter.

After the death of Kunibert, in the year 700, a sudden revolution placed Aripert duke of Turin upon the throne of Lombardy; and there he maintained himself for a period of eleven years.[x] Meanwhile Gisulf duke of Beneventum attacked the imperialists of Naples; an operation of which the popes, as professed subjects of the Byzantine Cæsars, were not entitled to complain. But the incessant warfare carried on by Greeks and Lombards of necessity involved the violation of that sacred territory which the Roman church had already hallowed to itself, under the name of the *Patrimony of St. Peter.* Over the whole and every part of these domains the popes threw the ægis of their great patron, and claimed for it immunity from all the incidents of secular warfare. Even at this early period, the "patrimony" comprised a very large part of the Byzantine duchy of Rome. The estates attached to the holy see are said to have extended from the vicinity of Naples as far northward as the city of Viterbo. Besides these, the popes possessed, or claimed, many more distant domains in the north of Italy, and even on the Gallic side of the Alps, in the southern districts of the Burgundian kingdom.[y]

[w] See *Paul. Diac.* lib. vi. c. iv. p. 492. When St. Petronax returned to Monte Casino, the community found that they had suffered an unspeakable loss. The bones of St. Benedict, and of his sainted sister Scholastica, had been feloniously carried away by a party of relic-stealers from Mons and Orleans to enrich the monastery of St. Benoît-sur-Loire. The brethren of Monte Casino, however, comforted themselves with the possession of the undoubted nose, mouth, and eyes of the saint, and of all the fleshy parts of both bodies. And see the Abbé *Muratori's* learned summary of the long controversy about the relics of St. Benedict, note 19 ad loc. Paul. Diac. mod. cit.

[x] *Id.* lib. vi. cc. xvii.-xx.

[y] Gregory the Great, in Epp. i. and ii., ap. *D. Bouq.* tom. iv. pp. 12, 13, gives particular directions for the management of the Arelatensian estates of the see of Rome; or, as he calls it, the "patrimonium Gallicanum." Confer *Mannert,* Geogr. der Gr. und Röm. vol. i. p. 311.

Its exposed position.

Extensive and widely-scattered districts, whose geographical position necessarily exposed them to the incursions of the belligerents, fell thus within the sacred pale of the Church; and the pope, as official guardian of the hallowed precinct, declared spiritual war against every intruder within those limits. It would have been fortunate for the interests of humanity if the pontiffs could have maintained their claim; but the immunity demanded was too inconvenient to the belligerent powers to command acquiescence. Thus the wars of Duke Gisulf with the Greek governor of Rome had brought him into the vicinity of the city; but there he was met by so powerful a remonstrance on the part of the Roman clergy, that he relinquished his enterprise and retired (A.D. 702).[z] Three years later the usurper Aripert acquired a claim to the gratitude of Pope John VII. by the restitution of a district in Lombardy alleged to have belonged to the Roman church prior to the Lombard invasion.[a] But these were tokens of early zeal, and occurred before the attachment of the Lombards to the see of Rome was exposed to severer trials.

Ansprand and Luitprand.

In the year 712, Aripert was driven from his usurped throne, and slain in battle by Duke Ansprand and his renowned son Luitprand. The father enjoyed the throne but a few months after the downfall of their adversary; and Luitprand succeeded to an insecure and precarious inheritance. In the first year of his reign he defeated more than one conspiracy against his throne and life.[b] But activity and vigilance enabled him to maintain his authority. This insecurity of the central government in Lombardy resulted from the rude state of society, and the absence of any settled rule of succession. And thus it happened, that every duke or noble who could rely upon the attachment of his fara, or clan, or could collect a party strong enough to make head against the government, might aspire to the throne. The dukes again re-

State of government in Lombardy.

[z] *Paul. Diac.* lib. vi. c. xxvii. p. 499, with the note of *Muratori* (111). Conf. *Anastas.* ap. eund. tom. iii. p. 151.

[a] The deed of restitution was written in letters of gold, and was afterwards confirmed by King Luitprand. *Paul. Diac.* lib. vi. c. xliii. p. 504.

[b] *Ibid.* lib. vi. c. xxxv. p. 502.

lied upon the same support to protect them against the tyranny of the sovereign, and to secure impunity for disobedience or treason. When the crown was strong enough, dukes were appointed or deposed at the royal pleasure; when the government was weak, duchies and offices of State were usurped or disposed of at the will of the strongest; each duke yielding to or resisting the authority of the king according to the strength, number, and attachment of his followers and clansmen. Among the Lombards, as among the Franks and Germans, offices, honours, estates, were gradually assuming an hereditary character. The more distant duchies of Spoletum and Beneventum lay too far away from the seat of government to be under the effectual control of the central power; the command of the military force, and with it every function of government, fell of necessity into the hands of the dukes; and, with such means at their command, it would have been surprising if they had not used them to perpetuate authority in their own families.[c]

Papal succession from 654 to 712.

Between the abduction and death of Pope Martin I., in the year 654, and the accession of King Luitprand,—a period of about sixty years,—a series of no fewer than fourteen popes occupied the pontifical chair of Rome. The dry list runs thus: Eugenius I., Vitalian, Adeodatus, Donus or Domnus, Agatho, Leo II., Benedict II., John V., Conon, Sergius I., John VI., John VII., Sisinnius, and Constantine II. Of these, one pontificate—that of Sisinnius—was under a month;[d] three—those of Leo II., Benedict II., and Conon—under a twelvemonth; the longest—those of Vitalian, Adeodatus, Sergius I., and Constantine I.—reached respectively the terms of fourteen years and a half, four years and a half, thirteen years and three quarters, and eight years.[e] These pontificates, though in many instances distinguished by vigorous spiritual action, manifest none of that political vitality which subsequently in-

[c] *Paul. Diac.* lib. vi. c. xxxviii. p. 503.

[d] Sisinnius, according to *Ciacone*, Vit. Pont., only reigned twenty days.

[e] So little depends upon the exact chronology of this rapid succession, that the reader is not troubled with the months and days, according to the minute, and often discrepant, computations of the papal writers Baronius, Pagi, Ciacone, Olduinus, Victorelli, and others.

spired the papal chair. The beginning of the eighth century opens a new era in the history of the papacy. The prominent character of this era is the struggle and final success of the Roman pontiffs in shaking off the trammels of temporal subjection, and the acquisition of a firm standing among the ruling powers of this world. We pursue this subject in connection with the Lombard and Frankish history of the eighth century.

Papal policy within that period.

Notwithstanding the advantages accruing to the papacy from the general prevalence of catholic orthodoxy in Lombardy, the divisions and separate interests of the kings and chiefs, but above all, the incessant warfare waged by all, jointly or severally, against the scattered dependencies of the Byzantines in Italy, exposed the estate of the Church to all the incidents of war, and kept the city in a state of perpetual apprehension for the safety of the inhabitants and the supplies requisite for their support. On the one hand, it was obvious that the Romans could claim no forbearance from the Lombards as long as they continued to profess themselves the subjects of the emperor; on the other, it became a matter of serious consideration whether their renunciation of the Byzantine connection might turn out any better than an exchange of masters. No result could be more dreaded by the Roman pontiffs; and the policy by which they successfully eluded the dilemma constitutes the main interest of the period we have now to consider.

Invasion of the "patrimony" of St. Peter by the Lombards.

The accession of the warlike and enterprising Luitprand to the throne of the Lombards again drew upon the "patrimony" of the Church devastation and pillage. In the course of their warfare against the Greeks, the Beneventine Lombards had possessed themselves of the town of Cumæ, within the pale of the Greek duchy of Naples. But Pope Gregory II. claimed that town as part and parcel of the "patrimony" of St. Peter, and made many fruitless attempts, by spiritual censures and remonstrances, to induce the captors to abandon their prey; nor could they be prevailed upon to evacuate the place till the pope had paid

them seventy pounds' weight of gold as a ransom.[f] A few years later, Faroald duke of Spoletum invaded the Ravennatine territory, and possessed himself of the town of Chiasso, a dependency of the holy see. Luitprand, it is true, compelled his reluctant subject to restore the place to the Church; but a short time afterwards, he himself, in the course of his wars with the Greeks, retook and totally destroyed Chiasso.[g]

Rome and the Byzantines.

No circumstance in the actual position of the Roman church had in fact been hitherto the cause of so much difficulty and embarrassment as the subsisting dependence upon the Byzantine empire. That connection now became year by year more perplexing and dangerous. The people of Rome, who had suffered less from the incursions of the Lombards than the more distant parts of the so-called "patrimony" of St. Peter, looked forward with anxious solicitude to their emancipation from the extortions of a weak and vicious government. The pontiffs, though not less impatient under this equally useless and pernicious incubus, would have waited till some powerful counterpoise against the dangerous ascendency of the Lombards should present itself. But events over which the Church had no control set all caution at naught, and threw them into the position they were thenceforward compelled to maintain, or sink back into the humble—and, it must be admitted, perilous—position of simple Christian bishops.

Leo the Isaurian against image-worship.

In the year 717, Leo, an Isaurian soldier of fortune, had deposed and supplanted the feeble emperor Theodosius III. Within a few days of his accession, Leo was called upon to defend his throne against an army of one hundred and twenty thousand Arabs, under the command of Moslehma, the brother of the Caliph Suleymân. The valour of the defenders, and the skilful use of the Greek fire, a new and formidable instrument of defence,—but, in popular estimation, far more effectually the miraculous powers of

[f] He borrowed the gold of the Greek governor, or patrician, of Naples, whose duty it was to defend the city at the expense of the empire. *Paul. Diac.* lib. vi. c. xl.; *Baron.* A. 715, p. 258.

[g] *Paul. Diac.* lib. vi. c. xliv. p. 504.

the most holy effigy of the divine Theotokos,—delivered the city and empire from this imminent peril. The populace of the capital, encouraged by their holy patriarch Germanus, were at this period devoutly addicted to saint, relic, and image worship; and the terrors of the siege had multiplied wonders, and strengthened the belief in the miraculous powers imputed to the images of the Virgin and the Saints. But the emperor Leo had received his religious education in a purer school; he had imbibed from his early instructors a strong prepossession against the palpable idolatries which the practice in question had fostered in all the provinces of the East.[h] The state of public affairs engaged for some years so much of the emperor's solicitude, that he was unable to give his attention to the contemplated religious reformation. But in the year 726, the Christian world was shaken to its centre by an edict prohibiting the adoration of images, either in public or private worship.[i] The explosion of religious zeal or prejudice was universal, and the bishops of Rome became involved in irreconcilable hostilities with their titular sovereign. For the first time in the history of the papacy, the notions of religious duty came into direct contradiction to civil allegiance; and the popes preferred insulting their sovereign to offending their saints.

Progress of saint and relic worship in the West.

Within the century which had elapsed since the date of Pope Gregory the Great's address to Serenus of Marseilles upon the use of images in public worship,[j] the interests of Roman Christianity had become in a much greater degree involved in the practice than at any former period of its history. In France, Britain, and Germany, some progress had been made in introducing a taste for pictures and images. Relic-worship had been for ages a popular form of devotion; and efforts had been made to persuade the people that the interposition of the saints in heaven for temporal and spiritual blessings was to be obtained through the medium of their images and relics, and that such images

[h] Occasion will hereafter occur to enter more fully into this topic; and it is confidently expected that after that the charge of idolatry here deliberately brought will no longer be imputed to Protestant prejudice.

[i] *Baron.* Ann. 726, p. 335.

[j] Conf. Book III. c. vii. pp. 222, 223.

and relics were the sanctified instruments by which the saints still continued to exercise, on behalf of their votaries and favourites, those miraculous powers with which they were believed to have been endowed during their abode upon earth. But within the same period the entire Lombard race had been gathered into the Roman fold. With the tenets of orthodoxy, the new converts had imbibed a strong devotion for that outward ritual which their teachers had substituted for the national idols and superstitions. They had acquired a strong taste for images and shrines, and pilgrimages and pompous processions. King Luitprand himself was a devout admirer of relics; and is reported to have given a large sum of money to the Saracens of Africa for the restoration of the body of St. Augustine of Hippo, and to have enshrined it in a sumptuous mausoleum at Pavia.[k]

Rebellion in Italy against the iconoclastic ordinances of Leo the Isaurian.

It is natural to suppose that the edict of Leo against the sacred objects of national adoration greatly embittered the hereditary animosity of the Lombards against their Greek opponents. Pope Gregory II., who had succeeded Constantine I. in the year 714, fulminated sentence of condemnation and anathema against the edict *and its authors;* and publicly declared his resolution to resist by force all attempts to carry the ordinance into execution within the Italian peninsula (A.D. 726).[l] But when, in the year 730, Leo the Isaurian put the finishing-stroke to his scheme of reformation by decreeing the *expulsion* of all images of worship from the churches of the empire, the Greek troops quartered in the exarchate, the Pentapolis, and the Venetian dependencies, refused to execute the mandate of the court. The governors of Ravenna and the other imperial cities and dependencies, however, continued actively to second the views of their master; and a party favourable to the abolition of image-worship

[k] Circ. A.D. 725. *Paul. Diac.* lib. vi. c. xlviii. p. 506. Conf. *Baron.* ad Ann. 725.

[l] *Baronius* (Ann. 730, p. 390) says, that the pope upon his own authority suspended the payment of the tributa and vectigalia to the imperial treasury. But this, as well as the reported excommunication of the emperor Leo by Gregory II., is problematical. Conf. *Pagi*, not. ad Baron. in loc. cit.; and *Bower*, vol. iii. p. 289.

was not wanting even in the Italian provinces of the empire.[m] Thus religious discord, rebellion, and mutiny reduced the Greek dominion in the peninsula to the brink of ruin. Luitprand, to whom this state of things opened brilliant advantages, entered zealously into the views and feelings of the orthodox supporters of image-worship. He invaded the exarchate, and by the aid of the exasperated inhabitants of Ravenna, made himself master of that city. All Italy lay at his feet; a deadly blow had been dealt at the project of the heretical emperor, and Luitprand was exalted to the dignity of the champion of orthodoxy and image-worship.[n]

Gregory II. saves the exarchate.

But this was a triumph in no respect agreeable to the pontiff. The success of Luitprand occasioned hardly less consternation at Rome than at Constantinople; and Gregory II. urgently entreated Ursus, the imperial commander in the Venetian province, to spare no exertion for the recovery of Ravenna. Fortune, or the incapacity of the Lombard governors, favoured the imperialists; and Ravenna was restored to the heretical emperor by the efforts of the most determined of his religious opponents.[o] During the first effervescence of public feeling against the sacrilegious decrees of Leo, the armies of the exarchate had been upon the point of renouncing their allegiance and setting up an emperor of their own choice. This design was strenuously opposed by the pope. There is, however, no ground for imputing these manifestations of loyalty to any feeling of dutiful obedience resembling that which induced his great namesake and predecessor to publish the much reprobated ordinance of the emperor Maurice.[p] The measures in question were, in fact, suggested by obvious political expediency. It would have been but sorry policy to exchange the protection of the empire, however distant and precarious, for that of any feeble usurper whom it might please a fickle and lawless soldiery to set up; and it was as clear to the pope as it is to us now that the triumph of the rebellion in the exarchate must soon, if not immediately, have

[m] *Anastas. Bibl.* ap. *Baron.* tom. xii. p. 361.

[n] *Paul. Diac.* lib. vi. c. xlix. p. 506.

[o] *Anastas.* ap. *Baron.* Ann. 726, § 26, p. 343. *Paul. Diac.* lib. vi. c. liv. p. 508.

[p] See Book III. c. vii. p. 233.

delivered all Italy, with Rome herself, into the hands of the Lombards.[q]

But Gregory II. was not the less anxious to avail himself of the enthusiasm of the moment to defeat the *religious* projects of his sovereign. In fact, his personal safety depended now wholly on the protection which the attachment of the image-worshiping majority threw around him. Paul exarch of Ravenna, and the dukes Basilius of Rome and Exhilaratus of Naples, had received positive orders from the court to seize the person of the pope as a traitor to the State. Basilius was, however, attacked by the Romans and shut up in a monastery; while his officers, Johannes and Jordanes, paid the penalty of obedience with their lives. At Naples, Duke Exhilaratus and his son Andrianus met with the same fate; and when afterwards the exarch Eutychius of Ravenna endeavoured to carry the imperial decree against Gregory into execution, he was met by so stout a resistance that he was promptly compelled to abandon the attempt.[r]

He defeats the reforms of Leo the Isaurian.

But these disturbances did not improve the political position of the papacy in Italy. During the iconoclastic seditions at Ravenna, in which the exarch Paul (the predecessor of Eutychius) lost his life, Luitprand had possessed himself of many strong places in the Æmilian province: he had captured Montebello, Buxetum, Persiceta, Bologna, and Osimo,[s] and reduced the exarchate to a narrow strip of coast-land along the north-western shores of the Adriatic. In the midst of these turmoils, the able Pope Gregory II. passed from the scene; and was succeeded by an impetuous and unlettered Syrian priest, under the name of Gregory III. (A.D. 731.) At this juncture, the attention of Luitprand was diverted for a time from the affairs of southern Italy by the alarming inroads of the Sclavi of Carinthia. The war with the Greeks was carried on with various success; and in the year 739, Luitprand marched to the assistance of Charles Martel, the heroic major-domo

Successes of Luitprand.

Gregory III.

[q] Conf. *Baron.* ubi sup. §§ 26, 27.
[r] *Paul. Diac.* lib. vi. c. xlix. p. 506; *Anastas.* ap. *Baron.* A. cit. §§ 38, 39.
[s] *Anastas.* ap. *Baron.* ubi sup.

of the Franks, in expelling the Saracens of Spain from the provinces of Languedoc and Provence. By these services he relieved himself from all apprehension on his north-western frontier, and acquired a claim to the gratitude of his powerful neighbour. He was now at leisure to mark what had been done amiss on his southern frontiers. For some years past the vassal dukes of Beneventum and Spoletum had given ample cause for uneasiness and resentment. Both had been found tampering with the Greek governors of Rome and Naples to the prejudice of their suzerain. In the year 740, Luitprand marched against Thrasimund of Spoleto with an overwhelming force, and compelled him to take refuge with his confederate Stephen, the governor, or patrician, of Rome; and his duchy was given to a nobleman named Hilderich. Luitprand advanced forthwith to the gates of the city, and demanded the immediate surrender of his rebel subject. Upon their advance the Lombards laid waste the circumjacent country, and even despoiled the church of St. Peter of its most costly ornaments.[t]

Luitprand before Rome.

In this emergency, Pope Gregory III. opened a communication with Charles Martel, the major-domo, or prince, of the Franks, with a view to obtain his interference for the protection of the holy see.[u] No satisfactory reply was obtained. But Luitprand did not press the siege of Rome; he satisfied himself with detaching four towns or cities, with the districts appurtenant to them, from the "patrimony" of St. Peter, and annexing them to the duchy of Beneventum. He had, however, hardly withdrawn from the Roman territory before the citizens marched out to restore their ally Thrasimund to his duchy. The operation was successful; and the duke was reinstated upon condition that he should procure the restoration of the four towns detached by Luitprand. But Thrasimund forgot, or was unable to perform, his promise. Meanwhile Gregory III. had been succeeded in the

Dismembers the "patrimony."

Zachary pope.

[t] Particularly a magnificent candelabrum of silver. See *Baron.* Ann. 740, § 20, tom. xii. p. 454.

[u] The first step towards that intimate alliance, from which the papacy derived advantages little contemplated at the time.

papal chair by Zachary,[v] a name of celebrity in the papal annals. The new pope insisted upon the restoration of the four towns; but with no better success than that which had attended the requisitions of his predecessor. Thrasimund was therefore adjudged to have forfeited all claim to further protection; and Zachary sent word to Luitprand that he was prepared to abandon his late ally to the vengeance of the king, and even to send the Roman militia to his assistance, upon condition that the four towns should be restored to the "patrimony" of St. Peter. Luitprand adopted the proposal; the forces of the Romans marched to co-operate with the king's troops; and Thrasimund, hopeless of repelling both his enemies, threw himself at the feet of his suzerain, and put him in possession of the whole duchy without further resistance. After this easy success, Luitprand affected to undervalue the assistance of the pope, and hesitated to pay the heavy price demanded. But Pope Zachary, whose political influence in Rome obviously overbalanced that of the imperial patrician, made the whole matter his own affair and that of his church. He went in person to the Lombard camp at Narni, and urged his demands with so much eloquence and address, that Luitprand not only surrendered the territory in dispute, but restored certain estates claimed to have been in times past a portion of the "patrimony" of the Church; and, as a further protection to the holy see and her domain, consented to a truce of twenty years with the imperial governor of Rome.[w]

Procures restitution of the confiscated cities.

In the year 741, the king found himself in possession of the entire duchy of Spoletum, as well as of that of Beneventum; thus enclosing the estates of the Church, together with the remnant of the Greek duchy of Naples, in his dangerous embrace.[x] Rebellion and disaffection had been repressed and punished; the Greek exarchate had been by this time shorn of the greater portion of its territory in the Penta-

Pope Zachary saves the exarchate.

[v] A.D. 741, Dec. 5th. *Olduin.* ap. Ciacone, in Zach. pap.

[w] *Baron.* A. 739, § 5. *Id.* ibid. Ann. 741 and 742, and the extracts from Anastasius there quoted.

[x] *Paul. Diac.* lib. vi. cc. lv. and lvi. pp. 508, 509.

polis;[y] and by the recent capture of Cesena, Ravenna itself was placed in a state of blockade, and exposed to distress and famine at the pleasure of the enemy. In this difficulty, the exarch Eutyches and the archbishop John entreated the intercession of Pope Zachary to save the church and people of Ravenna from the perils which surrounded them. The pontiff himself, notwithstanding the advantages gained in his late interview with Luitprand, was none the less alarmed at the progress of the Lombard power; and the message of the Ravennatines was felt by him to be quite as much an appeal to his own interests as to his humanity or his duty to the threatened Church. He therefore applied himself promptly to the task assigned him. Presuming upon his influence with the king, he admonished him on the part of holy Church to desist from his designs against the city. Luitprand turned a deaf ear to the demand, and even refused to admit the papal emissaries to an audience. In this emergency, Zachary, inspired perhaps by the example of his great predecessor Leo, who had successfully bearded the lion Attila in his lair, set forth on a journey to Pavia, with the resolution to urge his suit before the king in person. Luitprand received him reluctantly, but respectfully. After performing pontifical mass in the metropolitan church of the city, he dined with the king; and on the following day he made, we are told, so powerful an appeal to the understanding and religion of the monarch, that, though he listened at first with extreme impatience, he became gradually interested, and was at length completely won over to the views of the pontiff. He consented to raise the blockade of Ravenna; to restore immediately two-thirds of the district of Cesena; and, in the event of a peace with the emperor Constantine Copronymus,—to whom ambassadors were to be despatched for that purpose,—to give up the remaining third to the empire.[z]

[y] The modern legations of Bologna and Ferrara.

[z] Constantine came to the throne in the year 741. The date of Zachary's journey to Pavia is fixed by *Muratori* (Ss. Rr. Ital. tom. i. p. 511, note 244) in the last year of the reign of Luitprand. But see *Art. de vér. &c.* tom. i. pp. 257 and 421. The journey of Zachary to Pavia forms a chapter of Johannes Müller's interesting little volume, entitled "Journeys of the Popes,"—Works, vol. viii. p. 23.

Pope Zachary might indeed congratulate himself and his spiritual subjects on their deliverance from the immediate danger which threatened them; but what he had seen at Pavia did not encourage the hope of a durable state of tranquillity for Church or State. He returned thanks to God for his providential success; but in the very terms of that thanksgiving besought "the great Giver of peace and Lover of concord" to deliver those intrusted to his charge, Romans as well as Ravennatines, from the deceiver and persecutor Luitprand. "Nor," says his biographer Anastasius, "were the prayers of the holy man poured forth in vain; for not long afterwards the Lord withdrew that prince from the light of this world, and all persecution ceased. Then was there joy, not only among the Romans and Ravennatines, but likewise among the Lombards themselves."[a]

Ascendency of Luitprand:

In the reigns of Zachary and his two predecessors, the political views of the papacy had undergone a very marked expansion. Zachary had, it is true, failed in obtaining all the concessions he had expected; and the power of the Lombards, under the able management of Luitprand, had acquired a strength and consistency very prejudicial to the prospects of the holy see. But that prince, the most deserving of the Lombard kings of Italy, died at a mature age in the spring of the year 744, after a reign of thirty-one years and seven months. He had revised and improved the laws of his predecessor Rothari, and adorned his cities with many sumptuous buildings. During his reign Arianism had become almost extinct; the ancient heathenism was superseded by saint, relic, and image worship; churches, monasteries, convents, and clerical seminaries were multiplied and amply endowed; internal tranquillity was, upon the whole, successfully maintained; and habits of subordination, to which his princes and subjects had been hitherto strongly averse, were introduced. The military force of the kingdom was improved, the frontiers well defended, and the more distant dependencies brought within reach of the central authority.

his death and character.

[a] *Anastas.* Vit. Pont. ap. *Murat.* tom. iii. p. 163.

"This prince," says Paul the Deacon, "was a person of great wisdom, sagacity, and piety; a lover of peace, yet mighty in battle; merciful towards offenders; chaste, modest; munificent in almsgiving; ignorant, indeed, of letters, but a philosopher rather by nature than by education; for he was the father and legislator of his people."[b]

Hildebrand king.

The Lombards chose Hildebrand, a nephew of the late king, to succeed him on their throne. But his vices and cruelties soon disgusted his subjects, and he was deposed after a reign of seven months only.

Rachis king.

Rachis, son of Pemmo duke of Friuli, was next raised to the throne. Though a bold and successful warrior, he was of a religious and contemplative turn of mind. Pope Zachary saw his advantage, and without difficulty obtained from him a confirmation of the twenty years' truce granted by Luitprand in favour of the territories of the church of Rome. But this treaty did not protect those of the Greek exarchate; and in the year 750 the Lombard armies invaded Tuscany, and laid siege to the city of Perugia. But Pope Zachary—upon what ground it is difficult to conjecture—chose to consider that city as part and parcel of the Petrine patrimony, and therefore protected by the truce. The dangerous approach of the Lombards once more called forth the personal interference of the intrepid pontiff. He took up his staff and crosier, and proceeded with a small retinue to the camp of the king before Perugia.[c]

Ascendency of Pope Zachary, and

Rachis, who meant no offence to the Church in the invasion of a territory belonging to an enemy, was taken by surprise. The sudden and imposing visit implied, and was intended to imply, some crime of magnitude against the awful majesty of the Church, to which he was devoutly attached; the eloquent denunciations of the saintly pontiff, his pious conversation and apostolical authority, smote his royal auditor to the heart, and he recoiled from the abyss of guilt into which his

[b] *Paul. Diac.* lib. vi. c. lviii. p. 511.

[c] Perugia had been recaptured from the Lombards by the exarch Smaragdus, in the year 595; and from that period there is no reason to believe that it had again fallen into their hands, or that it had ever been annexed to the states of the Church, or even included within the duchy of Rome.

martial ardour had been on the point of plunging him. The siege of Perugia was instantly abandoned; and Rachis, grateful for his escape from the apprehended penalties of perjury and sacrilege, carried into immediate execution a resolve which, from his peculiar tone of mind, there can be little doubt he would sooner or later have adopted. He descended from his throne, renounced the world, and entered himself a humble probationer of the fraternity of Monte Casino; where but lately Carlmann, the brother of Pippin the Short, major-domo and king of the Franks, had sought an asylum from a world of violence and guilt.[d]

abdication of Rachis.

By the retirement of Rachis the throne of the Lombards became vacant; and it was immediately filled by the elevation of his ambitious brother Aistulph. The kingdom had at this point of time attained a degree of power to which no effectual resistance could be offered within the limits of Italy. The Byzantine exarchate, in fact, existed only under the protectorate of the Church; the military force of the Roman duchy was insignificant, nor could the armies of the united fragments of Greek territory within the peninsula have furnished the means of a single campaign in the field. The character of the new king of the Lombards offered no prospect of success for that course of policy which had told so well upon his more devout predecessors; and Pope Zachary soon became sensible that the corslet of Aistulph was very likely to turn the edge of the keenest of his spiritual weapons.

Aistulph and Zachary.

We find, in fact, that we have now arrived at a great turning-point in papal history. The bishop of Rome had in many respects stepped into the position of a temporal prince. The political

Secularisation of the papacy,

[d] *Chron. Cassinense*, ap. *Murat.* tom. iii. p. 358. Conf. *Baron.* A. 750, tom. xii. p. 558, cum *Pag.* Crit. The devotional contagion seized at the same time his queen Thasia and his daughter Ratruda. The royal penitents proceeded in pilgrimage together to the shrine of St. Peter; and after receiving the apostolical benediction, departed for their several retreats. Rachis was received into the Benedictine brotherhood at Monte Casino; and Thasia and her daughter collected a community of pious sisters around them at Plumbariola, not far distant from Monte Casino. Both establishments profited not a little by the munificence of the royal inmates.

balance of Italy was in his hands: and the maintenance of that position had become a matter of necessity rather than of choice; for by this time it was beyond human contemplation that he should ever step back into the condition of a humble spiritual chief or pastor. A long train of events and aspirations, in most instances wholly foreign to the character and the duties of Christian bishops, had inevitably tended to secularise the papacy. The vast endowments lavished on the see of Rome by the piety or the policy of a long line of imperial and royal benefactors; the scattered and precarious position of these endowments; the disputable titles under which they were held or claimed; the impracticable immunities set up in their favour,—immunities, nevertheless, of the utmost importance to their security and quiet enjoyment,—imposed upon the holder of the chair of Peter all the duties of a temporal prince, and flung him headlong into the vortex of secular politics. Though the bitterest spiritual enemy of the empire, the pope had been converted by a strange complication of circumstances into a political friend; and in that character had become involved in a conflict which he had no outward means of bringing to a successful issue, except by converting his spiritual powers into the instruments of secular warfare. Nothing was farther from the pontifical scheme than the exaltation of his spiritual enemy the heretical emperor; and in an age like that we are contemplating, the naked duty of allegiance, divested as it was of all religious support, would never have induced him to save a shred of the Byzantine dominion in Italy. Yet his own ambiguous position as a member of the belligerent state exposed him at every turn to the justifiable attack of the opposing power; and against neither had he any adequate material resources to back up his pretensions to stand between them in the character of a secular mediator. He could not renounce his connection with the empire without at the same time abandoning the last frail prop of his anomalous authority at home; abroad he had nothing to rely upon against the organised and gallant armies of the Lombards but the

a necessary consequence of its vast territorial possessions

and ambiguous position.

wretched Byzantine garrison, and the tumultuary militia of the Romans. Every circumstance, therefore, irresistibly impelled the pope to the conclusion that there could be no peace for Rome, no solid temporal foundation for the spiritual supremacy already achieved by the see of Peter, but in the total overthrow both of the Greek and the Lombard powers in Italy, and the appropriation of their spoils by the holy see.

General plan of contemplated acquisition.

There is abundant historical ground to believe that this object had by this time shaped itself very distinctly in the mind of the papacy: *the territory of its religious enemy, the emperor, must be definitively annexed to the patrimony of St. Peter*, together with as much more extensive a territorial estate as opportunity might bring within its grasp; and for the entire domain thus acquired, all the immunities and exemptions from secular control, and the incidents of secular warfare, hitherto claimed on behalf of the Church patrimony, must be irreversibly established. But there remained the arduous and apparently hopeless task of wresting these prospective acquisitions from the hands of the Lombard enemy. And, in fact, the whole course of the papal policy was thenceforward directed to the accomplishment of this single object. That object was to be effected by a *simple change of protectorate;* and that protectorate to be of a nature *to secure all the advantages of effectual secular support without the incidents of political dependence*, or of any such reciprocity of obligation as might bind the hands of the pope or impede the progress of the spiritual autocracy.

Prospective connection with France.

The religious and political state of the Frankish kingdom afforded the desired opportunity, and presented the means for the solution of the problem in hand. The eyes of the popes had been for some time past fixed upon the church and government of France as the quarter from which their deliverance was to proceed. But with a view to show the progress already made by the see of Rome, and the means, spiritual and temporal, at her command for further encroachments upon the constitutional privileges of other churches, we must

cast a glance back at the state of the Christian churches in Western Europe during the seventh and the first half of the eighth century. We shall thereby acquire a more distinct notion of the relations in which the more important branches of the Latin church stood towards the Roman patriarch, and bring under observation the elements of that nearer connection which was to grow up between them in the following age.

CHAPTER II.

SPAIN AND FRANCE IN THE SEVENTH CENTURY.

I. The churches of Spain in the seventh century—Constitutional powers of the Spanish clergy—Papal confirmations unknown to Spanish clergy—Communications with Rome — Independent action of the Spanish churches — Their replies to the papal censures—Roman influence in Spain at the epoch of the Arab conquest—II. Latin Christianity among the Franks—Conversion of the Franks—its character—Modes of conversion—State of the Frankish clergy—Christianity among the Franks—Priestcraft—Moral state—Civil and political state—Clerical judicatures, prerogatives, and immunities—Powers and secular habits of Frankish bishops—The mayor of the palace, his powers, &c.—Leudes —Antrustions—Bishops a constituent estate of the kingdom—Advancing privileges of the clergy—Declining influence of Rome in the Frankish churches—Elements of reformation—Principle of "church unity"—Rome the "mother," &c.—Vantage-ground of Rome.

The churches of Spain in the seventh century.

THOUGH ultimately struck out of the list of Christian nations by the Arab conquest of the eighth century, yet the Gothic monarchy of Spain was still destined to endure for more than a century, from the conversion of Reccared to the overthrow of King Roderick in the year 712. And there are peculiarities in the history of the intercourse of the Spanish churches with the holy see during that period which throw some light upon the degree and intensity of papal influence at this stage of its progress, and may enable us to form a more accurate estimate of the value attached by the men of that age to the claims of the Petrine chair upon the Christian world.

Powers of the Spanish clergy.

The conformity of King Reccared to the catholic faith, in the year 586, certainly increased the influence of Rome in the Visigothic kingdoms. Pope Gregory the Great had taken steps to withdraw the appointment of bishops and superior clergy from the direct nomination of the laity, and to correct the simoniacal practices which polluted the churches of Spain;[a] but he did not attempt to draw these appoint-

[a] Conf. Book III. c. vi. p. 183, and c. vii. p. 226.

ments to himself; nor is it probable that he succeeded in the single attempt recorded of him to acquire *original* jurisdiction in the so-called "Causæ majores" or "Episcopales."[b] And it so happened that during the whole course of the seventh century the attention of the Roman pontiffs was so absorbed by the solicitudes of their own political position, their controversies with the Orientals, and the management of the Italian and Gallic churches, that they had little leisure to attend to the affairs of the remote peninsula of Spain. The ecclesiastical system was therefore left to work its own way, and was enabled to acquire a position of great social and political importance. The clergy, in fact, became the preponderating power in the state,[c] and took a large share in State-legislation and the management of public affairs. The periodical assemblies of the superior clergy flowed into and became embodied with the legislative diets of the kingdom. At these great meetings kings, princes, nobles, and prelates discussed together matters temporal and spiritual: they regulated the succession to the crown; they deposed and set up kings; they absolved subjects from their oaths of allegiance, and imposed others corresponding with the changes of government; and enacted laws for the whole body of the State. At the same time, and in the same assemblies, they took order for the government of the churches; they appointed and deposed bishops; and passed numerous canons for the better celebration of divine worship, the regulation of discipline, the prevention of simony, the suppression of popular superstitions, and a variety of other objects of purely religious and ecclesiastical interest.

Papal power of confirmation unknown to the Spanish churches.

Of the twenty-eight national synods held within the seventh century, we are in possession of the acts of twenty-seven. In all these documents a single instance only occurs of any reference to the confirmatory or visitatorial authority of the see of Rome. There is not a vestige of evidence to

[b] Conf. Book III. p. 227.

[c] It is related of King Egica, that when he opened the xvith council of Toledo, he prostrated himself before the assembled prelacy, and craved their benediction. Baronius (A. 688) remarks of this humble demeanour, that it was "dignum exemplum catholici principis."

show that the canons or body of laws enacted by those assemblies were ever reported to, or brought officially to the knowledge of, the holy see. From this circumstance it may be safely inferred, that the papal claim to immediate and circumstantial reports of all that should be resolved or decreed in national or provincial synods, with a view to the unfettered exercise of the alleged power to confirm or annul such acts or resolutions, was during all that period unknown to the Spanish churches.

Communications of the Spanish churches with Rome.

It might not, indeed, be quite fair, considering the remoteness of the Spanish peninsula, to demand the proof of a uniform transmission of reports and orders to and from Rome, before we admit any of these claims as established in Spain. Yet the confident language of the papal writers, in affirmation of the absolute universality of the practice, would lead us to expect, in the case of Spain, as of other principal churches, to find among the acts of these great national synods some positive acknowledgment of Roman supremacy; or at least some reverential allusion to the pontifical acts and ordinances, some dutiful mention of their authority, some expressions of regret at being deprived of the papal instructions, or that, while making laws for the government of the national church, they should have been kept in ignorance of that perfect code of prerogative law held out to them as the only true principle of religious legislation, binding alike upon all Christian princes, prelates, and people. But of all this there is no trace in the records themselves. The fourth council of Toledo, held in the year 610, mentions the name of Pope Gregory the Great, and authorises the Roman form of administering the eucharist upon his authority.[d] At the council of Seville, held in the year 619, "the decrees of the kings and the edicts of the popes are mentioned as authorities or rules for determining the territorial extent of the episcopal jurisdictions and the limits of dioceses.[e] After this, no allusion to Rome occurs in any extant Spanish council till the year

[d] This occurs in the xviiith canon. *Fleury*, H. E. tom. viii. p. 364.

[e] *Id.* ibid. p. 296.

683. In that year Pope Leo II. sent a legate into Spain to demand the submission of those churches to the acts of the sixth general council, then lately held at Constantinople, against the heresy of the Monothelites. The legate carried with him a copy of the acts in question, together with letters from the pope to the king, the clergy, and nobility of the realm,[f] apprising them of the proceedings of the council, and calling upon them to accept and publish the acts as the established rule of faith upon the dogma of the divine and human will in the Christ, and to send them back to Rome with the signatures of all the bishops attached to them.[g]

Independent action of the Spanish churches in the Monothelite controversy.

But before a reply to the papal demand could be received from Spain, Pope Leo II. died, and was succeeded by the popular Roman presbyter Benedict II. His first care was to remind the legate of the holy see in Spain of the important duty committed to him, and to urge him without loss of time to obtain the confirmatory signatures of the bishops to the acts of the general council of Constantinople, held three years before (A.D. 681). But this monition arrived immediately after the dissolution of the general annual synod of the Spanish churches, and the lateness of the season rendered it impossible to recall them.[h] It is obvious that the Spaniards regarded the whole subject as a question, not of individual, but of aggregate concernment. Their church had received no intimation of the matter of controversy, nor of the intention to bring it before a general assembly of the Church. No summons to attend such assembly had reached them; nor had time or opportunity been afforded to consider and decide upon the merits of the discussion. Such an exclusion from the councils of Christendom entitled them to regard the whole question as open to a free inquiry on their part; and in that opinion the bishops of the Carthaginian province, assembled at Toledo, in the winter of the

[f] Cardinal Baronius (A. 683) unfortunately finds the name of Pope Honorius I. on the list of heresiarchs condemned by the council, and pronounces the letters to be forgeries. Pagi and Fleury, however, regard them as genuine.

[g] See the letter of Leo II. ap. *Hard.* Conc. tom. iii. p. 1733 et sqq.

[h] Conc. Tolet. xiv. § 3, ap. *Hard.* tom. iii. p. 1754.

year 684, with as many of the neighbouring prelates, or their vicars, as could be conveniently brought together, fully concurred. They carefully examined the acts sent for their signatures with those of the first four general councils, with a view to ascertain their dogmatic conformity; and having satisfied themselves that no discrepancy or departure from the catholic faith was to be detected in them, they freely signified their concurrence in the decisions of the late council, and assigned to them a rank next after the first four general councils among the records of the national church.[i]

Their reply to the papal censure.

The Spanish prelacy thus appear to have adopted the acts of the synod of 681 spontaneously, and without regard to extraneous authority. They confirmed this decision in the subsequent Toledan council of 688. That they had proceeded upon a perfectly independent examination of the whole subject, is apparent from an incident adverted to at great length in the minutes of the latter synod. It appears that in their letter transmitted by the legate to Pope Benedict II. on the prior occasion, they had used certain terms respecting the procession of the divine will in the Christ,[j] which had been misunderstood or misconstrued by the pope. They therefore replied to the pontifical censure by an elaborate appeal to the writings of the fathers in proof of the orthodoxy of their opinions upon the points in dispute, concluding with a solemn declaration, that "if, after that explanation, and the dicta of the fathers by which it was supported, they (the Roman divines) should in any way differ or dissent from their decision, no further controversy ought to be entered into; they knowing that by adhering rigidly to the instructions of the fathers, their answers would stand high in the opinion of all who by the grace of God were (real) friends of the truth, although ignorant cavillers might regard them as frivolous."[k]

The independent tone of the Spaniards; their indif-

[i] Conc. Tolet. xiv. § 3, ap. *Hard.* pp. 1753-1756; particularly § vi. p. 1755.

[j] "Voluntas genuit voluntatem, ut sapientia sapientiam."

[k] Conc. Tolet. xv. loc. cit. pp. 1766, 1767. Conf. *Fleury*. tom. ix. p. 92; *Baron*. A. 684, tom. xii. pp. 99, 100.

Roman influences in Spain at the epoch of the Arab invasion.

ference to the papal mandate, and their averseness to acknowledge any conciliar decision to which they were not made parties as binding upon them, offer conclusive proof that up to this point of time the papal pretensions had made but little progress in the peninsula. The reason of the failure is to be sought in the remoteness of that country from the centre of Latin Christianity, and the self-existent character of the Spanish hierarchy, resulting from the long suspension of political and social intercourse with the rest of the Christian world. It would be curious to speculate upon what might have been the ultimate effect of this independent spirit, if the Arab invasion had been successfully repelled. But by that event the Visigothic church and nation were well-nigh extirpated from the land; and by the time that the distressed remnant which survived the general wreck had struggled once more into national life, the ensign of Rome floated triumphantly over the nations of the West; and neither sympathy nor aid was to be looked for from any other quarter. It is not improbable that the Arab scimitar fought the battle of Rome more effectually than all the spiritual artillery she could have brought to bear.

Latin Christianity among the Franks.

Some notice has already been taken of the state of the Gallic churches under the earlier princes of the Merovingian dynasty.[1] It is, however, important in this place to direct our attention more at length to the operation of Latin Christianity upon the state both of clergy and commonalty in those important realms, with a view to account for that more intimate connection by which the papacy was about to profit so largely.

Conversion of the Franks; its character.

Though the Franks had, by their conversion, changed the *objects* of their religious worship, it was long before they could be prevailed upon to abandon the *forms* of paganism. From their earlier teachers they learnt that the saints, as the spiritual ancestry of their church, were familiarly conversant

[1] Book III. c. vi. pp. 183-186.

with, and took a lively interest in, all that passed on the scene of their passion and their labours here below; that their intercession with the glorified Saviour was always listened to with peculiar favour; that a mysterious virtue, highly beneficial to the possessors, was attached to their relics; and that it was the duty of every good Christian to visit their shrines, to lay his requests before them, and to expect a favourable answer, if his petitions were preferred with earnestness and sincerity: and that the proofs of this proper state of mind lay in liberal gifts to the guardians of the shrines, in building and endowing places of worship in their honour, and in the transfer to the new temples of every remnant or memorial of them that could be procured by the most diligent search.

Modes of conversion.

These instructions fell in aptly with the national predilections, and facilitated the progress of conformity. For, in fact, the so-called conversion of the barbaric races amounted to little more than a shifting of the honours they were accustomed to pay to their own deified ancestry to the saints whom the new teachers taught them to adore. Instead of the groves, the hill-tops, and the fountains, where their progenitors had sacrificed, they now chose the churches for that purpose; they slew the victims at the church-porch; they deposited the carcasses upon the altar; they feasted upon the sacrificial meats, and emptied the bowl in honour of the confessors and martyrs of the faith.[m] The primitive missionaries Remigius, Columbanus, Gall, Wilfred, Willibrord, and others, aimed, indeed, at a purer form of Christianity. Neither their religion nor their methods of conversion were derived from Rome. But the spirit of accommodation and compromise soon tainted the ministrations of their successors; and when the purer race of teachers had passed away, the clergy almost universally abandoned themselves to the current of popular habits and superstitions. The rural priesthood was of necessity recruited from among the new converts;

State of the Frankish clergy.

[m] Vit. S. Columb. by Jonas, as quoted by *Canciani*, Barb. Legg. Antiq. tom. iii. p. 90. Epp. *S. Greg. Mag.* lib. xi. ep. 76. Indiculus superstitionum, ap. *Canciani*, loc. m. cit. pp. 66, 77, 106; *Hartzheim*, Concil. Germ. Ann. 742, can. 5; Capit. Reg. Franc. *Conc.* ibid. p. 216.

and thus it happened that in many provinces bishops were to be found ignorant of the common ritual of the Church,—unacquainted even with the proper form of administering the rite of baptism. Admission to the priesthood was obtained without inquiry into the life and conversation of the candidate; often, indeed, without regular ordination, and by means of impudent pretension or imposture.[n]

Christianity among the Franks.

The superior clergy frequently interfered to check the grossest of these heathenish practices and abuses; but the mode of cure for the most part consisted in giving encouragement to saint-worship, the use of consecrated tapers, votive images and tablets, processions, and other observances, which might furnish a sufficient variety of objects and forms of worship to satisfy the cravings of the popular appetite, and perhaps gradually tend to divert the attention of the people from those grosser usages they were required to abandon.[o] The religion of Franks, Saxons, and Germans consisted in a firm belief in the miracles of the Saviour and the host of saints whom their teachers had substituted for the discarded deities of their ancestors. They held themselves rigidly bound to the performance of certain outward acts pertaining to the worship of God; but those acts had little connection in their minds with any rule of personal morality. The offences they were most careful to avoid were, disrespect or contempt of the saints, their churches, their relics, and their priests; but even these, and every other offence in the great catalogue of human infirmities, might be atoned for by the building and enriching of churches, monasteries, and hospitals; by liberality to the clergy, and (in case of the worst) the punctual performance of certain stated penances.[p] With

[n] *Cap. Reg. Franc.* lib. vi. § 72, p. 267; lib. vii. § 316, p. 338; and § 405, p. 347. *Cap. Carol. Mag.* ap. *Hartzheim*, Conc. Germ. tom. i. p. 271. *Cap. Reg. Franc.* Add. tom. iii. § 93, p. 393; lib. vii. § 195, p. 325; and Add. iv. § 32, p. 393.

[o] See the recommendations of Gregory the Great to Augustine. Book III. c. vii. p. 222-224.

[p] See the beatification of Chrodinus for his benefactions to the churches, ap. *Greg. Turon.* lib. vi. c. xx. p. 277; and the reprobation of Marcus the Referendary for his sordidness, notwithstanding that he had received the tonsure on his deathbed. *Ibid.* lib. vi. c. xxviii. p. 280.

all this, the pupil went on sinning till his priest claimed the penalty; and then—be it in the day of affliction and anguish, or in a sudden paroxysm of compunction, or at the hour of death—it was almost always punctually discharged.

Priestcraft among the Franks.

In such a state of the religious conscience, it is a matter of experience that violent outbursts of remorse should produce the most singular acts of self-torture and ascetic extravagance. The clergy of France were in the habit of holding up such practices to public admiration; they seized upon the merits of martyrs, confessors, saints, and anchorites, as their own special property; they enhanced their brightness by a long catalogue of miracles appended to each name of note; the muster-roll of saints was swelled by names of doubtful tradition or pure invention; and every means was adopted to impart to them (as heretofore observed) the character of local divinities, endowed with power to reward friends, favourites, and devotees, and to punish with the most sudden and appalling visitations any disrespect to themselves, or injury to their churches or the appointed guardians of their shrines.[q]

Moral condition of the Frankish clergy.

But besides these sources of gain,[r] the wealth of the clergy had been greatly augmented by lavish grants of land from the fiscal estates of the sovereigns; and these lands had become for the most part discharged of all state imposts or taxes.[s] In fact, the extent and value of church property had, within the sixth century, swelled beyond proportion to

[q] Conf. the following passages in the History of *Gregory of Tours*, Hist. Eccl. Fr. lib. iv. c. ii. p. 204; lib. v. c. vi. p. 257; lib vii. c. xxii. p. 300. *Ibid.* c. xlii. p. 311; lib. viii. c. xvi. p. 320. *Ibid.* c. xxxiii. p. 323. *Ibid.* c. xxxiv. p. 329.

[r] The traffic in relics had proved very profitable to the clergy. See the story of the "Thumb of St. Sergius," ap. *Greg. Turon.* lib. viii. c. xxxi. p. 305.

[s] The Gallic churches had, in fact, never been wholly deprived of the lands and revenues they enjoyed before the Frankish conquest. These lands they continued to hold as allodia, but still burdened with the old Roman tributum. Lists of all such tributary lands as had been thus retained were scrupulously preserved in the fiscus of the kings; and according to these lists the crown and its grantees were entitled to levy tribute upon the possessors. But in a fit of compunction, or superstitious terror, the notorious Fredigundis burnt the registers of the church lands in which she was entitled to tribute, and persuaded her husband Chilperich to do the like with those of all the crown lands enjoyed by the churches. *Greg. Turon.* lib. v. c. xxxv. p. 253.

that of any other class of subjects. The vices and corruptions of the clergy kept even pace with this increase of their wealth. They stigmatised every attempt to check the career of acquisition as godless persecution. Thus Gregory of Tours describes the government of King Chilperich of Soissons as one continuous series of persecutions, because that monarch endeavoured to set bounds to the rapacity of the churchmen. Yet it is remarkable that the bishop himself bears testimony to the literal truth of every allegation by which that prince justified his obnoxious proceedings. He accuses the superior clergy of unblushing covetousness and debauchery; he rebukes the wholly secular, and even the military, habits of bishops and abbots; their mutual feuds, homicides, and murders, and their indecorous alacrity in mixing themselves up on every practicable occasion with the political broils of the worldlings.[t]

Civil condition of the clergy.

As far as the interests of the civil state were affected by this formidable accumulation of landed wealth in the hands of the clergy, the remedy, as already observed, had suggested itself.[u] The veto assumed by the kings restored to them almost all the advantages, civil, military, and fiscal, which they had theoretically forfeited by their prodigality to the Church. The prerogative of free election to vacant sees and spiritual benefices of importance was practically annulled;[v] yet the *personal* privileges of the clergy do not appear to have suffered more than occasional infractions. The bishops, as already remarked,[w] were exempted from the lay judicature in all criminal cases, that of high treason not excepted. For the latter offence, as well as all other crimes of an aggravated character, they were amenable to

[t] *Greg. Turon.* lib. iv. c. ii. p. 208; lib. v. c. xxi. p. 247. Clerical homicides and assassinations, lib. viii. c. xxix. p. 324. Intriguing priests, lib. vi. c. xi. p. 272; c. xxii. p. 277. Martial prelates, lib. vi. c. xliii. p. 225; lib. vii. c. xxxvii. p. 309, and c. xxxix. p. 310. See Book III. c. vi. p. 185.

[u] Book III. c. vi. pp. 185, 186.

[v] As to the proceedings at such elections, we refer to *Greg. Turon.* lib. v. c. v. p. 235; *Marculfi*, Formulæ, lib. i. cc. v. vii., with *Canciani's* note, p. 193. Infractions of the right of free election, ap. *Greg. Turon.* lib. iv. c. xv. p. 210, and c. xxvi. p. 215. Conf. *Canc.* Barb. Leg. Ant tom. iii. pp. 190, 191, note (3). Lay bishops, *Greg. Turon.* lib. vi. c. xxxviii. p. 286, and c. xlvi. lib. viii. c. xxxix. p. 330, and c. xli p. 331. And compare *Greg. Mag.* Epp. ap. D. Bouq. tom. iii. pp. 13-16.

[w] Book III. c. vi. p. 184.

no tribunal but that of the peers of their own order; and the only law held applicable to their case was the Roman and the canon laws, as contained in the Theodosian code, and the usual collections of general or national synods.[x] But the *inferior* clergy were still responsible to the civil judicature for the crimes of treason, murder, and theft. Of their private disputes among one another, the bishop was the only competent judge. Yet, as in the days of the empire, the bishop might, with the consent of the parties, take cognisance of a great many civil causes; and, when to this voluntary refereeship was added the cognisance of a multitude of other crimes,—such as adultery, sacrilege, blasphemy, sorcery, desecration of churches and holy places, shedding of blood within the sacred precincts, breach of sanctuary, and others of a like mixed description,—the whole amount of jurisdiction acquired implied an enormous encroachment upon the competency of the civil judicature. Such temptations to break down all barriers must, in so rude and incautious an age, have been irresistible; and although the ecclesiastical judge could inflict none but canonical punishments, yet all that is most valuable to man in society—the title by which he holds all the rest, honour, reputation, and station in the world—was placed at his mercy.

Clerical judicatures.

For their personal immunities, their jurisdictions, and their accumulations, the clergy strenuously insisted upon absolute exemption from taxation, public services, and from all unprofitable or merely burdensome secular offices. They maintained that they were the servants of the poor, and their possessions the property of the poor; that property was, they alleged, a hallowed fund, which might not be touched by profane hands without incurring the highest displeasure of Almighty God, and the certain vengeance of the patron saint.[y] These privileges were, upon the whole, maintained

Clerical prerogatives and immunities.

[x] *Eichhorn*, Staats und Rechts-Geschichte, vol. i. p. 260. See the cases of Prætextatus of Rouen, those of the bishops of Gap and Embrun, and of Gregory of Tours himself,—Hist. Eccl. lib. v. c. xix. p. 246; c. xxi. p. 247; c. xxviii. p. 250. See also the trial of Ægidius of Rheims for high treason, lib. x. c. xix. p. 396.

[y] Conf. the maledictions of *Gregory of Tours* upon King Chilperich, H. E. lib. v. c. xxvii. p. 250. See also lib. iv. c. ii. p. 204, and lib. x. c. xxx. p. 350.

with success. Though, in the heat of passion, or in the eagerness of gain, it often happened that the distinction between priest and layman was lost sight of, and that occasionally, for the gratification of revenge or avarice, bishops and abbots were imprisoned, tortured, beaten, or even mortally injured;[z] yet a profitable compunction generally followed the offence. The Frank was firmly persuaded that he could compound with the saints for such irregularities in the same way that he was in the habit of compounding with his neighbour for personal injuries, thefts, robberies, and the like; that is, by a money-payment—a spiritual weregeld, whereby he might, if he had the pecuniary means, satisfy the most unreasonable of the celestial host.[a] In this way the clergy were often enabled to carry their grievances and sufferings to an advantageous market, and get back, in the shape of penances, a great deal more than they lost by the offences which had incurred them.

Power of the Frankish bishops.

While the clergy individually were thus rapidly extending their influence, their superiors had assumed all the prerogatives of lay princes: they went out to battle with one another, and with the nobles of their own dioceses and cities;[b] they took an active part in the civil wars and intrigues of the day. In these encounters they exhibited all the ferocity and craft which distinguished the wars and the politics of the age. Thus, Bishop Arnulph of Metz became the leader of the rebellion which dethroned and ruined the celebrated Queen Brunehildis, and placed Chlothar II. upon the throne; and it is to that active prelate that we trace the germ of that revolution which gradually substituted the power of the mayors of the palace for that of the legitimate descendants of Clovis.[c]

The mayor of the palace; his powers, &c.

As early as the beginning of the seventh century, the mayor of the palace of the Frankish kings—originally only the chief officer, or lord-steward, of the royal household—had obtained the uncon-

[z] *Greg. Turon.* lib. v. c. xxix. p. 251.
[a] *Eichhorn*, op. mod. cit. § 28, p. 90.
[b] *Greg. Turon.* lib. v. cc. xxi. xxv. xxvi. pp. 247-250; lib. vii. cc. ii. xiii. xxi. pp. 294-297.
[c] Cont. in *Fredig.* Chron. cc. xxxix.-xlii. ap. *D. Bouq.* tom. ii. pp. 423-430.

trolled management and administration of the royal domains. In that capacity he became the chief of the *Leudes*, or beneficiaries of the crown. The Leudes. The latter soon learnt to regard that great officer as their constitutional superior, and to take a lively interest in the appointment. The king could no longer venture to place a person displeasing to his Leudes at their head.[d] The ancient birth-nobility of the Franks had by this time merged in the mere nobility of office; the old allodial partitioners of the territory conquered from the Romans had melted into the mass of ministerials and retainers of the court, and in those capacities had fallen under the jurisdiction of the mayors of the palace. But among the mass of the aristocracy we distinguish a less numerous but more powerful body of officials called the "king's Antrustions." This class consisted of the more wealthy lay nobles, or "Proceres," and of the great prelates of the realm. These persons constituted the ordinary council of the crown; but upon special occasions the kings were accustomed to convoke the body of the nation, consisting of bishops, Proceres, Leudes, Antrustions, and free men, in one huge assemblage.[e] The right of the prelates to take a leading part in these national meetings rested upon the same ground as that of the landed aristocracy generally; viz. high office, and territorial power derived from the extensive allodia of their churches, or the still more important grants of crown domain. But as the greater prelates all bore the character of the "king's Antrustions," they entered into the closer community of the king's ordinary or privy council. They were for the most part the creatures of his appointment; and they looked to him for further advancement, and for protection against the ever-ready encroachments of the lay nobility. They were, in short, regarded as the "king's friends," and soon became the secular as well as the spiritual advisers of the crown.

Antrustions.

The bishops.

[d] The tragical fate of Brunehildis is attributed to her determination to maintain her favourite Protadius in that post against the wishes of the Austrasian and Burgundian aristocracy. Cont. *Fredig.* ubi sup.

[e] Called the Field of March, because commonly assembled in that month of the year. *Eichhorn*, St. u. Rechts-Gesch. vol. i. p. 298; *Cancian.* Barb. Leg. Ant. tom. iii. p. 114.

a constituent estate of the realm.

As an acknowledged estate of the kingdom, the bishops and greater abbots took a share in all important transactions of state. Thus the great revolution which (A.D. 613) raised Chlothar II. to the throne upon the ruins of the house of Childebert, was the joint work of the prelates and nobility of the three realms of Neustria, Austrasia (Germany), and Burgundy. Two years after this event (A.D. 615), a general synod, or diet, consisting of the clergy and laity of the three kingdoms, was held at Paris. The nobles demanded and obtained securities against the arbitrary resumption of benefices by the crown. The clergy brought under discussion the irregular interferences of the kings with the canonical course of episcopal elections, and the frequent citations of spiritual persons before the secular judges. It was obvious to the clergy that the power of the kings to promote their interests was upon the decline; their attention was therefore necessarily turned to the task of creating for themselves a position in the commonwealth independent both of the crown, that could no longer protect, and of the great nobility, that had alternately enriched and plundered them. To that end, they obtained from the great diet of 615 decrees prohibiting all appeals by spiritual persons to the king, his court, or council, to the prejudice of the episcopal jurisdictions, or to obtain immunity against ecclesiastical censures. At the same time the king renounced the prerogative of arbitrary appointment to vacant sees, as hitherto practised.[f] In the civil suits of spiritual persons the jurisdiction of the civil courts was taken away, but in *criminal* cases the inferior clergy still remained in the hands of the secular judge; yet now, even in the case of an ordinary clerk, the presence of a bishop was made necessary to constitute a competent tribunal; and it was decreed that the culprit should be tried, *not* by the common or civil law, but by the canons of the Church.[g]

Advancing privileges of the clergy.

This state of things endured throughout the seventh

[f] The decree of the diet differs from the recorded rule or canon of the Church. The former reserves the royal veto, the latter takes no notice of it. Conf. *Fleury*, tom. viii. p. 280-282.

[g] *Baluz.* Capit. Reg. Fr. tom. i. p. 8. Conf. *Schmidt*, Gesch. der Deutschen, vol. i. pp. 271, 272.

and the first half of the eighth century. During the whole of that period — or, we should perhaps rather say, till the appearance of the reformer Boniface upon the stage — the traces of connection between Rome and the Gallic churches are extremely faint. Since the incidental appointments of Virgilius of Arles and Syagrius of Autun by Gregory the Great as his vicars in France,[h] we hear of no renewal or revival of that office. Those prelates were the last who had applied for and accepted the gift of the pallium; appeals to Rome had become extremely rare; the Gallic bishops, like those of Spain, continued to hold their provincial and national synods without reference to the pontiffs, and without even the ordinary notification of their proceedings, or the transmission of copies of the acts of council, certainly without troubling themselves about their confirmation or approval.[i]

Declining influence of Rome in the French churches.

As we approach the reforms of the eighth century, we are curious to know what tendencies or capabilities of a favourable change existed in the actual constitution of the Gallic and Germanic churches. Upon this subject we here observe that in France, as in Spain, the clergy were, as a body, a constituent estate of the kingdom,—an estate possessed of preponderance of wealth and political power. Corruptions of the worst description had, indeed, crept into the system; but not, as in Spain, to the almost total absorption of the spiritual in the political character. The vices of the French clergy had encountered vehement censure from the purer-minded among themselves; and it is manifest that there remained at bottom a fund of piety favourable to the introduction of a more regular and purer system of moral and religious discipline. The most important feature in Gallic church-polity, however, was the ever-living principle of *church unity*. Amid all their deviations from Christian practice, no change is perceptible in the idea of that outward uniformity, which, in the general absence of spiritual Christianity was perhaps the only

Elements of reformation.

Principle of church unity.

[h] Book III. c. vii. p. 226.

[i] Conf. *Mannert*, Gesch. der Frank. &c. tom. i. p. 315.

security for the subsistence of religion in the world. Practically that unity, or uniformity, was the solitary principle the clergy could build upon, both against the encroachments of the laity and the disturbers of the religious peace among themselves. The Franks continued to regard Rome as their spiritual progenitrix. The advocates of reform had, in fact, no other support to rely upon. There was obviously no remedy to be found but in the interposition of a strong hand endowed with power and authority to sweep away the accumulated pollutions which defiled the national church.

Rome the mother of Gallic churches.

At any favourable juncture, therefore, it was in the power of Rome to present to the Gallic clergy their actual condition as a state of unnatural estrangement from the source of religious and ecclesiastical life. It would be, then, no difficult matter to direct the national conscience into the channel already prepared for it to flow in; the *first* step being always to engage the *interest of the princes* in the meditated reforms; and the *next*, to substitute, in the place of the varying forms, customs, and canons received in the Gallic churches, a new and uniform rule of ecclesiastical law —that rule to be always the *canon and decretal law of Rome*.

Vantage-ground of Rome.

CHAPTER III.

BRITISH CHURCHES IN THE SEVENTH CENTURY. (I.)

The British churches—Scottish and Irish churches—Patrick—Columba—Origin of these churches—Differ from the Latins—Differences—Laurentius of Canterbury—His complaint—King Eadbert apostatises—The sons of Sabert—Retreat of the Roman mission—Artifice of Laurentius—Recall of the mission—Melitus and Justus—King Edwin of Northumbria—marries Ethelburga—Paulinus of York—Conversion of Edwin—Vision of Edwin—its result—Character of Edwin's conversion—The priesthood of the Anglo-Saxons—Facilities of conversion—Mode of conversion—Renunciation of idol-worship—Destruction of idol-temples—Baptism of Edwin—Pope Honorius I. rewards Paulinus—Rome and the British and Scotch churches — Death of Edwin, and extinction of the Roman mission in Northumbria—Expulsion of Paulinus—Osric—Eanfrid—Oswald recovers the kingdom—sends for missionaries from Scotland—Aidan at Lindisfarn—Scottish form of episcopal ordination—Apology of the Venerable Bede—Labours of Aidan—Middle Anglia and Mercia added to the Northumbrian church—Finnan of Lindisfarn—King Oswy extends the Scottish establishment—Independence of the Northumbrian church—Simplicity of the Scottish divines—incompetent disputants—Revival of the Paschal controversy—Ronan—Wilfred—Agilbert—Conference of Whitby—Public discussion—Argument of Bishop Colman—Reply of Wilfred—Inconsistency of the Paschal theory of the Scots—Rejoinder of Colman—Answer of Wilfred—alleges the Petrine power—Victory of the Latins—Examination of their argument—Intent of the Latins—Retreat of the Scottish hierarchy.

In reviewing the progress of the papal scheme during the sixth and seventh centuries, the state of Christianity in the British Islands calls for a considerable share of our attention. Though the re-establishment of the Christian profession in Britain was in a prominent degree the work of Rome, yet it should not be forgotten that that profession had never been wholly extirpated by the Saxon conquest. The remnant of the British race, confined to the mountain regions of Wales and Cumberland, still kept alive the embers

The British churches.

of the common faith in the West; while in the south-western districts of Scotland a church had recently sprung up in absolute independence of all foreign connection or control. This branch of the great Christian community took its origin from the primitive church of Ireland, established in that island about the middle of the fifth century by a mission from the Gallic churches, under the direction of certain devout men, who in after-times have found a common representative under the name of Patricius, or Patrick.[a] In the year 565, Columba, or Colom, an Irish monk, obtained from the maritime chief of the Caledonian Picts a grant of the small island of Hii, now known by the name of Icolmkil. This spot, though barren and exposed, was sufficiently near for easy communication with the mainland, yet remote enough to secure the monastic community which Columba had settled upon it from disturbance. The establishment prospered; and in process of time a numerous colony of devout men from the adjacent coasts of Ireland resorted thither to take part in the conversion of the Pictish tribes dwelling to the north of the Grampian range. Their labours met with merited success; and shortly the faith of Christ was professed by numerous adjoining clans of the Pictish family. But it appears that the tribes of the same race dwelling to the southward of the Grampians had preceded their more northern brethern in the knowledge and profession of Christianity. Nynian, a supposed disciple of the mysterious Patrick himself, had, many years before the establishment of Columba at Hii, succeeded in converting those tribes, and had settled his episcopal see at Withern, a locality situated within the modern district of Galloway. Thus the extent of territory brought within

The Scottish or Irish church.

Patrick. Columba.

[a] The legends of this celebrated saint are so totally inconsistent with common chronology or common sense, as to raise a doubt whether any such individual ever existed. With a view to reconcile the contradictory legends of Patrick's life and labours, several persons of the same name are supposed to have at different times within the compass of the fifth and the first years of the sixth century preached the gospel in Ireland. I incline to agree with this hypothesis as to a plurality of missionaries; but think that tradition has assigned their acts and merits to one favourite name; the person bearing that name being the most active, possibly the earliest preacher. Conf. *Moreri* and *Smith* ad voc.

the pale of the Christian Church embraced the entire region known to us as the Western Highlands of Scotland. Here, in comparative obscurity, but in absolute independence, these communities subsisted long before, and until long after, the advent of the Roman mission of Pope Gregory I., in Great Britain.[b]

Origination of British and Scottish churches.

Though the evidence of communication between the Scottish and British or Cambrian churches is deficient, yet the proof of the Latin descent or origination of either is still more so. It has been alleged that the legendary St. Patrick, the common ancestor—if we may use the phrase—of the Irish and Scottish churches, had been consecrated bishop of Ireland by Pope Celestine I. at some time between the years 422 and 433; and that that circumstance established the maternity of Rome in Ireland, and all derivative churches. But even if the inference were correct, the fact upon which it is founded is altogether apocryphal; neither is there a trace of any subsequent connection to authenticate it.[c] It may therefore be safely presumed that the churches founded under the name of Patrick in the north of Ireland formed an independent nucleus of Christian doctrine, discipline, and ritual; and that the Scottish offsets, propagated by Nynian and Columba, partook of the same self-existent and autonomous character. Now, though we are in the dark as to any actual communications between the Cambro-British and Scottish churches, yet we have proof that they agreed on certain points of disciplinarian and ritual observance, which establish a *generic* difference between them and the churches of Latin or Roman pedigree. These differences, it should, however, be observed, involved no essential doctrine of Christianity; but turned solely upon external—principally ritualistic—observances. Yet, in this age, it lay far away from the habits of the religious mind to distinguish with any degree of accuracy between form and substance—doctrine and discipline—unity and uniformity. A departure in outward form involved a breach of the theoretic

[b] *Bedæ* H. E. lib. iii. c. iv. p. 106.

[c] *Neander*, K. G. vol. ii. p. 262; *Lappenberg*, Gesch. v. Engl. vol. i. p. 133.

unity,—the odious sin of schism, or the less pardonable guilt of heresy.[d] The British and Irish churches had been, at the period we have arrived at, shut out for ages from all communication with the rest of Christendom.

Differences between the British and the Latin churches.

They had adhered with technical precision to ecclesiastical forms, differing materially from the then prevailing disciplinarian and ritualistic observances of the Latin churches, and bearing the unmistakable impress of an Oriental origin of a very early type. These differences touched chiefly upon five points: *first* and principally, upon the time for the celebration of the Easter festival; *secondly*, upon the precise form of the sacerdotal tonsure; *thirdly*, upon the ceremony of marriage; *fourthly*, upon the celibacy of the clergy; and *fifthly*, upon the mode of episcopal ordination. It may be doubtful whether at this precise period of Christian history the four last points would have furnished matter for those bitter dissensions they occasioned in a subsequent age. The controversy at this time turned almost wholly upon the computation and celebration of the Paschal festival, and the canonical form of the sacerdotal tonsure. These variances in themselves were of very minor moment, when compared with the evidence they furnished of a spirit of independence and self-reliance repugnant to the scheme of Roman supremacy, and the theory of the sacramental unity, which had by this time taken so firm a root in the principle and polity of the Latin primacy. The reluctance of the Cambro-British Christians to acknowledge any jurisdiction superior to that of their own national and patriarchal prelates, placed them, in fact, in a position of direct antagonism to that scheme. The attempt of Augustine to entrap or intimidate them into submission, both characterises the agent, and lays bare the principle upon which he acted; and it is obvious to us that, as soon as the Northern churches should come in contact with the Latins of the South, the contest must be revived upon the

Antagonism.

[d] Some remains of Pelagianism may have lingered in the island as late as the seventh century; but I believe that no revival of that heresy was ever heard of afterwards. See *Bede*, lib. i. c. i. x. xvii. xxi., and lib. ii. c. xix. Conf. *Lappenberg*, vol. i. p. 135.

like grounds, though it might be not precisely in the same mode or form.

That point of time, in fact, lay at no great distance. When Archbishop Laurentius succeeded Augustine in the see of Canterbury, the Roman missions possessed three episcopal stations in England. While that prelate presided over the see of Canterbury, those of Rochester and London were respectively assigned to Justus and Melitus, both members of the second Gregorian mission.[e] Between the death of Augustine and that of his royal patron, Ethelbert king of Kent, a period of eleven years elapsed. During all that time the missionaries had ample leisure to improve their position; but do not appear to have materially extended the knowledge of Christianity, or the limits of their respective dioceses. But Laurentius was too well versed in the Latin tactics to permit any ground to be lost for want of claim: "He took upon himself," says Bede, "the pastoral superintendence, not only of the churches brought together from among the Angles and Saxons, but also of the more ancient churches of the Britons, including those of the Scots inhabiting the parts of Ireland adjacent to the British coasts."[f] To these communities he presented himself as the chosen representative of the one episcopate, and the sole channel of catholic communion. "He had," he said, "expected to find among them a conformity of rites and usages with the catholic body; but had been grieved to perceive an obstinate spirit of resistance—an irreligious adherence to a ritual inconsistent with catholic (Latin) tradition; more especially in the refractory demeanour of their representatives Daganus and Columbanus in Gaul."[g] The remonstrances of the archbishop, however, drew forth no reply from Scots or Britons; and for the present the controversy upon which those churches appear by this time to have staked their independence, fell to the ground. The new establishments in Kent and the adjoining districts

Laurentius of Canterbury assumes the primacy of all the churches of Great Britain.

His complaint.

See Book III. c. vii. p. 214. Conf. *Bedæ* H. E. lib. ii. c. iii. p. 81.

[f] *Bede*, lib. ii. c. iv. p. 82.

[g] *Bede*, ubi sup.; and conf. Book III. c. vii. p. 215 of this work.

of Essex and Middlesex prospered under the patronage of Ethelbert and his nephew, the vassal king Sabert of the East Saxons. We observe that the Gregorian settlements in England were founded exclusively upon the monastic principle; and in the year 610 Laurentius despatched Bishop Melitus to Rome to obtain further instructions from Pope Boniface IV., for the better organisation of his churches, but more especially to bring back with him a more perfect scheme of monastic discipline, fortified by papal authority, and to be enforced by pontifical letters addressed to the kings and clergy of the converted districts.[h]

Apostasy of Eadbald.

This tranquil progress of the mission was interrupted by the deaths of Ethelbert and of his nephew Sabert of the East Saxons, in the year 616. The Kentish prince was succeeded by his son Eadbald, a Christian by baptism, but impatient of the moral control which his new profession imposed, and his priests were by no means backward to insist upon. Shortly after his accession he had married his father's widow. The act, though probably not inconsistent with the loose habits of his age and the privilege of his rank, drew upon him the severest denunciations of his spiritual monitors. The paroxysms of rage into which he was thrown by this check upon his wanton desires were imputed to demoniacal influence, and regarded as a punishment for his contempt of the ordinances of the Church. He withdrew his countenance from the new establishment, and his example was followed by a general defection from the faith among his subjects.

The sons of Sabert.

The inheritance of Sabert had meanwhile fallen to his three untamed and unbaptised sons; and the people of Essex reverted mechanically to the groves and idol-temples in which their ancestors had worshipped. These princes sought and soon found a cause of quarrel with the bishop and his followers. Melitus was accustomed to administer the eucharistic bread and wine to his flock in public. On one of these occasions, the royal youths broke in upon the congregation, and demanded a share of the goodly elements they saw distributed among the

[h] *Bede*, ubi sup.

faithful. The bishop replied, "If you consent to be washed in the sacred font of baptism, you may then partake of this bread, as did your father before you. But if ye despise the holy fountain of life, ye can by no means be partakers of the bread of life." Enraged by the refusal, the princes replied that, "if in so trivial a matter the bishop refused to gratify their reasonable request, he should no longer be permitted to dwell among them." The contest ended with the expulsion of Melitus and his followers, and the almost total extinction of Christianity within the diocese.[1]

Their retreat was not molested; and after a long and anxious consultation with Laurentius, the state of affairs in both kingdoms appeared so desperate that it was resolved to withdraw the mission to France, there to await a providential solution of their difficulties. Justus and Melitus set sail for France; Laurentius delayed his departure awhile, no doubt with the purpose of making a last appeal to the obdurate monarch. He might hope that the superstitions of the king were at bottom stronger than his passions. He was probably aware that in the loose apprehension of the half-Christian, half-heathen barbarians, the Christian saints were a scarcely less formidable order of divinities than their own Thor or Wodan; and that he might therefore, with some prospect of success, stake the credit of the prince of the apostles against the gods of his credulous auditor. At considerable personal risk, he one day entered the presence of the king and his court, and boldly affirmed that on the preceding night, while engaged in prayer within the walls of his church, he had fallen into a trance; and in that state had received a most merciless flagellation from the hands of St. Peter himself as a punishment for his cowardly design of deserting the church by him specially committed to his charge. Then, baring his back, he exhibited his waled and lacerated shoulders, as ocular proof of the severity of the castigation inflicted, to the astonished prince and his court. Eadbald was, we are told, so profoundly affected by this pregnant proof of divine displeasure, that he on

The missionaries resolve to quit the island.

Successful artifice of Laurentius.

[1] *Bede*, lib. iii. c. v. p. 84.

the spot renounced his idols, repudiated his step-mother, and recalled Melitus and Justus from exile. The latter was peaceably reinstated in his episcopal see at Rochester; but Melitus had a harder battle to fight. Though the ribald sons of Sabert had a short time before perished in battle with the West Saxons, the people of Essex continued to adhere to their groves, their idols, and hedge-enclosed temples, and pertinaciously refused to admit the enemies of their late chiefs within their territory.[j]

Recall and restoration of the missionaries.

The difficulties and distresses which these incidents inflicted upon the infant churches arrested for a time the progress of Latin Christianity in the British islands. Archbishop Laurentius died in the year 619, and was succeeded by Melitus the exiled bishop of London. The latter, however, followed him to the tomb in the year 624, and Justus of Rochester was installed in his chair. The following year opened a wider prospect of spiritual conquest. Eadwin, or Edwin, king of Northumbria, at this moment the most extensive and powerful of the Anglo-Saxon principalities of Britain, sued for the hand of Ethelburga or Tata, a daughter of the late king Ethelbert of Kent. The dominions of Edwin extended from the estuary of the Humber northward to where the Grampian chain divided it from the wild and unsubdued Pictish hordes of the Northern Highlands. To the westward his power embraced the British tribes, and the offsets of the Anglo-Saxon race inhabiting the counties of Cumberland, Westmorland, Lancashire, and Cheshire, inclusive of the remoter islands of Anglesea and Man. Eadbald, the brother of Ethelburga, maintained friendly relations with the king of Northumbria; but the latter was a heathen, and in reply to his suit Eadbald frankly declared that a Christian virgin could not lawfully be joined in wedlock with a pagan man, lest thereby the faith of Christ should be profaned and his sacraments defiled by idolatrous example or compliance. But Edwin succeeded in setting aside the

Melitus and Justus archbishops.

Edwin of Northumberland.

[j] These events seem to have occurred between the years 616 and 618. See *Bede*, lib. ii. c. vi. p. 85.

objection on the score of religion; he engaged that no impediment or interference should be thrown in the way of the princess or any of her suite, be they men or women, ecclesiastics or laymen, in the full and free exercise of their religious worship; and he hinted that if after due deliberation with the ancients and learned of his council, the faith of the bride should be pronounced more pleasing to God than the religion of his people, he should not be disinclined to adopt it himself.[k]

Marriage of Edwin and Ethelburga. Paulinus.

So propitious an opening for the introduction of Christianity in the most widely extended and powerful kingdom of the island was not to be neglected. All objections were withdrawn, and Paulinus, the last survivor of the Gregorian mission, was appointed with a proper staff of clergy to accompany the young queen and her attendants to the court of her affianced husband. It appears to have been understood that Paulinus, who for that purpose was ordained bishop by Justus, should be regarded as the supreme pastor of a Northumbrian church, with full authority to preach the new faith to the court and people of the realm. On his arrival, the bishop was received with the cordial welcome befitting the joyful occasion of his advent. The king himself listened with becoming attention to his discourses and exhortations; but, with the ordinary caution of his contemporaries, delayed his decision until it could be pronounced with safety to his temporal interests. A twelvemonth was allowed to elapse, and the new queen bore him a daughter. The king rendered thanks to his gods for the safe delivery of his consort; Paulinus protested that the happy event must be ascribed to the prayers he had offered up on her behalf to Christ. Edwin made no objection to the claim; the divine aid for the promotion of his personal and political views, from whatever quarter it might proceed, was equally acceptable; and he promised the bishop that if by the like assistance he should obtain the victory over his treacherous enemy Cuichelm, the king of the West Saxons,[l] against whom he was about to take

[k] *Bede*, lib. ii. c. ix. p. 87.

[l] He had, a short time before, narrowly escaped the dagger of an assassin hired by his antagonist.

the field, he would himself embrace the faith of Christ. The event of the war answered his most sanguine expectations; his enemies fell before him; the gratification of revenge and ambition opened his ears and his heart to the exhortations of Paulinus; and, as a first step towards conversion, Edwin publicly renounced idol-worship. No long time afterwards he was persuaded to convoke a general assembly of his priests and nobles solemnly to discuss the expediency of abandoning the altars they had hitherto served, and calling upon the God of the queen and her attendants.[m]

Conversion of Edwin.

The assembly and its results deserve a more particular consideration. The intercourse between Edwin and Paulinus, dated obviously from some point of time probably anterior to his accession to the throne of Northumbria. At an earlier period of life Edwin had lived for some years in exile at the court of Redwald, king of the East Saxons,[n] consequently within the reach of the Augustinian missionaries, whose influence then extended over the counties of Kent, Middlesex, and Essex. Acquaintance between him and Paulinus might easily be supposed to have sprung up during this afflictive period of Edwin's life; nor is it more difficult to believe that the suggestion of a Kentish bride proceeded from the same quarter. While living in daily apprehension of being delivered by his treacherous host into the hands of his persecutor Ædelfrid king of the Bernician Angles, a person of strange countenance and habit appeared, we are told, before him in the dead of the night, and inquired the cause of his wakefulness, while the rest of the world was wrapped in sleep. Edwin, in return, asked how it could concern him to know the cause of his wakefulness. The stranger replied, that he wanted not to be told what he well knew already. "But what reward," said he, "would you bestow upon one who should deliver you from this mortal anguish, and turn the heart of Redwald, so that he should neither do you any harm, nor deliver you up to your enemies to be put to death?" Edwin declared that to so

The vision of Edwin.

[m] *Bede*, ubi sup. p. 88.

[n] Redwald was a contemporary, and probably a vassal king, of Ethelbert of Kent, circ. A.D. 604.

great a benefactor he could deny nothing within his power to bestow. "But," said the ghostly visitor, "what if he were to promise you a throne, and actually raise you to a power and eminence among the kings of England superior to those enjoyed by any of your ancestors, or of any reigning prince among your countrymen?" Edwin replied, that such benefits would indeed demand the most grateful return. "But," said his monitor, "if he who shall thus have veraciously predicted such advantages should also offer to your acceptance counsels of life and salvation better and more advantageous than any your ancestors or kindred ever heard of, would you consent to render obedience to his salutary admonitions?" The prince without hesitation promised, that should the event answer the prediction, he would assuredly accept the instructions of his benefactor. The stranger then solemnly laid his hand upon the prince's head, "When hereafter," said he, "this sign shall be repeated unto you, remember this interview, and delay not to perform that which you have now promised." He said, and vanished from the sight of the astonished and consoled mourner. The heart of Redwald was changed from that hour. By his aid Edwin was restored to his kingdom, and in a few years was raised to that eminence of power and influence predicted by his nocturnal comforter.°

Result of the vision.

This story suggests a suspicion either that Paulinus in person had enacted the part ascribed to the ghostly monitor, or that Edwin was himself a party to the pious fraud. Before the meeting of the council of his realm, Edwin had, we are told, deferred his conversion from time to time, while anxiously revolving in his mind the propriety of changing his religion. One day when, as usual with him of late, he was thus engaged in solitary reflection upon this important subject, the "man of God" suddenly appeared before him, and solemnly laying his hand upon his head, inquired whether he recognised the sign. The king fell trembling at his feet; Paulinus raised him from the ground, and addressing him in a tone of paternal affection, "By the help of

° *Bede*, lib. ii. c. xii. p. 92.

the Lord," he said, "you have escaped the snares of your enemies; by the same munificent hand you have obtained the kingdom you desired: and now, in return, it is for you to perform your engagement, by accepting the faith and precepts of Him who delivered you out of all your temporal adversities, and raised you to worldly honour and power, and who, if you obey his will as it is preached to you through me, will also save you from the pains of eternal torture, and make you a partaker with him in His eternal kingdom."[p]

Character of the conversion of Edwin.

Without, however, discussing the questions of collusion on the part of the king, or of wilful imposture on that of Paulinus, there is enough in the history of Edwin's conversion to assure us that long prior to the advent of the new preacher, the latter was favourably inclined to Christianity. The demand of a Christian bride, the promise of unlimited indulgence to her and her attendants, the boundless facilities afforded to Paulinus to publish the gospel, as he understood it, to the court and people; the respect with which the king himself listened to the instructions of the preacher, and the easy credulity with which he accepted the sign and avowed the obligations it implied,—all these circumstances taken together show a mind strongly impressed with one prevailing bias, and hesitating only until external circumstances should be propitious for the execution of the foregone intent. The impediment most to be apprehended arose from the possible opposition of the national nobility and priesthood. The kings of the Teutonic races, of whom the Northumbrians were an offset, were generally clothed with the sacerdotal office; but besides the royal chief-priest, a college or corporation of priests was ordinarily chosen from among the most distinguished families, but without heritable privilege or right of caste.[q] As a religious establishment,—if it may be regarded in that light,—the sacerdotium of the Anglo-Saxons has left so

The priesthood among the Anglo-Saxons.

[p] *Bede*, ubi sup. p. 93.

[q] Conf. *Grimm*, Deutsche Rechts-Alterthümer, p. 243; see also *Grimm*, Deutsche Mythologie, p. 61. But very little information touching the status of the priest among the Teutonic nations has come down to us prior to the introduction of Christianity.

few historical traces behind it, that we are warranted in believing that, independently of the monarch, they possessed little influence among the people, although when acting in support of his authority, they may have had it in their power to render important services. There is no appearance of a properly sacerdotal opposition to the labours of the Roman missionaries in any portion of Great Britain.[r] The anxiety of the reigning princes appears to have been solely directed to the ascertaining of the dispositions of their subjects towards the new faith. Edwin himself was obviously solicitous to feel the pulse of his nobles and people before taking any decisive step in furtherance of the important change proposed. In this case, as in that of Ethelbert of Kent, the religious revolution was prepared by the establishment of a powerful interest in the household and affections of the prince. No extraordinary class-privilege stood opposed to the change, and, as in the case of the people of Kent at the preaching of Augustine, the prepossessions of the king, the example of their queen, and the earnestness of the missionaries achieved an easy victory over the loose superstitions which formed the basis of all the Teutonic religions.[s] Both parties—missionaries and their proposed converts—shared the opinion that the merits of a religious scheme were to be tried by the temporal advantages believed to result from it; success in battle, the achievement of political power, the acquisition of wealth, a fruitful season, and other elements of a happy and prosperous life, were regarded as proofs of divine favour to nations and individuals; and the service which promised the greatest amount of these advantages was regarded as the most acceptable to God. The missionaries were lavish of promises of temporal advantages. Favourable events were uniformly represented as answers to the prayers of the servants of God; while sinister occurrences, calamities, or accidents, were with like con-

Facilities of conversion.

Method of conversion.

[r] It is deserving of notice, that in the history of the conversion of Ethelbert by Augustine we have no hint even of the existence of a pagan priesthood, nor, with the exception of Northumberland, to the best of my recollection, in any other of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms.

[s] See also a striking parallel in the conversion of Clovis by Remigius,—Hist. of the Germans, p. 511.

fidence imputed to the anger or the chastisements of Him whom they preached. But perhaps there was no more serious temptation to pious fiction than that which the proneness of these races to believe in supernatural appearances, omens, charms, and prognostics, presented to enthusiastic men, themselves strongly predisposed to hope for, and to expect special interpositions for the promotion of the great work of human salvation. In such a state of opinion and belief on both sides, it can hardly be a matter of wonder that pious frauds should multiply in proportion to the credulity both of the deceivers and the deceived.[t]

Public renunciation of idolatry.

The task which king Edwin had taken upon himself was, in fact, accomplished at the meeting of the deliberative assembly of the kingdom. The spot chosen for the convocation lay at no great distance from York, and still nearer to the most venerated temple or sacred grove of the heathen people. After some discussion, the chief of the sacerdotal college, whom Bede calls Coifi, addressed the assembly: "If," said he, "any man among us had a rightful claim to the favour of the gods, it is I, who have ever been their most devout worshipper: yet have my services and prayers been in vain; they have brought me no gain; nay, I have found less favour in your sight, O king, and have been in all respects a less prosperous man than many other persons present. If these gods of ours were of any use, they ought to have done most good to him who served them most diligently. I therefore advise, that if on examination these new things that are preached to us shall be found better and more effectual than the old, we embrace them without delay." A second speaker contended that inasmuch as human life endured but for a moment, and then passed away; and considering that the old religion disclosed nothing, either as to the state of man before birth or after death,—then if the new doctrine should be found to afford greater certainty upon so important a matter, it ought to be adopted. Other speakers to the same effect

[t] The religious state of the Teutonic nations is elaborately described in my Hist. of the Germans, pp. 771 et sqq. The reader may be further referred to pp. 503-57, and pp. 675 et sqq. of the same work.

confirmed their predecessors; and it was resolved that Paulinus himself should be heard. The eloquence of the preacher prevailed; the chief-priest publicly declared his conviction that the Christian faith was the true path to happiness temporal and eternal; and with the zeal of a new convert proposed that they should without delay proceed to destroy the idol-temples, with their images and altars. In token of his renunciation of the sacerdotal office, he mounted a charger, armed himself with a spear, and flung it into the sacred enclosure of the neighbouring temple: after this act of formal self-desecration, he and his companions set fire to the building and burnt it to the ground. The example of the king and his nobles appears to have been passively followed by the people. Edwin himself was solemnly baptised by Paulinus at York on the 13th of April in the year 627; and with him two of his sons by a former marriage.[u]

Destruction of the idol-temples, and baptism of Edwin.

For a further period of six years the labours of Paulinus appeared to prosper abundantly; and multitudes were gathered into the Roman fold. Through the zealous advocacy of king Edwin, Erpoald, the son and successor of his former friend Redwald king of the East Angles,[v] was persuaded to embraced Christianity; and after his death, in the year 631, his brother and successor Sigbert established a bishopric at Dunwich in favour of the Gallic missionary Felix, who continued in undisturbed occupation of the see for a term of seventeen years.[w] Meanwhile Paulinus had extended his labours to the people of North Lincolnshire, and won over the pagan prince and the people of the division of Lindsay, or Lindissi, to the Christian faith.[x] In acknowledgment of his manifold merits towards the holy see, Pope Honorius I. sent him the archiepiscopal pallium, and condescended to expound to king Edwin by an autograph letter the high honour and privilege attached to that important symbol of spiritual authority.[y] By the

Successes of Paulinus

rewarded by Pope Honorius I.

[u] *Bede*, lib. ii. c. xiii. pp. 94, 95.

[v] Redwald had himself accepted baptism, but had afterwards relapsed into idolatry. See *Bede*, lib. ii. c. xv. p. 96.

[w] *Bede*, ibid.

[x] *Bede*, lib. ii. c. xvi. p. 97.

[y] See the letter ap. *Bede*, lib. ii. c. xvii. p. 98.

same messengers the pope addressed letters to the Scottish churches, conveying a grave rebuke of the error into which they had fallen respecting the Easter festival, and requiring them at once to embrace the practice of the catholic church as exemplified in that of the Roman communion.[z]

Rome and the aboriginal British and Scotch churches.

In the church-history of this period there are plain traces of the secret uneasiness with which the close proximity of the British and Scottish communities to their own flourishing establishments in Britain inspired the Romanising clergy. The Pelagian heresy, so it was whispered, still lurked among them; the variance in the observance of Easter stood out in mortifying contradiction to the proud claim of maternity set up by Rome over all the churches of the West; while other minor differences of ritual seemed to strengthen the unwelcome presumption of another and a more primitive origin. But these churches had not yet been severed from the Latin communion by any judicial or conciliar act. Rome had not thought fit formally to declare them in schism, but for the present treated them rather as refractory children of the great Latin family. Paulinus was not at leisure to follow up the controversy; and when at length Pope Honorius I. sounded from Rome the trumpet of religious discord, there was no longer a Northumbrian church to repeat the alarm.

Overthrow of Edwin, and downfall of the Roman establishment in Northumbria.

In the year 633, Cadwalla ap Gwynneth, the sovereign prince of the Western Britons, in alliance with Penda, the pagan king of Mercia, defeated and slew Edwin in a pitched battle on the river Don, to the southward of York. The victors ranged through every district of the kingdom, sparing neither man, woman, nor child; and ruthlessly destroying every vestige of civilisation and religion which had sprung up under the hand of the Christian missionaries, with the avowed purpose of converting that lately flourishing region into a pathless desert. Cadwalla, though a Christian by profession, acknowledged no bond of religious kindred with the enemies of his race, and repelled every plea for mercy on the score

[z] *Bede*, lib. ii. c. xix. p. 100.

of their common creed. As long as he maintained a footing in the hapless country, the work of slaughter and devastation proceeded without a pause. But entire nations are not easily extirpated: the survivors collected gradually round their native chiefs; the light of religion dawned upon them from a more distant quarter; and the overthrow of the Latin establishment in Northumbria afforded an opening for the revival of Christian faith and practice which no human foresight could have anticipated.

Expulsion of Paulinus.

After the defeat and death of Edwin, Paulinus took refuge in Kent with the queen and the surviving members of the royal family of Northumbria. The son and nephew of Edwin were sent to France for their education, where both died in their childhood; and his male progeny thus became extinct. Paulinus accepted the bishopric of Rochester, vacated by the death of Romanus, who was accidentally drowned on a voyage to Rome.[a] But two sons and a nephew of Edelfrid the usurper, whom Edwin, with the aid of Redwald, had supplanted and slain, still survived. The nephew, Osric and Eanfrid.

Osric, placed himself at the head of the Deirian division of the kingdom, and Eanfrid, the elder of the two sons, was acknowledged by the Bernicians as their chief. These princes had passed their earlier lives as exiles among the Scots and Picts of the north, and had been baptised and educated by the recluses of Icolmkil. Thither the sons and relatives of many of the most noble families in the kingdom had taken refuge from the enmity of Edwin, and had been received into Christian communion in the Scottish form. After their restoration to their country consequent upon the downfall of their persecutor, both princes renounced their new profession, and relapsed into heathenism. "But," says Bede, "the punishment quickly followed the crime, and by the just judgment of God both fell by the impious hand of His enemy Cadwalla." The attempt to throw off the yoke of the combined Welsh and Mercians aggravated the calamities of the unhappy Northumbrians; till in the following year (635), Oswald, the youngest Oswald delivers the kingdom.

[a] Paulinus died at Rochester about nine years afterwards (A.D. 642).

son of Edelfrid, stepped forth as the champion of his people and of Christianity. Unlike his brother Eanfrid, Oswald had holden fast to the hope of divine support from the faith in which he had been instructed by his Scottish preceptors. He collected around him a small but resolute and compact body of followers, whom he had managed to inspire with the pious confidence which animated his own heart. Thus prepared, he fell upon the ferocious Cadwalla before he could collect his forces, and obtained a decisive victory. Cadwalla was slain in the battle, and the Northumbrian kingdom speedily cleared of every enemy.[b]

He sends for missionaries from Scotland.

The unsparing devastations of the Welsh and Mercians had obliterated almost every vestige of Christianity from the face of the land. The rustic churches and religious houses built by the Latin missionaries had been burnt to the ground; neither priest nor catechist remained to keep alive the remembrance of the still recent conversion. Oswald, however, had fought and conquered under the banner of Christ; and he led his new subjects, their swords still reeking with the blood of their enemies, to the foot of the lofty cross he had caused to be erected upon the spot where he had fought and won. The sight of the trophy of their salvation, temporal and spiritual, revived the dormant devotion of his people, and awakened in all hearts an ardent desire for instruction in the life-giving truths of which it was the auspicious symbol.[c] The affections of the king naturally reverted to the source from which he had himself derived his knowledge of divine truth; and he sent messengers with an earnest request to Seger, the abbot of the Scottish colony of Icolmkil, to supply him and his people with a bishop and a qualified staff of clergy to instruct them in the principles of religion, and to administer the sacraments of the Church.

Aidan sent.

A first unsuitable choice was followed by the appointment of Aidan, a man of exemplary zeal and piety, and richly endowed with those Christian virtues which win the hearts of men. At his request, a religious house was built for him on Lindisfarn, an

Lindisfarn.

[b] *Bede*, lib. iii. c. ii. p. 104. [c] *Ibid.*

island of the Fearn (or Farn) group nearest to the mainland of Northumberland. But the monks who accompanied Aidan were but imperfectly acquainted with the language of the country; and Oswald, who had been brought up at Icolmkil, and was therefore familiar with the Erse language, condescended to act as interpreter between them and his own subjects. The cordial reception which Aidan had met with soon brought with it an influx of spiritual teachers from Scotland, till every portion of the land enjoyed the privilege of a stationary ministry. But in that age all institutions for religious instruction assumed a monastic form; the clergy residing in communities, or collegiate bodies, subject to regular life and discipline. The first care of the king, therefore, was to provide his clergy with suitable residences, and to erect churches for the celebration of divine service. For the support of these establishments the king gave liberal contributions of land, and endowed them with domainial possessions upon a like tenure with the estates of the secular nobility. Under the royal patronage, schools and seminaries for the education of youth sprung up in every province and district; the children of the people were catechised, and the adults instructed in the doctrine, discipline, and ritual of the church of Scotland.[d]

Scottish form of episcopal ordination.

In respect of church-government, there was a remarkable difference between the practice of the Scottish and that of the Latin church. Among the former, presbyterian ordination was thought effectual for the due transmission of the episcopal powers. Aidan himself had been consecrated to that office by the imposition of the hands of the abbot and presbytery of his monastery, no bishop having been present at, or taken part in, the ceremony. This practice was derived from their sainted progenitor Columba, who had himself never received episcopal consecration, yet entertained no doubt of his right or competency to ordain bishops for the outlying dependencies and missions of his community. There can be little doubt that the practice was in conformity with the earliest traditions of the Irish and Scot-

[d] *Bede*, lib. iii. c. iii. pp. 104, 105.

tish churches. Shocking as so flagrant an anomaly must have appeared to the prepossessions of the Latin disciplinarians, it is singular that no objection to the ministrations of this holy man should have been founded upon it. The reason for such unexampled forbearance may be gathered from the undesigned testimony of Bede to the impregnable reputation Aidan left behind him: "It is true," he says, "that his ordination was of an unusual character; . . . yet whatever may have been his true position in the Church, *this* we do most surely know of him, that he left behind him successors like himself singularly endowed with the gift of continence, marvellously possessed of love divine, and governed by the strictest rules of Christian life; and although from the remoteness of his position he was necessarily ignorant of the ecclesiastical modes of determining the festivals of the Church, yet was he abundantly assiduous in the performance of all those virtues of piety and of chastity that might be learned from prophets, evangelists, and apostles."[e] Abbot Seger of Icolmkil, the fourth in succession from Columba, exhibited in his own person a model of Christian virtues; and, like him, his friend and pupil Aidan lived not for this world, its pursuits or affections. Whatever presents he might receive from the king or wealthy laymen, he hastened to distribute to the first poor that crossed his path. In the performance of his ministry he always went about on foot, never mounting a horse except in cases of extreme urgency. In the course of his itinerant labours, he did not confine himself to particular localities or congregations; but wherever he found numbers collected he turned aside to preach, to baptise, to confirm in the faith and in the practice of love and charity towards all men. He was at all times indefatigable in encouraging religious meditation, and in recommending the diligent study of the Scriptures and the use of psalmody. These were, indeed, the favourite and the daily occupations of his life; and if, as might now and then happen, he was invited to the royal table, he eat sparingly, and soon took his leave

Apology of Bede for Aidan.

Labours of Aidan.

[e] *Bede*, lib. iii. c. iv. p. 107.

to resume his diurnal task of reading and prayer with his clergy and pupils. He was strict in the observance of the fasts prescribed by his church: the sins of the wealthy and the great he rebuked with impartial severity: he never stooped to purchase the favour of men in power, but distributed that which he occasionally accepted from them to the poor about him, or expended it in the redemption of slaves and captives, many of whom he enrolled among his scholars; and if, after proper instruction, he found them qualified, he advanced them to be his colleagues and helpers in the ministry.[f]

Extension of the Scottish church.

Merits like these put to silence the formalism of the Latins. Columba and Columbanus, Seger and Fursey, Aidan and Egbert, and their successors, had gained too firm a footing upon the holy ground they had occupied in their lifetime to be dispossessed by conventional objections or synodal regulations. From the date of the overthrow of Latinism in Northumberland by the invasion of Cadwalla, the Scottish churches attained an extraordinary extension. In the year 633, about two years before the arrival of Aidan, Fursey, an Irish ecclesiastic of Scottish extraction, had preached successfully to the East Angles of Norfolk and Suffolk, and founded a monastery at Borough Castle.[g] Three years afterwards (636), Cynegilse, king of the West Saxons, demanded a daughter of Oswald in marriage; the request was granted, on condition that the bridegroom should adopt the faith of the bride. The terms appear to have been accepted without hesitation; Oswald himself was present at the baptism of his son-in-law, and became his sponsor at the font. Birino, a Latin missionary-bishop, was installed at Dorchester, a village or station in Oxfordshire. But in the year 643, Cornwalch, the successor of Cynegilse, was expelled from his kingdom by Penda, the pagan king of Mercia. He retired to the court of Anna, king of the East Angles; and here he resumed the profession of Christianity he had thrown off in prosperity. When restored to his throne, in 650, he re-established the bishopric of Dorchester in favour of Agilbert, an Irish monk, edu-

[f] *Bede*, lib. iii. c. v. p. 108.

[g] *Ibid.* lib. iii. c. xix. p. 122.

cated in France; and the ascendency of Christianity, probably in the Latin form, suffered no further interruption in this important section of the Anglo-Saxon community.[h]

Middle Anglia and Mercia added to the Northumbrian church.

It appears, therefore, that within the episcopate of Aidan the influence of the Latin and Scottish forms of church-government and discipline in the British islands was pretty evenly balanced. But about two years after his death (A.D. 651), the latter received an important accession of strength by the conversion of Peada, a son of Penda, who had obtained the sovereignty of the southern division of the Mercian kingdom, known among the Anglo-Saxon principalities by the name of Middle Anglia. In the year 642, Oswald of Northumberland had been succeeded by his son Oswy, or Oswin, who inherited with his father's dominions the office of Braetwalda, or king-president, of the Anglo-Saxon association. Peada, anxious for the support of his powerful superior, obtained the hand of a sister of Oswy, and with his bride agreed to adopt her religion. Finnan, bishop of Lindisfarn, the successor of Aidan, performed the rite of baptism; and an important division of the Mercian kingdom was brought under the spiritual influence of the Northumbrian church. The profession of Oswy appears not to have stood in the way of profitable crime. By the murder of his pious cousin Oswin, he obtained possession of the Deirian division of Northumbria; and a short time afterwards he wreaked his vengeance upon the sanguinary enemy of his people, the pagan king Penda of Mercia. By the defeat and death of this formidable rival, the entire kingdom of Mercia was added to his patrimonial dominions; the sword of Oswy carried the profession of Christianity into the conquered territories; the missionaries, Cedd, Adda, Betti, and Diuma, who had preached successfully to the Middle Angles, were transferred to Mercia; and Diuma was consecrated by Finnan bishop of the united church of Middle Anglia and Mercia.[i]

Finnan of Lindisfarn.

King Oswy, in the vain belief that he could atone for the

[h] *Bede*, lib. iii. c. vii. p. 109.

[i] *Ibid.* lib. iii. c. xxi. pp. 125, 126; *id.* ibid. c. xiv. p. 117; *id.* ibid. c. xxiv. p. 129.

crimes of ambition and bloodshed by the display of extraordinary zeal for religion, devoted his infant daughter Alfleda to perpetual virginity in a convent which he founded and endowed for her reception when she should be of age to take the vows;[j] he provided for a due succession of bishops to govern the Mercian churches; and though in the year 658 that kingdom recovered its independence under the Christian king Wulfhere, the communion between those churches and the Northumbrian establishment does not appear to have been interrupted,—indeed, the successive bishops who presided over the Mercians and Middle Angles were, with a single exception, all of them either Scotchmen or pupils of the school of Icolmkil.[k] The christianising influence of Oswy extended, indeed, as far south as the kingdom of the East Saxons. Since the expulsion of Melitus, in the year 610, that people had reverted to the old Germanic polytheism. No attempt had since then been made by the Roman clergy to recall them to a better faith. But in the year 653, their king, Sigbert, was induced by the personal persuasions of Oswy to embrace the religion of Christ. Cedd, or Chad, with another member of the Mercian presbytery, was consecrated by Finnan of Lindisfarn as bishop of the East Saxons. Chad displayed exemplary activity and zeal in his new office: he ordained a full complement of priests and deacons; he built many new churches, and erected two goodly monasteries, where he collected and trained a numerous body of devout men for the ministry, more especially with a view to the maintenance of that scheme of conventual or collegiate life which had hitherto furnished so effectual an instrument of missionary success.[l]

Further extensions of the new establishment by King Oswy.

It appears, then, very clearly, that about the middle of the seventh century an independent English church had sprung up, comprehending every part of the island from the Humber to the Grampian hills, together with the midland dis-

Independent character of the Northumbrian church.

[j] Dr. Smith supposes this monastery to have been built upon the site of the town of Hartlepool, in the county of Durham,—note 47, p.129. But Alfleda took the veil at the convent of Strenes-chalk, or Whitby, under Abbess Hilda.

[k] *Bede*, lib. iii. c. xxiv. p. 130.

[l] *Id.* ibid. c. xxii. pp. 126, 127.

tricts of Mercia, Middle Anglia, Lindsay, and East Saxony or Essex. The church founded by Paulinus between the years 625 and 633 had been strangled in its birth; so that after his secession in the latter year, not a vestige of a Roman establishment survived in the north to tell that it had ever existed. From that point of time a period of twenty years had elapsed, within which we perceive no traces of Latin interference or agency in the restoration of the Northumbrian church; we hear of no such connection or intercourse with Rome, or the latinised clergy of the south, as might warrant an inference derogatory to the perfect independence of the revived church. But although she derived her origin from a source unconnected with Rome, there was in the breast of the Scoto-Irish clergy no disposition to secede from the communion of the Latin body, or to quarrel with the spiritual influence they had yielded to the pope within their own pale. The subsisting differences touched on matters rather of a formal than a substantial character; but the divergent customs were sanctified by a practice coeval, as they believed, with the earliest ages of Christianity, and founded upon apostolic ordinance and example. The Scottish Christians were inexpert in the arts of scientific controversy, and were wholly exempt from that dialectic subtlety which had by this time well-nigh banished the true apostolic spirit from the heart and life-blood of the Greek and Latin churches. Their missionaries, on the contrary, devoted themselves exclusively to the practical duties of their profession; they occupied themselves incessantly with the study of the Scriptures, the exercises of prayer and psalmody, the labours of preaching and catechising, and the cultivation of that ascetic self-denial, that resolute self-seclusion from the world and its occupations and enjoyments, which they regarded as the closest approach to spiritual perfection attainable by sinful man. But the isolation incident to their remote position in the Christian world left them destitute of those weapons for the defence of their independence, in the use of which the Latin doctors had arrived at an unenviable proficiency; they had therefore

Non-controversial spirit of the Scottish divines.

little to oppose to the apocryphal statements or logical subtleties of their opponents but their own simple traditions and honest convictions. The organisation of the Scottish churches was of that primitive congregational character which resisted centralisation of power. The bond which united them consisted rather in a sentiment of dutiful attachment and confidence than in any sense of allegiance to a superior. The idea of a supreme representative head of the Church on earth was new to them; and when the doctrine of a Petrine principality was propounded, they were unable to meet it with an argumentative resistance or denial. Their alleged customs and traditions were met by statements and allegations of fact they were not prepared to contradict or refute; and when the question came to rest on the preponderance of authority, the balance was found against them: and these humble servants of God felt that no alternative remained but to abandon a position, and to abdicate a function, for the support of which the requisite credit and confidence had been withdrawn from them.

Unequal to the conflict with the Latins.

Eanfleda, daughter of Edwin and queen of Oswy of Northumbria, when she fled with Paulinus before the merciless Cadwalla ap Gwynneth, remained for some years at the court of Eadbald of Kent, where she was educated and instructed in the Latin ritual. To that form she continued to adhere after her marriage with Oswy; and in this way it sometimes happened that the king and the queen celebrated the Easter festival at different times.[m] While Aidan lived, the spiritual advisers of Eanfleda abstained from all attempts to disturb the subsisting religious calm. The spirit of discord was rebuked by the reverential awe which that saintly person had inspired. Vulgar objectors shrunk from the lustre of his virtues; the more liberal of his opponents were loth to dwell upon the spots which might tarnish their brightness.[n] But the purely

Revival of the dispute about Easter.

[m] The most shocking anomaly of this kind occurred when on one occasion the times disagreed so materially, that while the king was celebrating his Easter in feasting and revelry, the queen was still keeping the rigid fasts of holy week.

[n] Bede numbers Honorius of Canterbury, and Felix bishop of the East Angles, among his admirers: lib. iii. c. xxv. p. 131.

personal advantages enjoyed by Aidan were not transferable to a successor; and Finnan found himself at the outset of his episcopate involved in an unmanageable controversy, without those aids which were possessed by the Latin disputants in a measure unappreciable by the Scottish churchmen. The year after the death of Aidan (A.D. 652), the discussion about the proper time for the celebration of the Easter festival assumed a more lively tone. The controversy was set on foot by Ronan, a Scottish presbyter, educated in France. He was followed by the Anglo-Saxon monk Wilfred, the friend and preceptor of the prince Aelchfrid or Alfrid, a son of Oswy. This person had travelled for some years in Italy and France, where he had diligently studied, and formed his own opinions, at the most celebrated seminaries of Latin discipline and ritual. By the influence of the prince, Wilfred was appointed prior of the monastery of Ripon, which had a short time before been assigned to a colony of Scottish monks. Finding the brethren devoted to the traditional usages of their church, the prince, at the solicitation of Wilfred, expelled them from their convent, and surrendered it to his friend and his pupils. Simultaneously with this movement of the Latin party at court, Agilbert, bishop of the West Saxons, at the request of the prince, took up his residence in Northumbria, accompanied by his presbyter Agatho. The strong party thus assembled now resolved upon decisive steps for the reduction of the Scottish and Northumbrian churches to conformity with the Latin discipline and ritual; and to that end, they proposed a free conference between themselves on the one part, and the bishops and clergy of the realm of Northumbria on the other, with a view to determine all points in dispute, more especially those relating to the celebration of Easter and the form of clerical tonsure.

Ronan.

Wilfred.

Agilbert.

While the scheme for the restoration of this important province to the communion of Rome was ripening, Finnan, the successor of Aidan, had passed away, and was succeeded by Colman, a devout disciple of the Scottish school. At his accession to the

The conference of Whitby.

government of the Northumbrian church, he found an uneasy feeling prevailing among his clergy as to the orthodoxy of their computation of the Easter festival. With regard to the merits of the question in dispute, the court appears to have stood nearly indifferent between the parties. The king was, indeed, anxious for the settlement of a quarrel which disunited him from his consort and his son; and, with the knowledge that the ultimate decision must rest with himself, he saw no objection to the proposed discussion. The Scottish party, when called upon "to give a reason for the faith that was in them," could not decline the challenge; and it was agreed that the colloquy should take place at the convent of Strenes-chalk, or Whitby, in the presence of the court, and under the personal presidency of the king.

The discussion.

At the day and place of meeting there appeared, on the part of the Latin communion, Bishop Agilbert, with his friends Wilfred and Agatho, aided by the aged deacon Jacob,° and Romanus, the queen's Italian director. The national church was represented by Colman of Lindisfarn, the bishop Cedd, the abbess Hilda, and other clergy of the Scottish persuasion. The king opened the discussion by calling upon Colman to give an account of the mode of celebrating the paschal feast according to his communion, and to state upon what traditional grounds that observance was founded. Colman replied, that the mode of the celebration was notorious to all men; that it had always been practised in that precise manner by the church from which he derived his commission; that it had been handed down to them by an unbroken tradition from St. John, the beloved disciple of the Lord; and had been practised by all the churches over which that great apostle had in his lifetime presided. Agilbert, on whom the reply devolved, professed himself too imperfectly acquainted with the speech of the north to be the spokesman of his party; he therefore proposed that Wilfred, to whom that dialect was familiar, and who was besides perfectly

Argument of Bishop Colman.

° Jacob had been deacon to Paulinus, and had managed to hold his post through all the calamities of the Welsh and Mercian invasion.

conversant with the controversy in hand, should be heard in his place. The request was granted; and Wilfred replied, that the mode of keeping the Easter feast observed by himself and his friends was that which was practised at Rome, where the blessed apostles Peter and Paul had lived, and taught, and suffered, and were buried; that the same rite was in the same manner adopted and performed throughout all Italy, Gaul, Africa, Egypt, Greece, in short, in the whole Christian world; that it was by all celebrated at one and the same time, excepting only by his actual opponents, and their accomplices in folly and obstinacy,—the Picts, the Scots, and the Britons,—who were vain enough to imagine that the obscure occupants of the two remotest islands of the ocean—and even they not unanimously—could maintain a vainglorious pretence of exclusive conformity with apostolic ordinance against the voice of the whole catholic world.

Harsh reply of Wilfred.

Shocked by the harsh tone assumed by the Latin advocate, Colman calmly inquired "whether it was justifiable to apply such epithets to the faithful followers of the beloved friend and disciple of their common Lord?" "God forbid," said Wilfred in reply, "that I should charge the great apostle with folly for accommodating his practice to the Jewish prejudices he found prevailing among a majority of his converts." Instances of this kind of condescension were, he urged, numerous in the conduct of the apostles, more especially in that of St. Paul. Yet many of the practices they deemed lawful, on account of the prejudices then prevailing in the Church, were no longer so now that the full light of the Gospel had illuminated the whole world; though, therefore, there was at that time good reason why the apostles should deem it expedient to keep the paschal feast according to the law of Moses, to wit, on the fourteenth day of the first moon,[p] whether that day fell on a sabbath or on any other day of the week; yet when St. Peter preached at Rome,[q] he, remembering that the Lord

Remonstrance of Colman, and reply of Wilfred.

[p] See *Exod.* xii. 6.

[q] In allusion, no doubt, to the so-called Κήρυγμα Πέτρου, a very early apocryphal work, of the same category as the

rose from the dead on the first day of the week, thought that the paschal feast ought to be kept on that day,—that therefore, in conformity with the Mosaic ordinance, the Church should await the fourteenth day of the moon; and if a sabbath immediately preceded that day, the feast should begin on that same sabbath evening, just as it is now observed; but if a Lord's-day did not follow on the morrow of the fourteenth day, he (the apostle Peter) waited till the sixteenth, the seventeenth, or any other Lord's-day, so only that such Lord's-day should happen before the twenty-first day of the moon. Thus the Easter Lord's-day could only occur between the fifteenth of the moon and the twenty-first. Now, inasmuch as by the law of Moses the paschal feast is to be observed during the whole interval between the fourteenth and the twenty-first, there is no disagreement between the law and the apostle.[r] This rule was that which all the successors of the apostle John in the churches over which he presided did, after his death, unanimously agree to abide by;[s] and thus, in like manner, all churches throughout the world, the same having been afterwards confirmed by the great council of Nicæa.

But what most nearly touched the Scottish doctors in the argument of Wilfred, was the charge that though they professed to follow the Asiatic practice as derived from the apostle John, yet that their actual usage corresponded neither with that nor with the Latin computation. That practice, he contended, was in truth derived from the Jews, and followed strictly their reckoning. The Scotch, however, had departed from that rule by transferring their festival to some Sunday occurring within the period extending from the thirteenth to the twentieth of the first moon, thus entirely displacing the whole period.[t] Such a Sunday would not,

Inconsistency of the Scottish theory.

"Apocalypse of Peter," the "Itinerary of Peter," and the Clementine fictions. Conf. Book I. c. ii. p. 28 of this work.

[r] That is, the time for the observance is the same in both cases; the day within the period being only chosen with reference to that on which the Resurrection occurred.

[s] This is, however, a gross misstatement; the Jewish mode of keeping the feast having prevailed in the Asiatic churches for ages after the death of John.

[t] The Quartodecimanians computed the period of the feast from the 14th at eve till the 21st at eve of the first or equinoctial month.

he affirmed, always occur within the period allowed by the law of Moses for the celebration of the paschal feast; consequently the festival could not be lawfully kept in every year of the nineteen-year cycle of the Alexandrines, by which both Jews and judaising Christians were equally guided.[u] To this reproach Colman had no better reply at hand than that the holy Anatolius of Laodicæa[v] had always been their guide, and that from him they had learnt to keep the paschal feast between the fourteenth and twentieth day of the moon. That he thought this plea conclusive when fortified by the immemorial practice of his church, is clear from the sequel. "Are we," he asked, "to be condemned for following our holy father and founder Columba and his successors, men beloved of God, who always kept the feast in the manner we now keep it? Are they, whose sanctity was vouched by many miracles, to be reproached with ignorance both

Rejoinder of Colman.

[u] The nineteen-year cycle of the Alexandrines was invented in order to bring the commencement of the lunar year into coincidence with a particular day of the civil or solar year. It was found, namely, that 235 lunar months coincided very nearly with nineteen solar years, so as to bring round the new moon to the same day in the nineteenth as in the first year of the cycle. The first new moon in each of the nineteen civil years being easily obtained, and denoted by a number called the Golden Number, there could be no difficulty in finding the new moon immediately preceding the vernal equinox, that moon being the Nizan or Abib of the Jews. It was the practice of the latter to wait till that moon was at the full —that is, till the fourteenth day—and on the eve of that day to sacrifice the paschal lamb, whatever day of the week it might fall upon. The first month, or Nizan of the Jews, must therefore fall within our months of March and April; and the fourteenth day of that moon must be computed from some new moon occurring on or after the 7th of March, in order to bring it to the full on or after the 21st of that month. But the 14th of the month Nizan marks the full moon immediately succeeding the vernal equinox (21st of our month of March): now a full moon may occur on the 20th of March, and the next full moon would not occur till the 19th or 20th of April, on which day the Jews would keep their latest Passover in any year. But as the Latin churches always waited till the Sunday after that full moon, the Christian feast of Easter might fall seven days later, that is, at the latest on the 26th or 27th of April. Of course, at the earliest, it would not fall till the 22d of March, and then only if the 21st turned out to be a Saturday. The Eastern churches, as far as I am able to understand the question, always kept their Easter on the same days as the Jews; therefore any departure from that day was a departure from the alleged usage of the Johannite churches. Wilfred seems to have imputed to the Scotch some error in the computation of the particular Sunday to be observed, otherwise there would be no discrepancy between their computation and that of the Latins. See *Ideler*, Handb. der Chronol. vol. ii. pp. 175 et sqq.; *Rosenmüller*, ad Exod. xii. 6 et sqq. Conf. Dr. Smith on the Paschal controversy, in his edition of Bede, app. ix. a. p. 694.

[v] Anatolius flourished in the latter part of the third century, circ. A.D. 278 to the end of the century. His work on the Easter festival is mentioned by Jerome with approbation. That work still exists in an ancient Latin version.

of the law and the gospel, and with teaching us what was contrary to both?" "Nay," rejoined Wilfred, "we deny not the sanctity of your Anatolius or your Columba; but we charge you with ignorance and neglect of the precepts of that very Anatolius upon whom you rest your case; for he computed his Pasch by the nineteen-year period (of the Alexandrines), a cycle (of lunations) of which you take no notice; thus repudiating a rule so far acquiesced in by all parties,[w] and celebrating your Pasch at a time differing from that adopted by every other body of Christians. But what though your holy men may have wrought signs and wonders,—what, I ask, might be the reply on that day of final judgment when they shall claim the benefit of their miraculous works before the Lord?—'Depart from me, for I know ye not!' Not that it *must* be so,—God forbid that I should thus harshly judge of the dead!—Granted, then, that they were the genuine servants of God,—that they served Him uprightly in their rustic ignorance; being blameless as long as no one appeared among them who might instruct them in the better way. And verily I believe of them that if a catholic calculator had had access to them, they would have followed *the command of God.* But now, if you and your followers, after having *heard the decree of the apostolic see, in conformity with that of the universal Church, and confirmed by the sacred letter addressed to you,* shall disobey or neglect that better commandment, ye shall surely fall into mortal sin. What though your fathers were holy men, should their small number, confined in an obscure corner of the world, prevail against the decisions of the universal Church? Should your Columba, holy man though he were, be preferred to the blessed prince of the apostles, to whom the Lord said, 'Thou art Peter; and I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven'?"

Answer of Wilfred.

Alleges the Petrine power.

The text thus dextrously reserved to the close of the discussion decided the victory of the Latin disputants. One word of authority outweighed all

Victory of the Latins.

[w] Although differing as to the feria, or week-day, upon which it was to be held.

the learned arguments lavished upon the unlettered ear of the court. King Oswy, struck by the quotation, asked Colman whether, in truth, the Lord had thus addressed Peter? The naked fact was undeniable. "Then," said the king, "show me any similar authority imparted to your Columba or his saintly successors." The bishop could allege none such. "You are, then, agreed," rejoined the king, "on both sides, that these words were addressed specially to Peter, and that the Lord did thereby confer upon him the keys of the kingdom of heaven?" The truth of the allegation was admitted. "Then," said Oswy, "I tell you, that I will not stand in opposition to the doorkeeper of the kingdom of heaven; nay, I will in all things obey his commands: lest by offending him who keepeth the keys, I should, when I present myself at the gate, find no one to open unto me."[x]

Examination of the Latin argument.

A very superficial acquaintance with ecclesiastical history would suffice for the refutation of the principal facts upon which the argument of Wilfred was founded. Not to insist upon the apocryphal allegation of a positive apostolic ordinance delivered jointly by Peter and Paul at Rome, nothing can be more contrary to the fact than the supposed unanimity of observance in the catholic Church so confidently asserted by Wilfred. It is a matter of notoriety, that the disputes respecting the proper season for celebrating the paschal festival continued to divide both the Eastern and the Western churches for many ages after the decease of the apostle John; and so far was it from the truth that the same usage had prevailed ever since that time in all the "churches of Italy and Gaul, of Africa, Asia, Egypt, and Greece," that it would be a difficult matter to show that any two of them at any one time had adopted the same practice, or that any definite rule of computation had obtained the suffrages of a majority of the Christian world.[y] Though Bishop Colman and his friends were not bound to accept this statement at the hands of their op-

[x] *Bede*, lib. iii. c. xxv. pp. 131 et sqq.

[y] Conf. Book I. c. v. pp. 102 et sqq. of this work. See also the history of the paschal controversies, ap. *Bingham*, Antiqq. vol. vii. book xx. c. v. § 2, p. 89.

ponents, they were unprepared with any direct contradiction of the alleged facts. They were ignorant that Polycarp of Smyrna, the disciple of John, had maintained an analogous mode of computation with their own,—that Polycrates, his successor in that see, had defended the like cause against Victor of Rome; and though they were aware that Anatolius of Laodicæa, at the close of the third century, had written an approved treatise defending the Quartodecimanian opinion, they did not know that at that very time the churches of Asia, Syria, and Mesopotamia followed generally the same practice, as handed down to them from the earliest apostolic age. Had it come to their knowledge that this mode of keeping the Easter festival had but in a single instance met with any violent expression of dogmatic opposition;[z] had they known that down to the middle of the fourth century no synodal decree to which any plausibly legal force could be attached had been in existence to brand that opinion as schismatic or heretical;[a] and that until then no penalty had been annexed to the practice founded upon it,—they might have put a direct negative upon the bold misstatements of Wilfred, and have affirmed with truth that the differences complained of were not in the purer ages of the Church regarded as essential to church-fellowship among Christians,[b] and that they had never been so regarded until the

[z] That of Victor of Rome in excommunicating the Asiatic churches; an act severely reprehended by Irenæus. Conf. Book I. c. v. p. 103 of this work.

[a] The council of Nicæa, in 325, had indeed, at the recommendation of Constantine, taken the question into consideration, and had adopted the Gentile view of the Christian Pasch as distinguished from that of the Quartodecimanians or Judaisers; and had referred the churches to that of Alexandria, because that church enjoyed the reputation of greater scientific attainments than any other. But this resolution did not take the form of a canon or synodal decree, nor was any penalty annexed to neglect of the recommendation. It becomes known to us, in fact, for the first time in the narrative of their transactions, and in the letters of the emperor Constantine; but it is not embodied among their legislative acts. However, in the year 345, the council of Antioch (not an œcumenical council) formally and canonically decreed the observance of the Egyptian practice, and branded the disobedient as schismatics and heretics. Conf. *Hard.* Concil. tom. i. pp. 338, 442, 450; and *Concil.* Antioch. *Id.* ibid. p. 591.

[b] See all the authorities upon the paschal controversy, fully but concisely collected, ap. Ersch. und Gruber's Cyclop. art. 'Oster-fest.' I am inclined to think that the error imputed to the Scots was not precisely that of the Quartodecimanians; for they observed their paschal feast on a Sunday, in conformity with the Nicene practice. It arose most probably from some misunderstanding of the meaning of Anatolius of Laodicæa, and it may be from the adoption of some other cycle (of which there were several) than that of Alexandria.

lust of power had extinguished all distinction between unity and uniformity in their minds.

Intent of the Latin doctors.

But the real object of the Latin disputants lay wide of the simple questions proposed to the assembly. That object was primarily the establishment of the Roman supremacy in the British islands. From the commencement of their meritorious labours, the Latin missionaries came prepared to disallow and disown, as far as circumstances permitted, any but a dependent church-constituency. In the very announcement of their mission new churches and old became, in their view, the subjects of Rome. In her name they seized upon the whole jurisdiction, and declined to recognise any but a delegated authority, ultimately referable to Rome as the source of all spiritual power. Wilfred, as we have seen, closed his case with the broad assertion, that dissent from the decrees of him who bore the keys of the kingdom of heaven amounted to the crime of disobedience to the commands of God, and must incur the penalty of exclusion from His kingdom. "The Lord," he argued, "had made a discretionary transfer of the keys to St. Peter: he was therefore the *literal* janitor of the Christian paradise, with power to admit or to shut out whom he pleased. The apostolic gatekeeper had spoken by the mouth of his representative the pontiff of Rome; the command of God had gone forth; there remained no duty but to obey." To the simple and the ignorant the method of literal exposition recommends itself; and thus figures of speech become histories, and metaphors are converted into matters of fact. The Scottish prelates were overmatched by the Latins in argumentative sciolism. Unprepared with any reply to the triumphant "Tu es Petrus" of their opponents, they retired from the field in the same humble unselfish spirit which first prompted them to quit their solitude to spread the gospel among a despairing and deserted people. Thither they again retreated, without any ambitious attempt to disturb the peace of the flock they had gone forth to seek and to save. Defeat was to them no ground for schism: the authority had slipped from their hands;

Retreat of the Scottish clergy.

their occupation abroad was gone; and they returned to obscurity, leaving behind them that genuine odour of sanctity, the example of a holy and laborious life,—a source of far greater advantage to the world they quitted than any that could have resulted from a continuance of their ministry under circumstances that must have led to schism on the one hand, or to an absolute surrender of their own religious liberties on the other.[c] The Scottish and Irish clergy in other parts of Northumbria and the British islands followed their prelates, and retired before the influx of Latinism which followed the conference of Whitby. With them the last vestiges of an independent church-constituency vanished from the land; Rome became the cynosure of religious aspiration: in her name and under her banner the victory had been won; and the chair of Peter was, it must be admitted, rescued from a greater peril than any by which it had been threatened since the first Roman emissary had planted his foot upon British ground.

[c] The character given by Bede of the Scottish clergy is the strongest testimony to the disinterested and self-denying conversation of these holy men, as well as to the profound impression they left behind them upon the minds of those religious persons who, like the venerable Bede himself, had not yet wholly succeeded in merging the truth and substance of religion in the outward forms of ritual and worship. Conf. *Bede*, lib. iii. c. xxii. p. 135.

CHAPTER IV.

BRITISH CHURCHES IN THE SEVENTH CENTURY. (II.)

Submission of the prince and people—New bishops in Northumbria—Wilfred—Chad—Conformity of the Anglo-Saxon churches to the Latin rite—Embassy of kings Egbert and Oswy to Pope Vitalian—Reply of the pope—Appointment of Theodore as archbishop of Canterbury—Decree of appointment—Removal of Chad, and reinstatement of Wilfred in the see of York—Introduction of the Roman canon-law—Benedict Biscop and the Latin ritual—Services, ornaments, church-furniture—Biscop the Ritualist—Character of image and relic worship—Advantage of Rome—Wilfred of York—Elfrida—Edilburga—Wilfred expelled—His appeal to the pope—Papal adjudication—rejected in Northumbria—Imprisonment and liberation of Wilfred—His restoration—His second expulsion—Council of Nesterfield—Recusancy of Wilfred—Adjudication—Berthuald archbishop of Canterbury in the appeal of Wilfred—Judgment of Pope John VI.—Final success and restoration of Wilfred—His death, and distribution of his treasures.

Submission of the Anglo-Saxon princes and laity.

WHAT the result might have been, if the Scottish bishops had added knowledge to their zeal, it is difficult to conjecture. It were equally vain to speculate as to what might have been the effect upon the mind of the barbarian king, if the principle of literal exposition had been boldly repudiated, or duly controlled by an enlightened comparison with other portions of the sacred text, or even with the writings of the most eminent Christian fathers. Neither can we anticipate the result of a direct appeal to the temporal interests of the prince against a system which cast the religious liberties of his people at the feet of a foreign master, and established among them a priesthood whose influence might soon supplant the prince in the affections, and ultimately in the allegiance, of his subjects. But such views lay far beyond the limited horizon of that age. There was in the barbaric mind an integrity of submission which, after admitting certain given premises in good faith, recoiled from the cold calculation of consequences. Forecast and

scrutiny implied a suspicion inconsistent with the spontaneous trust they were accustomed to repose in their instructors and leaders. When, therefore, King Oswy, with his court and people, had determined to earn the goodwill of the "doorkeeper of the kingdom of heaven," their eyes were at once riveted upon his presumed successor at Rome as the only safe channel of communication with that formidable official.

New bishops nominated by King Oswy.

In the first instance, the king selected Tuda, a conformist to what was now called the catholic ritual, to be the new bishop of Northumbria; and promoted a friar named Eata from the monastery of Melrose to the abbey of Lindisfarn, there to preside over as many of the Scottish monks of that colony as could be persuaded to adopt the new forms of Easter, the sacerdotal tonsure, and a few other formalities proposed by the court-clergy as the tests of catholic profession.[a] Tuda held the episcopate a very short time; and after his death, by the desire of Prince Alfrid, Wilfred, the hero of the late religious revolution, was sent to France to receive episcopal ordination.[b] But at the same time, under the auspices of Oswy himself, the presbyter Ceadda, or Chad, was sent to Canterbury for the like purpose. Chad, finding on his arrival that the archbishop Deusdedit had just expired, turned aside to the West Saxons, and was duly consecrated by Vin, or Win, the bishop of that diocese.[c] Chad was a pupil of the saintly Aidan, and a diligent imitator of his virtues. While he was travelling on foot through the length and breadth of the land, instructing the ignorant, visiting every town and village, and turning aside to each hovel, house, and mansion on his road to preach the gospel of Christ, his coadjutor, Wilfred, applied himself with equal assiduity to the task of disciplinarian and ritual reform, introducing the Latin regulations into the churches, and innovating, says Bede, "in such wise,

Wilfred and Chad.

[a] *Bede*, ubi sup. c. xxvi. p. 134.

[b] In the place of Tuda, as archbishop of York or Northumbria.

[c] The consecration of Ceadda exhibits the singular phenomenon of an association for a religious purpose of an Anglo-Saxon (Roman) bishop with two British bishops; the reason assigned being that no others were at hand to confer the episcopal benediction—three being the canonical quorum. *Bede*, ubi sup. c. xxviii. p. 137.

that the clergy who adhered to the Scottish forms either gave him the hand of fellowship, or—returned to their own country."[d]

Conformity of the British churches to the Latin rite.

The victory of Whitby had cleared the British islands of an opposition, the more formidable to the Latins that it was in a far higher degree based upon spiritual and practical views of religious duty. On the other hand, up to this period of time the whole strength of Rome had been put forth to promote the substitution of her own pragmatic scheme for that spiritual principle which formed the ground-work of the religious education of the Scots. Every, even the minutest, departure from that scheme made all the difference between catholicity and schism. The theory of the sacramental unity of the Church was indissolubly bound up with the outward forms which upheld it; and religion was in a manner divorced from its natural alliance with the moral and spiritual nature of man. With every period of their progress, the anxiety of the romanising clergy to circumscribe orthodox religion within orthodox forms became more and more conspicuous; and dissent in matters of external discipline or ritual practice became more odious, because more dangerous, than doctrinal heresy.[e] From this peril the power of Rome in England was now delivered; the form and the substance of religious duty flowed into the same channel, and both were comprised in the single precept of allegiance to the chair of Peter.

Embassy of Egbert and Oswy to Pope Vitalian.

The effects of the revived predilection for the Latin discipline among the Anglo-Saxon churches and people soon became manifest. Three years after the conference of Whitby, Egbert of Kent and Oswy of Northumberland preferred a joint re-

[d] *Bede*, ubi sup. p. 138. The general conduct of Wilfred does not encourage us to believe that he resorted always to the gentlest means of conversion. The contrast between his official demeanour and that of Chad may be taken as the generic difference between the spirit of the Scottish clergy and their romanising competitors. The secret predilection of the venerable historian for the long-suffering—and, we may say, spiritualising—clergy of the Scottish persuasion is manifest in many passages of his great work.

[e] It may be remarked, that none of the imputed heresies in the Western churches, between the sixth and the sixteenth centuries, touched upon any material gospel doctrine, excepting those of Berengarius in the eleventh, and of the Albigenses in the thirteenth century. All the rest turned simply upon the denial of Roman supremacy, or the rejection of Roman formulæ.

quest to Pope Vitalian to consecrate a priest of their joint nomination named Wigard, to the see of Canterbury, vacant by the death of the late archbishop Deusdedit. The letters of requisition are no longer extant; but, if we may judge from the reply of Vitalian, they were sufficiently reverential and submissive. It is obvious that the Anglo-Saxon princes had desired to have a native primate, familiar with the national language and habits, and capable of preaching to princes and people in the vulgar tongue.[f] But soon after his arrival in Rome, Wigard, and most of his companions, died of a pestilential disease then prevailing. The pope, in his reply to the royal letters, dryly informed the princes of Wigard's death, but took no notice of the intent and object of his mission. Presuming, as a matter of course, that the choice of a proper person to fill the vacant see rested with himself, the pope excused any delay he might be compelled to incur in filling the chair of Canterbury by the difficulty of finding at a moment's notice one properly qualified for that high office. He expressed, however, his high approbation of their devotion to the see of Peter; their laudable efforts *to convert their people to the true catholic and apostolic faith;* and to that end admonished them to give all pains in enforcing the observance of *the rules and regulations of the holy see*, whether they regarded the celebration of the Easter festival, or other *traditions of the holy Apostles Peter and Paul.* He assured them that the person whom he might send them should be provided with instructions which would enable him thoroughly to root out the tares which the old enemy might have sown among their people;[g] and concluded with an earnest exhortation to dedicate themselves and their whole island to Christ, and to deserve his blessing, temporal and eternal, by establishing there the *whole catholic and apostolic doctrine.*[h]

Reply of Vitalian.

The sequel sufficiently explains the meaning attached to the terms, "catholic and apostolic faith," "doctrine,"

[f] *Bedæ* Vit. Abbat. &c. p. 294.

[g] No doubt in allusion to the lingering of dissent in Scotland, and perhaps elsewhere, especially in respect of the Scottish formulæ of Easter, the tonsure, sacerdotal marriage, &c.

[h] *Bedæ* H. E. lib. iii. c. xxix. pp. 138, 139.

Appointment of Theodore of Tarsus archbishop of Canterbury.

"tradition," in this document. Whatever may have been the anxiety of the papal court to promote the ascendency of the purely Roman traditions in all the churches of the Latin profession, it was not till after the death of Gregory the Great that the pontiffs ventured to prescribe their unqualified adoption as the sole condition of communion and the test of orthodoxy. After the delay of nearly a twelvemonth, Vitalian consecrated Theodore, a Greek monk and a native of Tarsus in Cilicia, to be the chief-pastor of the remote church of Britain. Theodore himself had but recently renounced the peculiar practices of the Oriental church from which he sprung in favour of the Latin form. He was profoundly ignorant of the geographical position, the language and manners of his new flock; even his orthodoxy was not altogether clear of suspicion.[i] But no other person was to be found willing to exchange his native clime for the unknown and distant ocean-island, or to forsake the warm and sunny Italy for the cold and barbarous regions of the North. The opportunity to latinise the Anglo-Saxon churches was, however, not to be neglected; and Vitalian resolved that Theodore should not have it in his power to plead any misunderstanding of his mission. The extant decretal of appointment ex-

The decree of appointment.

pressly describes all the powers and functions of the new prelate as flowing spontaneously and exclusively from St. Peter, "Prince of the Apostles, to whom the Lord God hath given power to bind and to loose in heaven and on earth, and unto whom, as also to his successor, the Roman pontiff, were likewise intrusted the keys of the kingdom of heaven."[j] The papal letters in terms identify the Roman church with the body of Christ, and the pope of Rome with the person and office of Christ upon earth. The parallel is completed by the application of the prophetic oracles relating to the kingdom of the Messiah[k] to his representative at Rome; and the decree of appointment concludes with a solemn anathema against all who

[i] See *Bede*, lib. iv. c. ii. p. 142.

[j] *Ibid.* lib. iii. c. xxix. pp. 138, 139; *Wilkins*, Concil. tom. i. pp. 40, 41.

[k] *Isaiah* xi. 10; xlii. 6, 7; xlix. 1, 6-9.

should at any time invade or abridge the privileges thereby conferred upon the archbishop and his successors.

We think that Theodore thoroughly understood the conditions of his appointment. On his arrival in England, he announced himself to his churches as the delegate of the Roman pontiff.[l] When he took possession of his see, the church of Canterbury had been vacant for a period not far short of five years;[m] within which some irregularities had occurred requiring correction. Wilfred had obtained episcopal ordination in France; and after his return to England, had taken upon himself the *ad-interim* administration of the see of Canterbury. In the North, several bishops and clergy had heedlessly accepted orders from the schismatic Church of Scotland; and the pious presbyter Ceadda, or Chad, after his appointment to the see of York from King Oswy, had been consecrated by the bishop of the West Saxons, with the assistance of two bishops of the intercommuned Welsh church.[n] Bishop Wilfred at the same time claimed a prior appointment to that see: and upon both these grounds Theodore adjudged the ordination of Ceadda to be defective; but, in consideration of his prompt submission, remedied the defect by a "catholic" consecration. He declined, however, to uphold his pretensions to the see of York, which he had held up to that time under the royal warrant, and Chad was, at the request of Wulfhere, the Christian king of the Mercians, transferred to the see of Lichfield; York, with episcopal jurisdiction extending from the Humber to the Pictish borders, being assigned to his rival Wilfred.[o] These changes and reforms were carried out without opposition; and Theodore enjoyed, says Bede, the honour of being the first archbishop to whom the whole church of the Anglo-Saxons had offered the right-hand of fellowship.[p]

Theodore removes Chad from York, and institutes Wilfred.

Amid the manifold political and religious changes

[l] "Ab apostolicâ sede destinatus." See the preamble to the council of Herudford, ap. *Wilkins*, Conc. tom. i. p. 42.

[m] Deusdedit, the sixth archbishop, died on the 14th July 664. Theodore took possession on Trinity Sunday, the 27th May 669.

[n] See p. 325 of this chapter.

[o] *Bede*, lib. iv. c. iii. p. 143, A.D. 669.

[p] Scilicet by the suppression of the Scottish schism. *Bede*, ubi sup.

Introduction of the Roman canon-law into the church of England.

which had occurred in England since the landing of Augustine, it was not surprising that Theodore should have found the outward organisation of his church in some disorder. The native churches had probably never possessed any proper code of ecclesiastical law, or any other rule of discipline than their own particular traditions. The archbishop felt the necessity of a closer bond of union, and resolved upon the introduction of the Roman code of discipline and ritual. With that view, he convoked a general assembly of the native clergy, attended as assessors by certain foreign ecclesiastics, at Bishop's Hatfield (Herudford); and laid before them a book or code, which he described as "the book of rules and orders in ancient times decreed by the fathers" and adopted by the church of Rome. Of the special contents of this volume we have no other intimation but what may be collected from the short extracts recommended by the archbishop for immediate adoption. Those extracts were ten in number, and contain no regulations but such as may be gathered from the extant codices of general ecclesiastical law. The first upon the list of these *excerpta* is the most important, purporting that the Easter festival should be thereafter uniformly celebrated on the Sunday immediately following the fourteenth day of the first, or vernal, moon;[q] a step which had the inevitable effect of perpetuating the schism of the British and Scottish churches.[r] But the result was overlooked as of little importance; the dissenting churches had been all along treated by the Latins as weak and rotten branches, and therefore of no account in the calculation of the additional strength to be derived from a closer union of all with Rome.

[q] In conformity with the first canon of the council of Antioch, A.D. 341.

[r] *Bede*, lib. iv. c. v. pp. 147-149. It is not improbable that the "Book of the Canons" presented to the synod at Herudford was the identical code quoted by Pope Agapetus in reply to the application of the emperor Justinian on behalf of the converted clergy of Africa, under the title of the "Aperta et synodalia constituta Ecclesiæ Romanæ:" see Book III. c. iv. p. 139 of this work. It may with equal probability be conjectured that the latter code was no other than the digest of canons and conciliar enactments published by Dionysius Exiguus at the close of the fifth century, but in combination with the papal decretals and the ordinances of Italian synods subsequently issued under the authority of the holy see.

Benedict Biscop and the Latin ritual in England.

The conforming clergy of Northumbria became the zealous coadjutors of the archbishop for the promotion of that object. Among the able men who had accompanied Theodore from Italy, Hadrian of Naples, abbot of Canterbury, was the most distinguished. Under his superintendence schools were set on foot; a taste for the systematic study of sacred literature, church-music, and the sciences auxiliary to theological and ritualistic education,[s] was encouraged. The clergy, and a few distinguished laymen, made frequent pilgrimages to Rome, and returned the zealous advocates of the gorgeous ritual-worship they had there witnessed. The most important of these visitants was Benedict Biscop, a Northumbrian presbyter, a former pupil of Aidan, and the diligent imitator of his virtues. At the age of twenty-five Biscop had devoted himself to the Church; he had made a journey to Rome on a pious visit to the holy places; and on his return had taken the habit at Lerins, a monastery situate on an island at the mouth of the Var in Provence, a religious seminary at that period in the highest celebrity. He afterwards returned to Rome, and, at the request of Pope Vitalian, accompanied Theodore of Tarsus to England as his interpreter. Shortly afterwards he made a third journey to Rome, and returned with a large collection of books, and a rich store of relics of apostles and martyrs. Having, then, on his passage through Italy and France, acquired a perfect acquaintance with the rites and ceremonies, and new points of discipline, observed in the most orthodox academies of theological learning in those countries, he went into Wessex, with the intention of introducing them into the churches of that kingdom. But the death of his friend King Kenwalch prevented the execution of this plan; and he returned to his native Northumberland with a reputation enhanced by his multifarious acquirements and indefatigable zeal in the cause of ritual religion.

Meanwhile Oswy had been succeeded on the throne of Northumbria by his son Egfrid (A.D. 670). On his

[s] Among the studies of these schools Bede enumerates the "ars metrica," and "astronomia et arithmetica ecclesiastica:" lib. iv. c. ii. p. 143.

Latin church furniture and decoration introduced.

arrival, Biscop, whose noble birth and princely nurture entitled him to every privilege of audience, presented himself to the king; and interested him so deeply by the narrative of his continental experiences and acquisitions, that he immediately assigned to him a tract of land, with seventy families[t] upon it, for the construction and maintenance of a monastery. Upon this land he built the religious houses of Monkwearmouth and Jarrow, in honour of the apostle Peter (A.D. 674). But as native artists and materials could not be found to supply the requisite decorations and utensils, he undertook a voyage to the Continent, and brought back with him from France masons to erect a stone church for the brethren, together with glass and glaziers to make and glaze the windows of the new building. He imported at the same time church-lamps, and a variety of vessels and vestments for the use of the holy offices; and encouraged the immigration of foreign artificers, to initiate the native work-people in the manufacture of these and other articles of church-furniture and ornament hitherto unknown in the ritual of the English churches.

Biscop the Ritualist—his services.

Still dissatisfied with the decorations and devotional stimulants that France could supply, he set out upon a fourth journey to Rome; and returned with a much richer cargo of spiritual merchandise; books without number, and of all sorts; of the relics of martyrs and apostles a treasure large enough to enrich many churches with their gracious influences. With these he brought over Abbot John, precentor of St. Peter's, to instruct his disciples in the Roman music, and the formulæ of daily service as practised in the capital of Christendom. To all these acquisitions he added a letter of privilege from Pope Agathon, with the full consent and privity of King Egfrid, for ever exempting his monastery from all extrinsic (episcopal) control and intromission. "He brought with him likewise portraits and holy images of the Blessed Virgin mother of God, and

[t] Hydes, or carrucates, the land attached to a house or family. This was generally supposed to be such a piece of land as might be cultivated by one plough, and maintain a single family. *Ducange*, Gloss. voc. Hida et Hidua.

of the twelve apostles; delineations of the apocalyptic visions of St. John, and pictures of gospel history: all of which he so disposed along the side-walls and screens of his new church, that all who were ignorant of letters, whichever way they turned, should always have before their eyes the ever-gracious effigies of Christ and his saints, calling up a more lively recollection of the Lord's incarnation, or the perils of the last judgment; so that, having as it were these things before their eyes, they might be led to a severer self-examination."[u]

Natural character of image and relic worship.

It is a matter of common experience, that the most effectual mode of instructing children, or ignorant and unlettered persons, is to exhibit to their senses visible delineations of the primary subjects of education. Such objects we know may be made to present to the minds of infants and barbarians the elementary truths we wish to inculcate with a force which no form of words can exert. Such men as Gregory the Great and the venerable monk of Jarrow might regard the use of pictures and effigies as a preliminary step only in Christian education; and indeed in the existing state of the world in their days, the widest range of speculation could hardly have disclosed any prospect beyond a successful beginning in the knowledge and practice of the Christian virtues. That these infants in the faith should ever become adults, or that a time might arrive when the pupils should rise to the level of their teachers, did not enter into the simply elementary calculations of these good men. Neither could it occur to them, that an expedient recommended by obvious utility in the earlier stages of religious progress, might in the end lead teachers and pupils back by an easy road to that abject creature-worship from which it was perhaps in the first instance instrumental in withdrawing them. Charmed with the first effects of this new devotional apparatus, Bede and his contemporaries, whether of the Scottish or the Latin school, could discern no prospective danger of this kind. Though the disciples of Columba and of Aidan had been

[u] *Bedæ* Vit. Bened. Bisc. in his lives of the Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow, ed. *Smith*, p. 295.

satisfied with the simpler methods of "fishing for men" adopted by their Lord and his apostles, they could not deny that the broad cast of Rome had brought a much heavier draught to her nets. But as yet no one had duly reflected upon the possibility of any serious amount of superintendence and caution on the part of the pastors becoming necessary to neutralise the natural effects of such a scheme of instruction, or to prevent the ever-recurring error of confounding the representative image or symbol with that which it represents or symbolises, and to guard against imparting a sanctity to the former quite distinct from its original purpose. And by this time the error which Gregory the Great had deprecated—an error of which we find no trace in the Scottish churches—had already tainted the whole Latin world; it had become an essential part of the "pomp and circumstance" of religious worship; it had contributed to fix the attention of the people; it had attracted their curiosity; it had engaged on its behalf all the lurking superstitions of the barbarian character, and brought with it an incalculable increase of influence to those in whose hands the duties of instructing and amusing the people were combined. This accession of strength was, as elsewhere, of incalculable advantage to the progress of the Roman pretensions in the British islands: all the stimulants of popular devotion came from Rome; from her was derived that pontifical benediction which sanctioned their use, and almost identified them with the objects they represented; the people were taught to look to her as the fountain-head of pious aspiration, and the sole depositary of the authentic means of grace to the Christian world.

Advantage to Rome.

But the final establishment of the Anglo-Saxon churches upon papal ground was reserved to the courage and perseverance of Archbishop Wilfred of York. That prelate permitted no motives of forbearance or delicacy to interfere with his projects for promoting the spiritual or material interests of his church. In his apprehension, the supereminent merits of monastic life amply justified the desertion of

Wilfred archbishop of York.

every other earthly duty. Under his sanction, Edelfrida, or Elfrida, the queen of Egfrid, had, it is said, registered a vow of perpetual virginity,[v] and had sued for permission to renounce her marriage and to retire to a convent. The king consented with some reluctance, and not long afterwards married Edilburga, a lady of high birth and still higher spirit. Wilfred disapproved of the match, and publicly reproved the new queen of the vices of levity, frivolity, and rapacity. The latter retorted by maliciously pointing out to her husband the overgrown wealth and power of the archbishop; the number of the monasteries he held in his own hands, the sumptuousness of his palaces, the multitude of his retainers.[w] "Wherein," said she, "are you greater than he; you, whose whole kingdom is but his episcopate?"[x] These insinuations, confirmed by the morose demeanour of the archbishop, and stimulated by the jealousy of power, produced their full effect on the mind of Egfrid, and Wilfred was banished from Northumberland[y] (A.D. 678).

Elfrida.

Edilburga.

With a view to provide a remedy against the threatening accumulation of ecclesiastical and territorial influence in the hands of one man, the king and the prelates of Northumberland invited Theodore of Canterbury to his court. The latter, on his arrival, acceded to the wishes of Egfrid and his estates; and upon his own authority as primate of England,[z] made a new distribution of episcopal powers by dividing the whole kingdom into three dioceses,[a]

Expulsion of Wilfred, and appeal to Rome.

[v] According to Eadmer, the biographer of St. Wilfred. If made before marriage, the vow was a fraud; if after marriage, an outrage. See *Smith*, ad Bedæ Op. p. 747. Eadmer tells us, on the authority of Wilfred himself, that Elfrida had spontaneously annulled her marriage-vow, and uniformly declined all intercourse with her husband. If so, Wilfred cannot be acquitted of the charge of at least conniving at both perjury and fraud.

[w] "Subditorum principum turba;" a curious phrase. See *Smith's* extract from the biographies of Wilfred, in *Bedæ* Op. pp. 747, 748.

[x] "Et quid amplius ipse tibi quam tu sibi? Totum regnum tuum ipsius episcopatus est!" *Id.* ibid.

[y] *Bede* (lib. iv. c. xix. p. 163) merely states the fact of the divorce of Elfrida, and the expulsion of Wilfred; but makes no mention of the cause. See H. E. lib. iv. c. xii. p. 155.

[z] After the appointment of Wilfred, the right of ordaining bishops for the northern province with reference to the decretal of Pope Gregory the Great seems to have been vested in the archbishop. Conf. Book III. c. vii. p. 215 of this work.

[a] Those of Lindisfarn and Hagul-

and appointing three new prelates to superintend them. Though right in substance, the archbishop and the court were, it seems, wrong in form. The measure was in itself expedient; but the mode of execution was both contrary to canon-law, and in excess of the primatial powers of the see of Canterbury. Wilfred's remonstrances were treated with neglect or contempt, and he announced his intention of appealing to Rome against the lawless proceedings of his antagonists.[b] With this intent he embarked for the Continent, and by the way preached to the heathen Frisians with great success. He did not arrive in Rome till the following year (679), and met with the reception which commonly awaited all appellants to the holy see. Pope Agatho convoked a numerous council in the basilica of Constantine, where Wilfred encountered an agent previously despatched by Theodore to justify his proceedings before the pope. The synod decided with the archbishop (Theodore) as to the right of appointing bishops for the whole of the British islands to the number of twelve, and consequently that the division of Northumbria among three bishops was within his competency; but that inasmuch as this had been done in the absence of, and against the will of Wilfred and other bishops,[c] and without a regular synodal adjudication, the council decreed that he be restored to the see which he had last holden; that he should himself elect his coadjutors, whom the archbishop should consecrate to the new sees, and that the intruders should be forthwith removed therefrom; lastly, that all persons, *whoever they might be*, who should attempt to violate or any way infringe that decree, "should be smitten with an ever-enduring anathema."[d]

Adjudication upon the appeal.

After this decision, Wilfred remained some months in Rome, and sat as archbishop of York in the great synod congregated by Pope Agatho against the Monothelite heretics (A.D. 680).

His rejection in Northumbria.

stad (Hexham), York, and Lindsay, or Lincoln; all of which it is tolerably clear Wilfred had held in his own hands.

[b] See Abstr. ap. *Smith* in Bed. pp. 751, 752.

[c] What others is not mentioned in any account of the transaction I can find.

[d] Abstr. ap. *Smith*, ubi sup. p. 753.

Hastening then to cross the channel, he presented himself before his sovereign with the papal bulls and letters of rehabilitation in his hand. A council of the nobility and clergy of the kingdom was convoked, and the papal letters were read; but the contents were so unpalatable, that the assembly voted the decree of the pontiff to be null and void; it was even whispered by Wilfred's enemies that it had been obtained by bribery. The appeal itself was treated as a public offence, the papal letters as an insult, and Wilfred was condemned to nine months' imprisonment. At the moment of his arrest under his sentence, the queen, who was present, snatched his reliquary from his breast, and hung it about her own as an amulet of sovereign virtue; his servants were dismissed, his property taken from him, and his friends forbidden to visit him. But the voice of psalmody and prayer day and night was heard from the cell in which he was confined; a supernatural light which shone around him revealed the saint to his terrified guards; no fetters, it appeared, could be forged to fit his limbs; a miraculous cure wrought upon his gaoler converted him into a friend; and so strong was the sympathy he managed to create in the breasts of all who approached him, that the king was at last compelled to transfer him to another prison for safer custody. Soon afterwards, the queen herself was seized with a serious illness; the stolen reliquary itself had, it was whispered, been the instrument of her punishment, and she was easily persuaded that she could not hope to recover her health till she should have restored the stolen goods, and given back Wilfred to his liberty and his friends. The archbishop was accordingly released from his dungeon, and his property returned; and he quitted Northumbria with but a remote prospect of recovering his see or his forfeited domains.[e]

Imprisonment.

Liberation.

[e] See Extr. from Eddi's life of Wilfred, ap. *Fleury*, H. E. tom. ix. p. 96. Conf. *Smith*, ubi sup. pp. 753, 754. Unless we should altogether reject this account of the release of Wilfred, there can be little doubt that it was effected by dextrous practice upon the superstitions of his wardens, aided by his friends without his prison-walls; of whom probably the abbess of the convent where Ermenburga was taken ill was the most active.

Restoration of Wilfred.

From this period (681) Wilfred led a migratory life among the Mercians, the West and the South Saxons, pursued, as it should seem, by the hostility of Ermenburga and her husband. In the latter country he established himself for a short time, and succeeded in converting the heathen people of Sussex to the Christian faith. In these various labours he spent five years, dating from his expulsion from Northumbria. But in the year 685 his adversary Egfrid had been succeeded by his brother Aldfrid, the former friend and pupil of the exiled prelate. About the same time, the aged archbishop Theodore, approaching the verge of life, looked back with regret upon the still subsisting estrangement between himself and his former friend. The reconciliation, whether proceeding from contrite scruples or from affectionate recollection of their prior relations, was cordial and sincere.[f] The archbishop sent pressing letters to Aldfrid of Northumbria, to his sister Eanfleda abbess of Whitby, and to Ethelred king of the Mercians, exhorting them to receive Wilfred into their favour, and to restore to him the episcopacies, monasteries, and lands, of which he had been disseized. The princes promptly acceded to the request; Wilfred returned in triumph, and without delay took possession of all the power, wealth and influence he had enjoyed before his exile; the intrusive bishops of Hagulstad, Lindisfarn and Lincoln having been removed, or, for the sake of peace, retracting their pretensions.[g]

Second expulsion of Archbishop Wilfred.

But the autocratic position in the Northumbrian church which Wilfred had assumed, and his inattention to the anxious desire of the court and clergy for a due division of ecclesiastical authority and endowments, soon awakened the resentment of both estates. Whether apprised of his reconciliation with Archbishop Theodore or not, they were far from regarding the regulations of that prelate for the

[f] Eddi says that the archbishop humbly sued for pardon, and even desired to nominate Wilfred his successor in the see of Canterbury, but that the *saint* declined on canonical grounds. But such statements probably belong to the garnish usual in hagiography.

[g] *Eddi*, ap. Smith, ubi sup. p. 754. We hear no more about the division of the province as approved by the Roman synod of 679.

government of the province as annulled by the restoration of Wilfred. Accordingly, in the year 791, Aldfrid proposed the erection of Wilfred's monastery of Ripon into an episcopal see, and, of course, the appropriation of its endowments to the support of the new bishop. But to this proposition, as well as to the entire scheme of Archbishop Theodore, Wilfred opposed a determined resistance, and was again deposed by the king with the consent of the clergy of the province.[h] Shorn of his power and greatness in one region of Britain, he carried his zeal and labour to another, and was received by his friend Ethelred, king of the Mercians, with open arms. Here he presided for a time over the Mercian churches, at first as bishop-administrator of the see of Lichfield, and subsequently, with a roving commission, as itinerant superintendent of all ecclesiastical affairs in that kingdom. His influence in Mercia was founded fully as much upon the large monastic property he possessed within its limits, as upon his reputed sanctity or acknowledged merits in the cause of religion. But here again, as in Northumbria, the jealousy both of the court and clergy soon manifested itself; and when, in the year 703, Archbishop Berthuald of Canterbury, at the request of Aldfrid, convoked a general council of prelates and clergy at Nesterfield, not far from Ripon, little difference of opinion as to the claims of Wilfred appears to have existed in any quarter. The synod was presided over by Berthuald in person, and Wilfred was summoned to attend; the assembled fathers inclined strongly to maintain the ordinances of Archbishop Theodore, without notice of the adverse decretal of Pope Agatho (A.D. 679). Wilfred appeared, and in his defence alleged the pontifical decision by which the ordinances in question were set aside in his favour. The plea was, however, unanimously disallowed, and Wilfred was desired to sign a deed of renunciation, signifying his abdication of all episcopal jurisdiction within the two realms;

Council of Nesterfield sustains the ordinances of Archbishop Theodore against Wilfred.

[h] "Ab eodem ipso rege, et plurimis episcopis," *Bede*, lib. v. c. xix. p. 207. Who these bishops were is not mentioned. Theodore's bishops had been expelled from their sees; but may probably have been called into council *as bishops*, and may have voted in the convocation in that character.

in consideration of which, he was to be allowed to retain his favourite monastery of Ripon, provided always he continued to reside there, and refrained from all attempts to disturb the existing settlement of the churches. But neither menaces nor persuasion could prevail upon the exile to accede to these humiliating terms. He accompanied his protest with an ostentatious enumeration of all his merits on behalf of the catholic profession in Britain: "After the death of all those holy men whom St. Gregory sent to these islands," he exclaimed, "was not I the first to encounter and root out the errors of the Scottish schismatics, and to bring back the Northumbrians to the orthodox observance of the paschal feast and the coronal tonsure? Nay, but I likewise taught them the antiphonal chant; I established the true monastic life according to the rule of St. Benedict, of which to that time all were alike ignorant; and, touching the proposal you now make to me, I do hereby solemnly appeal to the holy apostolic see, and I challenge any one who hath any thing to allege against me to proceed with me directly to Rome, there to abide the judgment that shall be there given in the cause." The archbishop-president and the king replied, that by his appeal to the pope he had pronounced his own condemnation, and *that a preference for any other tribunal over that of the native synod* was an ample justification of the judgment already pronounced.[i]

Recusancy of Wilfred.

Adjudication.

Archbishop Theodore had died at a very advanced age, in the year 690; but it was not till two years afterwards that Berthuald, the learned abbot of Reculver, was elected to fill the vacant see.[j] Berthuald, like his predecessor, conceived the powers and privileges of the metropolitan church over which he presided to rest upon chartered grant, not liable to arbitrary reversal, though it were even by the authority from which it emanated. Though Theodore had accepted his appointment from Pope Vitalian,

Berthuald Archbishop of Canterbury in the appeal of Wilfred.

[i] *Smith*, ubi sup. pp. 755, 756; Eddi, ap. *Fleury*, II. E. tom. ix. p. 139.

[j] He was not consecrated till the following year (693). *Bede*, lib. v. c. viii. p. 190.

and with it a charter of privilege imparting all the usual rights of a metropolitan bishop, he believed himself, so long as he acted within those limits, justified in governing his churches as might seem best for the general interest; when he exceeded them, the ordinary *canonical* tribunal for rectifying his errors was certainly not that of Rome, or an Italian council. The practice of appealing to Rome had not yet so completely obliterated the canonical privileges of metropolitan sees as to exempt her pontiffs from occasional alarms at the independent spirit manifested by these prelates in many parts of Latin Christendom. Berthuald, like his predecessor, treated the appeal of Wilfred as a contempt of the chartered prerogative of his see; and upon this ground he was prepared to defend his proceedings before the pope. Wilfred, on his arrival at Rome, complained to John VI. that the archbishop had, in contempt of the decree of Pope Agatho, confirmed by those of Benedict II. and Sergius, deprived him of his bishopric of York, and of his monasteries, estates, and jurisdictions in the kingdoms of Northumbria and Mercia.[k] A general council of Italian prelates was assembled to adjudicate upon the plaint of Wilfred. The delegates of Berthuald in reply urged the chartered powers of the metropolitan church of Canterbury to govern the Anglican churches, and contended that Bishop Wilfred had, before a competent council, deliberately declined the metropolitan authority of the archbishop, and contemptuously refused to comply with certain general regulations published by the late primate for the better government of his northern dependencies, falsely and injuriously alleging that such jurisdiction and regulations might be, and had been, superseded by certain papal decrees which in fact repealed the privileges of the Anglican church, and rendered the appellant independent of all metropolitan control.

A plea to the jurisdiction was of all others most displeasing to Rome. The defence was therefore laughed out of court;[l] the council declared that Wilfred had *canonically* exculpated him- Adjudication of Pope John VI. upon the appeal.

[k] See letters of appeal to Pope John VI. ap. *Hard.* Concil. tom. iii. p. 1823.

[l] See Extr. from Eddi, Vit. Wilf. ap. *Fleury*, tom. ix. p. 143.

self, and pronounced him free from every offence which could have drawn down upon him the penalties of deprivation and exile. Pope John VI. confirmed this decision by letters of monition, addressed to the kings Ethelred of Mercia and Aldfrid of Northumbria, expressive of his vexation at the dissensions which had arisen in their churches, and more especially of his regret that these disputes should have led to a *contempt of the pontifical decrees*. There had been, he said, a prior appeal and decision of the holy see in the matter of Wilfred, which had been duly acquiesced in and executed by Archbishop Theodore; but the revival of these disputes had now rendered a final settlement indispensable. The pope therefore required the princes to cause a synod to be convoked by Berthuald, archbishop of Canterbury, "whom," added the pontiff, "we, by the authority of the prince of the apostles, have confirmed in that see." Wilfred was to be invited to attend, and the bishops Boza (of York) and John (of Hagulstad) to be in like manner summoned, with a view, if possible, to make an end of these vexatious disputes; but if the parties should be unable to come to terms in their provincial council, in such case the whole matter must be referred back to the holy see; and that the parties be cited to appear at Rome to plead their respective causes before the pontiff in person. "But," he added, "all such persons should be well apprised, that if any one so summoned should delay his appearance, or be guilty of the execrable offence of contempt of the pontifical court, he must be degraded, and disowned by every prelate and faithful man in the Church: for he who is disobedient to his *parent in the faith*[m] is not worthy to be numbered among ministers and disciples."[n]

Restoration and triumph of Wilfred.

The papal monition, however, was not followed by the desired submission. Aldfrid of Northumberland continued implacable. His death, which happened in the year 705, brought with it no immediate change; his successor Ædulph reigned but a

[m] "Suo auctori." Whether here the pope or Christ is meant is ambiguous—probably the pope in the place of Christ.

[n] See abstr. of the Life of Wilfred, ap. *Smith*, loc. cit. pp. 757, 758.

few months; a sudden revolution raised Osred, a son of Aldfrid, to the Northumbrian throne, and his accession smoothed the way to the final restoration of Wilfred. Meanwhile the latter had been delayed on his return from Rome by severe indisposition; but after his unexpected recovery and arrival in England, he procured the convocation of a synod of the Northumbrian churches at a spot on the river Nidd.[o] Here Eanfleda, abbess of Whitby and the sister of Aldfrid, produced a will of the late king, reciting that death had prevented him from obeying the papal command for the restoration of Wilfred, and that he had, in token of his repentance, delegated the execution to his son and destined successor Osred. An impression had at the same time got abroad that the disturbances which attended the usurpation of Ædulph were a visitation upon the kingdom for the violated rights of the indomitable saint, who now, after a struggle of upwards of twenty years, appeared once more to claim the undivided allegiance of his spiritual subjects. The will of Aldfrid passed uncontested, and the humbled clergy of Northumbria sent three deputies from their own body to the exiled prelate inviting him to return and resume his rightful throne, and all other rights and properties of which he had been dispossessed.[p]

Death of Wilfred, and distribution of his wealth.

Wilfred continued for four years in undisturbed enjoyment of his restored power and wealth. Within that period he appears to have accumulated a considerable treasure, which he laid up in his favourite monastery of Ripon. Shortly before his death (A.D. 709) he divided his savings into four parts, one of which he bequeathed, in token of devotional gratitude to his spiritual preceptress, to the churches of St. Mary and St. Paul at Rome; the rest he divided among the poor, his monks, and those faithful companions who had adhered to him throughout his laborious and adventurous life. His final victory was the victory of the mistress to whose interests he had devoted

[o] Now a village about four miles west of Knaresborough, in the West Riding of Yorkshire.

[p] Conf. *Hard.* Concil. tom. iii. pp. 1825-1828.

himself; it was substantially a triumph over the inchoate liberties of the national church—the substitution of a distant, arbitrary, and uncertain control for those chartered rights of self-government to which the Anglo-Saxon prelacy had conceived themselves entitled under their original act of settlement, until undeceived by the successful efforts of Wilfred in putting a new construction upon the relation thereby created between them and their foundress. Certainly the spirit of independence was not thereby extinguished; though quelled for the present, the elements of future struggles remained behind; and it may be reasonably questioned whether the submission of the Anglican churches to Rome was ever so complete as it was in other branches of the Latin communion.

CHAPTER V.

PAPAL SUPREMACY IN FRANCE AND GERMANY IN THE SEVENTH CENTURY.

Ideas of the temporal and spiritual powers in the seventh and eighth centuries—Divergences—The papal theory—Anglo-Saxon missions—Ecgbert—Wicbert—Willibrord—Frisian and Saxon churches founded—Missions of Ecgbert to central Germany—Killian—Colman—Totman—Duke Hedan—Compromise with heathenism—Emmeramm in Bavaria—Rupert archbishop of Salzburg—Corbinian in Bavaria—Ascendency of Rome—Great extension of Latin Christianity in the seventh century—Causes—Winfred of Winchester (Boniface)—His devotion for Rome—Winfred among the Hessians—His method of conversion—His reforms—His Anglo-Saxon coadjutors—His missionary colonies—Mode of instruction—Winfred, by the name of Boniface, archbishop and legate—His ecclesiastical divisions—Papal confirmation—Charles Martel obstructs the papal policy—Carlmann invites Boniface to France—Report of Boniface on the Frankish churches—Synods of Salzburg and Leptines—Reforms—Adoption of Roman canon-law—Adalbert and Clemens in schism—Charges against them—Merits of the charges—Difficulties of Boniface in France—His report to Cuthbert of Canterbury—Difficulties and impediments—Boniface archbishop of Maintz and primate of all Germany—Rebellion of Adalbert and Clemens—Heathenism and married priests—Obstacles to the scheme of Boniface—The remedy—Synod of Verneuil—Condemnation and banishment of Adalbert and Clemens—Synopsis.

Ideas of temporal and spiritual government in the seventh and eighth centuries. Divergences.

It has been remarked[a] that the idea of spiritual authority in the Transalpine churches on matters of faith and discipline partook of all the incoherency and vagueness of the barbaric ideas of the temporal sovereignty; both rested on the same foundation, namely, habitual respect and observance, gradually maturing into custom. The prerogative—if it may be so called—of the kings of France and Spain and the Anglo-Saxon princes, left a large margin of liberty to all subjects who were strong enough to claim and maintain it. The hierarchy of those

[a] By the writer of these pages, in another work. See History of the Germans, p. 777.

regions took nearly the same view of their relation to their spiritual chief. The greater metropolitans considered their spiritual connection with Rome very much in the same light as that in which they regarded their secular relation to their own sovereign, and were as impatient under the Byzantine absolutism of the papal court as they would have been of the like form of government in their temporal capacity. Theodore and Berthuald of Canterbury were contented to act as feudatories of Rome, but always with an independent command; nor could they be easily brought to understand the relation of simple delegates or mandatories of a spiritual autocrat. This remark is of some historical importance, because it points out the character of the struggle Rome was about to enter upon. The Roman pontiffs had, on the one hand, inherited and imported the traditions of the empire into their spiritual kingdom; while on the other, their Transalpine subjects brought with them into the Church the temper and habits of their barbaric kindred; their ideas of spiritual government rarely travelled out of the channel in which their notions of temporal allegiance were accustomed to flow; and with all their reverence for the chair of Peter, the superior prelates found great difficulty in accommodating themselves to a theory borrowed from the code of the Cæsars. The same views were largely entertained by the clergy of inferior degree towards their superiors. And we have now to trace the steps resorted to by the pontiffs for the purpose of supplanting the free spirit of Germanic allegiance, and substituting for it a code of Rome-made laws which should exclude all those reserves in favour of free action and self-government which lay at the root of the national prejudices they had to deal with.

The theory of the papacy.

Such was the problem to be solved. It embraced nothing less than the transfer of the spiritual government to an autocratic basis altogether out of analogy to that of the temporal sovereignty. It implied a centralisation of power unknown to kings, princes, nobles, or people; a plan which, if successfully accomplished, could not fail at pleasure to put out of joint and override the rude systems of secular govern-

ment prevailing in the outer world, and leave the spiritual monarch in uncontrolled possession of all the most powerful springs of human action.

And it is remarkable that the most skilful and zealous agents that could have been found to fight the battle of spiritual absolutism sprang from that school which had in its earlier development threatened the most serious danger to the Latin despotism. While the disciples and followers of Augustine in England were struggling under their commission from Rome to establish and perpetuate her dominion in that country, the pupils of the great seminary of Icolmkil were spreading a knowledge of the gospel among the heathen Frisians, Franks, Thuringians and Bavarians of Germany, in perfect independence of Rome, and confirming their converts upon the traditional bases of their own communion.[b] But when the earlier missionaries of that school had passed from the scene, their followers from the same hive, finding themselves cut off from communication with the church from which they sprang, looked to the nearest Christian bodies for that support which they soon found was to be purchased only by conformity to their ritual usages. And, in fact, such compliance appeared at first sight to be the only sacrifice demanded. No properly dogmatic differences divided them from the Latins; and their simple religious feelings fell in well with those of the devouter members of the national churches with which they were brought in contact. The result of the conference of Whitby had meanwhile placed the parent church of Scotland and Ireland in a woful minority. The good sense and intelligence of the Christian world had decided against them upon the great question of the paschal observance; resistance to the Latin forms was dying away among both Scottish and Irish Christians;[c] and it is probable that before the close of the seventh century, few, if any, adherents of the ancient ritual were to be found, except perhaps among the older members of the community of Iona.

The Anglo-Saxon missions.

[b] Conf. Book III. c. vi. pp. 187, 188 of this work. See also c. vii. p. 215.
[c] *Bede*, lib. v. c. xv. p. 200.

Ecgbert.

The younger clergy of the Scottish and Irish churches, it is obvious, had for some time previously inclined to the views of the Latins in matters of ceremonial observance. While Finnan and Colman were unsuccessfully disputing the ground with Wilfred of York, Ecgbert, an Anglo-Saxon gentleman of noble lineage, with many other youths of the like and of inferior station, had been attracted to Ireland in pursuit of religious knowledge. Here they had adopted the severest ascetic habits, and become animated with an ardent desire for the conversion of the heathen. But the duties of Ecgbert at home, and the affectionate solicitude of the brethren, prevented him from personally taking part in the good work.

Wicbert.

In the year 689, he therefore sent his friend Wicbert[d] into Germany to preach the gospel to the wild inhabitants of the mouths of the Rhine, the Elbe, and the Weser. A hurried visit of Wilfred of York, on his progress to Rome in the year 678, to the court of Aldgisel, king or duke of the heathen Frisians, had, it was believed, prepared the way for the conversion of his subjects; but on his arrival, Wicbert found that the patron of Wilfred had been succeeded by Radbod, a bitter enemy of the Franks and their religion; scarcely a trace of Christianity had survived the change of rulers; the preaching of Wicbert was disregarded; and after two years of fruitless labour, he abandoned as hopeless the task committed to him.[e]

Willibrord.

But the purpose of Ecgbert was not to be shaken by a first failure. In the year 692 he despatched twelve missionary-priests, under the direction of a brother named Wilbrord, or Willibrord, to the court of the Frankish mayor of the palace, Pippin of Heristall, to solicit from him a station on the borders of the pagan Frisians, from whence they might carry the gospel tidings into the interior of the country; so also as to give them access to the Saxon tribes of the Weser and

[d] He had embarked in person for the same purpose, but was stranded in a storm; an incident which he interpreted as an intimation of providential disapproval of his project. *Bede*, lib. v. c. ix. p. 191.

[e] *Bede*, ubi sup. p. 191.

the Elbe. Their request was cordially complied with, and they were stationed amid the ruins of the old Roman municipium of Ultrajectum, the modern Utrecht. While Wilbrord and eight of his companions wrought with diligence and success among the heathen dwelling between the Rhine and the Vlie, two of the number were sent to preach in the nearest Saxon cantons. But these devoted men failed to produce any impression on the obdurate heathen of those districts, and both perished in the attempt.[f]

Frisian and Saxon churches founded.

After various disappointments and hardships, the word took root, and began to flourish among the heathen of Friesland; monasteries were founded, and churches were built, in various parts of the wilderness. In aid of their labours, the indefatigable Wilfred of York consecrated Luidbert, one of the twelve companions of Wilbrord, bishop of the Saxon hordes settled on the Lower Rhine; while that eminent missionary himself journeyed to Rome to procure the necessary store of church-furniture and relics for the due supply of public worship. A Christian church was, in fact, in that age as incomplete without its stock of relics as a Greek or Roman temple without its idol. Wilbrord accordingly returned amply provided with the requisite gear; and in the year 696 was, at the request of Pippin, consecrated archbishop of the Frisians by Pope Sergius I.[g] A new cathedral was built at Utrecht, and amply endowed by the munificence of Pippin; new monasteries and churches were founded; and converts multiplied. A moment of adversity, it is true, darkened the prospect of the Frisian church; but the victory of Charles Martel over his rival Raginfred, and his confederate Radbod, speedily restored them to their new homes. Charles rebuilt the ruined churches and religious houses at his own charge; and after the death of Radbod, in the year 716, his son and successor accepted baptism from the archbishop, and thus decided the triumph of Christianity in Friesland, after a struggle of

[f] *Bede*, lib. v. c. x. pp. 192, 193. See his account of the death and miraculous recovery of the bodies of the two martyrs.

[g] After his consecration, Wilbrord assumed the name of Clemens. Conf. *Bede*, lib. v. c. ii. p. 194.

twenty-seven years from the landing of Wilbrord, and of forty-one from the first fruitless attempts of Wilfred and Wicbert.[h]

Egcbert's mission to central Germany.

While Wilbrord and his associates were labouring successfully on behalf of Latin Christianity in the north-western angle of Germany, a fresh invasion of heathendom in that vast region was planned and executed by the unwearied perseverance of the abbot of Iona.[i]

Killian, Colman, and Totman.

In the year 686 a mission consisting of three priests —Killian or Gillun, Colman, and Totman—appeared in the district of central Germany known then, as now, by the name of Thuringia. The missionaries, like their chief, are represented to us as gentlemen of noble birth, who had renounced their secular calling, and yielded themselves to the current of religious aspirations which ran so strong in the churches of their native land. After visiting Rome, and obtaining episcopal ordination from Pope Conon, Killian penetrated into the interior of Germany, and commenced his labours at Würzburg, the castle and residence of Gozbert, king or duke of Thuringia. The people were specially addicted to the worship of a deity, whom the biographer of Killian calls "Diana;"[j] but their superstitions were of the same infirm and yielding character which marks almost all the forms of Germanic religion. The nation readily submitted to the engrafting of any new form upon the old stock of prejudice and superstition, but were very reluctant to part with the festive rites interwoven with their ancient worship, or even wholly to dismiss their old divinities from their thoughts. The duke and many of his subjects were,

[h] Conf. *Bede*, lib. v. c. xi. p. 193. See also *Alcuini* Vit. S. Willibrordi, ap. *Canisium*, Lect. Antiq. tom. ii. p. 464; and Vit. S. Bonifacii a Willibaldo, ap. *Pertz*. tom. ii. p. 339.

[i] I make no apology for transferring to these pages the following account of the mission to central Germany from a work, published by me some twenty years ago, on the early History of Germany, and not much known to the reading public. On examination, I find little to alter, and therefore give it as it stands in the text of that work, appending the notes and authorities as in the original.

[j] They are said to have sacrificed horses to this divinity, and to have devoured the flesh of the victims. *Vit. S. Killiani*, ap. *Canis.* Lection. Antiq. tom. iii. p. 175. See also *Eckhart*, Francia Orientalis, tom. i. p. 276, who connects this Diana with the great patroness of witches and witchcraft of the middle ages.

indeed, baptised by Killian, and for a time the cause of religion seemed to prosper; but the strict moral censorship, which the missionaries did not think fit to temper with the needful reserves, brought upon them the evils which the like severity had incurred in other cases. Duke Gozbert had, consistently with the custom of the country, married his deceased brother's widow; and Killian, in private, insisted upon his repudiating her. The indiscreet proposal was betrayed to the princess, who, availing herself of a temporary absence of her husband, avenged the insult by causing the imprudent missionaries to be put to death.[k] But the crime of Duchess Geilana did not materially impede the progress of conversion. Duke Hedan. Hedan, the son and successor of Gozbert, was one of the earliest of Killian's converts; and Archbishop Wilbrord was permitted, or solicited, to take charge of the new Thuringian church. Duke Hedan himself forwarded the good work by large grants of lands, buildings and lordships, with the serfs appurtenant to them, to the archbishop for the endowment of churches and religious houses.[l] The popular resistance to religious innovation was not, however, so easily overcome. The objections of the people arose, not so much from what was enjoined, as from what was prohibited by the Christian teachers; but, as in many parallel cases, the Church yielded to the prejudices of her converts on condition that they abstained from sacrificing horses to "Diana," and that when they immolated victims, they should be sanctified by laying them upon the altar, and making the sign of the cross over them, before they were eaten by the worshippers.[m] Compromise with heathenism.

This long series of campaigns against paganism in the vast region of Germany had been begun under the leadership of the Irish missionaries Colombanus and Gall. Their labours had been confined Emmeramm in Bavaria.

[k] *Vit. S. Kill.* ubi sup. p. 181.

[l] See the original documents, ap. *Eckhart*, Fran. Orient. tom. i. p. 312. Most of these instruments bear the dates of 704 and 706.

[m] Conf. *Mone*, Heidenth. im Nördlichen Europa, vol. ii. p. 24. This system of accommodation was, as we have seen, expressly sanctioned by Pope Gregory the Great in the earlier management of the Anglo-Saxon converts. Conf. Book III. c. vii. p. 218 of this work.

to the Allemannic or Suabian districts;[n] but they, and those who followed them in the same field of spiritual conquest, had found the path rather obstructed than facilitated by the remains of Roman Christianity, which still lingered amid the heathenish rites which obscured and degraded it.[o] Not long after the triumph of Gall in Allemannia, the Frankish missionary Emmeramm undertook to reform, or rather to republish, Christianity in the country of the Boioarii, or Bavarians.[p] His efforts were seconded by Duke Theodo, and received by the people with the liveliest satisfaction; but an imprudent interference with the domestic affairs of the reigning family in this, as in other instances, proved fatal to the missionary. Emmeramm was put to death;[q] and it was not till several years afterwards that Rupert bishop of Worms (A.D. 680) undertook, with the concurrence of Duke Theodo II., to restore order and discipline in the Bavarian churches. He rebuilt the ancient Juvavium of the Romans,—the modern Salzburg,—and was made bishop of the new see; he erected schools and monasteries, and brought the lands around them into cultivation; he made frequent visitations of all the churches of his diocese; in imitation of the Saviour, he kept on foot a company of twelve disciples, and with them penetrated into the country of the wild Avârs of Pannonia. After a successful career of judicious reform, and munificent provision for the advancement of Christianity, Rupert died in the year 718. Neither in the course of his labours, nor of those of his predecessor Emmeramm, do we meet with any appearance of communication with or commission from Rome; but in that of his successor Corbinianus, a Frankish monk, the connection becomes palpable and direct. Corbinian appeared, in fact, in Bavaria as the avowed emis-

Rupert archbishop of Salzburg.

Corbinian in Bavaria.

[n] Including at that time all the cantons of modern Switzerland, the Rhætia and Vindelicia of the Romans.

[o] See *Arnulph.* De Miraculis S. Emmerammi, ap. *Canis.* Lect. Antiq. tom. iii. p. 105.

[p] Comprising the western portion of the great Roman province of Noricum, together with a part of Vindelicia. The river Inu was no longer the boundary, as it had been under the Romans.

[q] *Meginfred*, Vit. S. Emmeramm. cc. ix.-xii. ap. *Canis.* Lect. Antiq. tom. iii. pp. 97, 98. See an absurd legend of Emmeramm in Hist. of Germans, pp. 782, 783.

sary of the Roman Church. He had prepared himself for the ministry by a residence of some years at Rome; and had been selected by Pope Gregory II. to introduce the peculiar reforms in the Bavarian churches best calculated to engender a more complete sympathy with the great Latin body. He was endowed by nature with commanding eloquence, great hardihood, and rigid severity of purpose. By the devout liberality of Duke Theodo II. and his son, he obtained the means of building and endowing several monasteries; he erected the hamlet of Freisingen into an episcopal see, and endowed it with large grants of the richest lands in the neighbourhood. But the unrelenting rigour of his discipline drew down upon him the enmity of a large party in the country. Pilitrudis, the widow of Theudebald duke of Southern Bavaria, had married his brother Grimoald, a connection legitimatised by the law and custom of the country. Corbinian, who could be brought to acknowledge no law but that of Rome, stigmatised the marriage as incestuous, and inexorably insisted upon a separation. His vigorous remonstrances, aided by spiritual menaces, were for a time successful: but to outward appearance only; the guilty pair still continued their intercourse in private. Elated by success, the firmness of the reformer soon degenerated into insolence. The proud spirit of Pilitrudis could no longer endure the insults heaped upon her by the upstart priest, and she struck at the life of her oppressor. Though the blow missed its aim, Corbinian was compelled to quit the country, after launching sentence of excommunication against both husband and wife.[r] But in the year 725, Charles Martel, the irresistible prince of the Franks, invaded the duchies of Allemannia or Suabia and Bavaria. Duke Grimoald fell by the hand of a domestic assassin; Pilitrudis and her daughter became the prisoners —the latter soon afterwards the wife—of Charles Martel;

Ascendency of Romanism in Bavaria.

[r] The Bavarian history of *Adelzreiter* gives copious extracts from *Aribo's* Life of St. Corbinian. See that work, part i. lib. vii. §§ 18-20, pp. 160-162. These extracts have been compared with the meagre abstracts in *D. Bouq.* Vit. S. Corbin. tom. iii. p. 653, and with *M. Velser*, "Res Boiicæ," lib. iv. pp. 135-138. The original life is in the Acta Ord. S. Bened. of Mabillon.

and Bavaria was annexed as a tributary duchy to the Merovingian kingdom. Corbinian returned in triumph to his church, and continued to govern it till his death, in the year 730.[s]

Extension of Latin Christianity in the viith century: its causes.

Looking back upon the series of events connected with the extension of Latin Christianity in the British islands and Germany, we perceive that the Roman emissaries had, in fact, seized upon ground already either wholly or partially preoccupied. In the former, Ireland, Scotland, Northumbria; in the latter, Rhætia, Thuringia, and Bavaria,—were no strangers to Christianity. The ocean-islands had, indeed, adopted a more primitive form, unmixed with recent Hellenistic or Latin innovations.[t] The Germanic nations had engrafted upon this new religion many of the grossest of the older popular superstitions and heathenish practices. The Frisians may be regarded as an original acquisition of Rome; but an acquisition of the utmost importance to church-communication, and essential to the coherence of the general plan of spiritual conquest which followed the breaking-up of the Scottish establishment in Northumbria. If the brethren of Iona had been able to stand their ground against Wilfred and his friends, Rome might have had greater difficulty in appropriating to herself the merits and the profits of missionary labour in Britain and elsewhere. The victory of the latter, as we have seen, determined the course and current of that stream of missionary zeal which flowed so abundantly from the coasts of Great Britain and Ireland, and diverted it so decidedly into the channel marked out for it by Rome. Looking for the causes of this extraordinary success, we find that the efforts of Aidan and the brethren of Iona were the result of religious impulse rather than

[s] The biographer of Corbinian has adorned the legend of his hero with a dark detail of the just judgments of God upon the abandoned adultress Pilitrudis. But the story is altogether incredible. See note 148, p. 758, History of the Germans, and the authorities there quoted.

[t] The only variances from primitive apostolic practice discernible in the Venerable Bede's account of these churches are the three following: the veneration of relics; the predilection for monastic and ascetic life; and the devout belief in dreams, omens, visions, and supernatural manifestations, obviously inherited from their heathen ancestry.

of systematic church-craft; that they relied upon no outward support, and were unprepared to encounter any outward assaults. Unable to discern the political drift of the paschal controversy in the hands of their opponents, or to encounter the dogmatic myth so triumphantly urged against them, they surrendered power to save their somewhat slender conscientious objections to a mere ceremonial change. Again, in southern Germany the isolated enterprises of Emmeramm and Rupert had left some traces behind them; but they were not of a nature to oppose any material obstacle to the sustained and systematic efforts of Corbinian and other directly-commissioned emissaries of Rome, seconded by the irresistible arms of the formidable Charles Martel. The overthrow of Colman and his friends at Whitby had the ultimate effect of throwing the whole game into the hands of Rome. Ecgfrid and all his fellow-seceders from the Scottish forms had cast themselves without reserve into her arms, in the fullest confidence that, under the banner of St. Peter, they were fighting the battles of the Saviour. Enthusiastic men rarely reflect upon the remoter consequences of their most innocent acts when exposed to the corroding action of human passions and human ambition. When those devoted men enlisted in the service of Rome, they little dreamt of the danger of any one thereafter mistaking her for the "captain of their salvation." The immense advantage of combined movement and systematic support lay upon the surface; while the dogmatic "communion of saints" stood before them as visibly expressed in that chair, which had hitherto so successfully advanced its claim to be the representative of "sacramental unity" in the universal church.

Winfred, or Boniface.

The days of the venerable Ecgbert and Willibrord were drawing to a close, when a greater than they made his appearance upon the scene of missionary labours and struggles; a man in whose mind the identification of the cause of Christ and of Rome was complete and absolute. The Anglo-Saxon monk Winfred was educated at a convent in Exeter, and afterwards studied at the monastery of Netley in Hampshire,

where he perfected himself in all the secular and spiritual learning of the age. He had adopted with enthusiasm the dogma of the absolute unity of the Church-catholic, extending to the minutest particulars of faith and government, discipline and ritual. The communion of the see of Rome seemed to him to afford the only centre of union capable of answering all the conditions of the great problem. By the advice of his friend Daniel bishop of Winchester, he proceeded to Rome, and placed himself at the disposal of Pope Gregory II.[u] That pontiff sent him into Thuringia, to supply the places of Killian and his martyred companions. That country was at that period included within the spiritual jurisdiction of the see of Utrecht; and Winfred proceeded thither to consult with the venerable Archbishop Willibrord upon the means necessary to strengthen discipline, and root out the corruptions and superstitions to which the recent Thuringian converts were still addicted. The archbishop, now in the decline of life, was anxious to retain him as his actual coadjutor and ultimate successor; but Winfred, faithful to the destination assigned to him by his superior at Rome, returned to his post; and extending the sphere of his labours, met with some success among the Saxon cantons bordering upon his proper province. In all these districts he had to encounter a spurious kind of Christianity, debased by numerous superstitions and pagan pollutions. But these errors yielded to the earnestness and eloquence of the preacher; and in a short time so great was the number of converts, that the dutiful missionary thought it necessary to solicit further instructions and more ample powers from Rome. To that end, he again proceeded thither, and was there ordained bishop by Pope Gregory II., who upon that occasion changed his barbaric name for that of Bonifacius, by which he is ever afterwards designated in church-history.

He devotes himself to the service of Rome.

The juncture was extremely favourable to the enlargement of the papal influence; and Pope Gregory II. took every means to attach the new bishop to the special service of the ponti-

[u] This pontificate falls between the years 715 and 731.

ficate. Boniface was admitted to the "familiarity" of the holy see; neither country nor name were any longer his own,—by accepting the inestimable privilege he took upon himself a new nature; he identified himself with a new service; he became the exclusive minister of the head of the sacerdotal family; he stood discharged from all obedience or responsibility to any other superior; and became entitled to have at all times direct personal communication with his lord, and to take his orders from him alone.[v] "His instructions," says his biographer Willibald, "were contained in a book in which were written the most holy laws of the ecclesiastical constitutions, as enacted in the pontifical synods;" and by them he was directed to frame his own conduct, and to instruct his flock by precepts and examples drawn from them.[w]

Boniface among the Hessians.

Boniface entered with all his heart into the plan and the detail of his spiritual mission. On his way to his new diocese, he visited the court of the heroic prince of the Franks Charles Martel, and received from him the strongest professions of sympathy and support. In reliance upon these assurances, and with full faith in the competency of his spiritual powers, he treated the religious prejudices of the heathen Hessians, among whom he first took up his abode, with very little respect. The formidable missionary was probably known to have temporal protectors at his back who would amply vindicate his pretensions. He therefore boldly ventured to cut down the sacred oak of Thor the Thunderer even before the eyes of his astonished worshippers. The tree fell beneath the axes of the zealous assailants, and the god took the insult without the smallest token of displeasure. The spectators reasonably enough inferred that Thor had forsaken his forest-sanctuary, or had retired with fear or indifference from the scene of his discomfiture. The "apostle of Germany" and his brave companions sawed up the huge trunk into beams and

[v] In strict analogy to the privileges enjoyed by the "familiares" of princes and great men of that age. *Ducange*, ad voc. "familiaris" and "familiaritas."

[w] It is most probable that the book in question was of the same character with that which Archbishop Theodore presented to the Anglo-Saxon bishops at the synod of Herudford, and with the "Aperta et synodalia constituta ecclesiæ Romanæ" of Pope Agapetus. Conf. note sup. p. 330 of this volume.

planks, and framed them into an oratory, which they dedicated to the Apostle Peter, upon the spot where it had stood.[x]

His method of conversion.

The method pursued by Boniface for the propagation of the Gospel in Germany was in all respects the same as that recommended by Gregory the Great.[y] He took care on all occasions to plant a church upon the site of every place of religious resort or popular veneration; he substituted a saint for every idol destroyed, or other proscribed object of superstitious worship; he permitted the customary feasts and sacrifices, but carefully provided that the games and sports which accompanied them should be celebrated, and the flesh of the victims consumed, in honour of some great Christian festivity. He was a declared enemy of sacerdotal marriage; and, it appears, met with some difficulty and opposition in the prosecution of his scheme for enforcing the celibacy of his clergy. He introduced the observance of the feast of Pentecost into Germany; he promulgated the rule of Latin canon-law, regulating the degrees of consanguinity within which lay matrimony might not be contracted; and he fixed the rotation of feasts to be observed throughout the year in strict conformity with the ritual of the Roman church.[z]

His reform.

During the absence of Boniface in Rome, Duke Hedan of Thuringia had died, and his sons had relapsed into heathenism. The clergy themselves, we are told, were infected with heresy.[a] Certain priests, "false brethren, *fornicators*, *adulterers*,—whom," says his biographer, "God hath judged according to the word of the Apostle Paul,"—had seduced the people into all manner of impurities and heathenish abominations; many persons had forsaken the faith, and the rest knew not whom to follow. The resistance of the married and heathenised priesthood was long and obstinate; but

[x] The materials for this short sketch of the acts of St. Boniface are wholly derived from the Vita S. Bonif. a Willibaldo, ap. *Pertz*, Monum. Germ. Hist. tom. ii. pp. 343, 344.

[y] Conf. Book III. c. vii. p. 218 of this work.

[z] See *Eckhard*, Franc. Orient. tom. i. p. 403.

[a] Again I take leave to borrow, with slight alterations, the account of the ministry of Boniface from my work on Early German History, pp. 795-808. I have placed the authorities from which it was compiled, after re-examination, at the foot of the page.

under the persevering efforts of the missionaries, these "false brethren" were at length driven from the field, the decayed churches were repaired, and new ones were built. Success brought him many assistants from all parts of Christendom. But Boniface had a strong predilection for his own countrymen, of whose zeal, docility and courage he had ample experience. He therefore sent messengers to England to engage fellow-labourers in his vineyard; and in a short time a colony of devout persons of both sexes from that country joined him in the wilderness of Germany. Many of these were of high birth, and all were filled with courage and piety; "lettered persons were they, and well instructed in every branch of religious and worldly knowledge: Burchard and Lullus; the brothers Willibald and Wunnibald, with their sister Walpurgis; Wetta and Gregory, and the religious women, Chunehild the niece of Lullus, and her daughter Berathgit; also Chunetrudis, Tecla, and Lioba."[b] The new teachers, as far as their numbers would permit, were dispersed in every hamlet and homestead of Thuringia; the women were settled in convents, under the guardianship of Chunehild; Teela became the prioress of the devout sisters stationed at Kenzingen and Ochsenfurth on the Mayne, and Lioba took charge of a religious house at Bishoffsheim. At the same time monasteries and oratories sprung up at Fulda, Würzburg, Holzkirchen, Ordruff, Orthorp, Geismar, and many other spots; most of them upon the sites of the old heathen places of worship.[c]

His Anglo-Saxon coadjutors.

His missionary colonies.

The *advantages* of this practice were, that it saved harmless that sacred principle in human nature from which religion itself takes its source; and that it shortened the process of conversion, by simply transferring the devotion of the new converts, without any startling intermediate process, from the heathen to the Christian divinities. On the other hand, the *disadvantages* were serious and alarming. The custom of substituting on all occasions a saint for an idol, building churches

Mode of instruction.

[b] *Othloni* Vit. S. Bonif. lib. i. c. xxiii., —ap. *Pertz*, ii. pp. 344, 345.

[c] The "fana," "capitolia," and "delubra" of the hagiographers.

and altars upon spots where every thing was calculated to keep alive the memory of the discarded superstitions, brought with it many of those evils of which the missionaries themselves were the first to complain. It is a remarkable fact, that at this very period heathen festivities were still observed even in the capital of Christendom. Boniface himself boldly charged Pope Zachary with remissness in permitting mummeries and processions, accompanied with profane song and clamour, in the streets and public places of the city, especially on the 1st of January; and he reasonably asks by what right, after that, the pope could find fault with the like practices among his own flock.[d] Yet it can hardly be denied, that even if the missionaries themselves had been capable of imparting, their hearers were wholly unprepared to receive the doctrines of a purer and more spiritual religion. The predecessors of Boniface had done no more than to obtain from the heathen a public profession of the Gospel, and a certain outward conformity with the Latin rites. Their successors pursued the same plan: they still resorted to the old compendious method, rashly trusting to their own vigilance and assiduity to prune away the vicious excrescences which might grow out of this hazardous scheme of conversion.

Boniface archbishop and legate.

The results bore out in a great degree the confident expectations of its authors. Converts and churches multiplied so rapidly that a more systematic organisation had become necessary. These new establishments were as yet without an acknowledged chief; and although Rome might claim a large share in the merits of her emissaries, she was not yet in possession of any corporate or general acknowledgment of supremacy in this great department of spiritual conquest. But now her "familiaris" applied to Pope Gregory III., successor to the second of that name, for the powers requisite for that purpose. The pope gladly complied; and, with the archiepiscopal pallium, sent to Boniface a commission as papal legate over the churches of all Germany. In the year 738, he went to Rome, and

[d] Epp. S. Bonif. ep. 132, ap. *Eckhart*, Franc. Orient. tom. i. p. 402.

resided there nearly a twelvemonth, occupied in organising with the pope a strong and consistent scheme of church-government, which was to embrace not merely Great Britain and Germany, but all Christendom, and to unite all under the sceptre of St. Peter's chair. For the two last-mentioned provinces of the projected empire Boniface could undertake to answer to his master; but both were sensible that the Frankish churches would oppose more serious difficulties.[e] Yet much might be expected from the talents and adroitness of Boniface; more from the ignorance and worldly spirit of the Frankish hierarchy; and more still from the secret views of the powerful family which presided over the government of France,—views of which it is impossible to believe that either Boniface or his patron were wholly ignorant.[f]

His ecclesiastical divisions.

The commission of the new archbishop-legate extended over every part of Germany, with the exception of Friesland. In the first instance, Boniface visited Bavaria, where he found the roots of the old superstitions still rankling in the soil; irregularities of all kinds, such as married or heretical priests, depraved teachers, bishops without due consecration, and clergy without canonical orders.[g] As the proper remedy for these evils, he prevailed upon Odilo, the feudatory duke of Bavaria, to divide the duchy into four dioceses; and he appointed to them four of his own most confidential followers. With the same views, he divided the province of Franconia, or "Francia Orientalis"—by which name the more southern districts of the great Thuringian region had begun to be distinguished—into three dio-

[e] It is observed by *Mannert*, in his History of the Merovingian Franks (vol. i. p. 315), that since the first pallium and legantine commission conferred by Gregory the Great upon the archbishop of Arles, scarcely a single metropolitan had applied for the confirmation of Rome, till the Anglo-Saxon Willibrord set the example circa 692. "No appeal," he says, "was ever brought before the legate; and the bishops continued, as before, to hold their synods under their respective metropolitans, without reporting to Rome, and without any notice of her authority."

[f] In the year 737—therefore the year before the arrival of Boniface in Rome—the nominal king, Theuderich IV., had died, and Charles Martel had neglected to fill the vacant throne; a circumstance so pregnant with inference, that it could hardly have been overlooked either by Boniface or the pope. Conf. *Eckhart*, tom. i. p. 370.

[g] "Injusta hæreticæ falsitatis secta et *fornicaria* sacerdotum;" *i. e.* a priesthood not ordained according to the Latin forms, and living in a state of marriage. Vit. S. Bonif. a *Willib.* ubi sup. p. 345.

ceses, under three of his Anglo-Saxon associates. These sees were amply endowed by the simplicity or the munificence of the great lay proprietors, confirmed and augmented by the piety of Charles Martel and his devout son Carlmann.[h] All these appointments were carefully reported to the pope, and by him returned with the required ratifications and admonitions: "Cease not, most reverend brother,"—so the pope writes in reply,—"cease not to inculcate the *holy traditions of the catholic and apostolic see of Rome*; . . . desist not from preaching the *way of salvation*;[i] and wherever you may meet with a proper occasion, ordain bishops canonically in our name and place; and look to it that the new bishops *keep whole the same apostolical and canonical tradition*."[j] And now indeed the pontiff might with some degree of confidence regard nearly the whole of Germany as enclosed within the Roman fold.

Papal confirmation.

In France, however, the papal projects had up to this time worn a less promising aspect. It is true that Charles Martel had liberally supported the efforts of the "apostle of Germany;" but he intimated, by his conduct in other directions, that he had no mind to saddle himself either with a temporal or a spiritual superior within his realm; more especially that he had a very decided objection to admit any sharer in the vast ecclesiastical plunder or patronage which he and his predecessors had so long dispensed. The resentment with which his memory has been treated by the churchmen, shows pretty clearly how little he was disposed to promote the further extension of clerical wealth and power. After his death, in the year 741, the romanising clergy took courage; and from this epoch, every succeeding year brought forth some event which raised their hopes, and smoothed the path to further acquisition.

Charles Martel: obstruction of papal policy.

The earliest of these propitious occurrences appeared in the shape of a message from Carlmann, the pious son of Charles Martel, inviting Boniface to pay a visit to the Frankish court, with a

Carlmann invites Boniface to France.

[h] *Egilward*, in Vit. S. Burchardi Episc. Wirziburg, ap. *Eckhart*, tom. i. pp. 379, 390, 391.

[i] Viz. the said holy traditions, &c.

[j] See the letters of confirmation, ap. *Eckhart*, ubi sup. tom. i. p. 378.

view to the reformation of the more manifest abuses in the churches of the realm. The legate complied, and wrote to Pope Zachary, the successor of Gregory III. (741), requesting his permission to convoke a national synod for the remedy of existing evils. He informed the pontiff that no general assembly of the churches had been held in France for a *period of eighty years;* that during all that time there had been no lawful metropolitan bishop;[k] that the Roman canon-law had never been promulgated by public authority; that the greater number of the bishoprics were held by greedy laymen; and that others were filled by false clerks, persons of evil repute—*whoremongers* and publicans.[l] It should be observed in this place, that not only those who lived after the manner of men of rank in that country,—that is, without any very severe restrictions upon the number or character of their female associates,—but also all the married prelates and clergy, fell under these vituperative designations. Pope Zachary, in his reply to the application of Boniface, adopted the like view; and pronounced it to be law that no bishop could have been more than once married, and *that* before consecration; and if at that time he chanced to be married, he must ever afterwards abstain from cohabiting with his wife.[m]

Report of Boniface on the state of the Frankish churches.

After obtaining the requisite permission from Rome, Boniface convoked a synod of the Germanic churches at Salzburg in Thuringia, a spot upon the river Saale; and announced a second assembly for the following year, to be held at Leptines, near Cambray, for the Neustrian kingdom.[n] The ordinances passed at these assemblies denounced degradation and other canonical punishments against all clerks leading irregular lives, or keeping wives or concubines; priests were prohibited from bearing arms, or taking part in any military adventure; they were strictly excluded from the profane sports of the field, and to

Synods of Salzburg and Leptines.

Reforms.

[k] That is, no one who had taken out his pallium from Rome.

[l] "Scortatores," "fornicatores," "adulteri," &c.

[m] *Eckhart*, ubi sup. tom. i. p. 403.

[n] *Ibid.* ubi sup. p. 404. These two synods are sometimes confounded with each other.

that end were ordered to put away all sporting-dogs and falcons from their premises: the prelates were directed *to call in the aid of the civil power* to suppress all heathenish practices, such as profane offerings for the dead, sortilege, charms, incantations, lustral fires,[o] sacrifices in honour of saints, "which foolish persons do sometimes perform within the precincts of the churches, after the manner of the heathen, though outwardly in honour of martyrs and confessors, provoking thereby the wrath of God and his saints."[p] This first attempt to set bounds to a practice hitherto encouraged by Rome was followed by a schedule or short catalogue of prohibited practices,[q] with a brief formula of renunciation, and a profession of faith to be made by all new Christians as well as persons suspected of heathen pravity. Under the dictation of Boniface, both synods *adopted the canon-law of Rome* as the sole rule of faith and discipline; they declared all marriages void which had been contracted in contradiction to that law, and strictly prohibited the sale of Christians as slaves to pagans.[r]

Adoption of the Roman code of canon-law.

Not the least remarkable, however, of the transactions of the Council of Leptines was the condemnation and deposition of two bishops, Adalbert and Clemens—the former a Frank, the latter an Irishman—for repudiating the legantine powers of Boniface, and opposing the introduction of the Roman canon-law into the Frankish discipline. Such at least was beyond doubt the real offence of these prelates. The indignant and vituperative tone of Boniface, in his report of this circumstance to Pope Zachary, leaves the moral and ecclesiastical characters of the two prelates untouched. Adalbert, said the imperious accuser,

Adalbert and Clemens.

Charges against the schismatic bishops

[o] "The Nodfyr" or "Niedfyr." See *Cancian.* ad Indic. Superst. in Barb. Leg. Antiq. tom. iii. § 15, p. 97. See also *Grimm*, Deutsch. Mythol. p. 345.

[p] *Hartzheim*, Concil. Germ. tom. i. pp. 48-50.

[q] The "Indiculus Superstitionum," which is so learnedly and amusingly commented upon by *Canciani* in the third vol. of his "Leges Barbarorum Antiquæ."

[r] In this and several succeeding ages an active slave-trade was carried on between the half-converted borderers of the Frankish dominions and the pagans of the eastern frontier, especially the Sclavic tribes of the Elbe and the Avârs of Hungary.

was an enthusiast and an impostor; he condemned the interference of the pope with the national church; he denied the lawfulness of dedicating churches to saints;[s] he derided pilgrimages to Rome; and repudiated auricular confession. Boniface adds a charge of imposture; he proclaimed himself, he says, an inspired teacher, and usurped the place of the apostles by pretending to give absolution for all manner of sins.[t] The offences of Clemens involved a peremptory denial of the Roman canon-law, or, as Boniface is pleased to describe it, the "canons of the Church of Christ;" he rejected the sermons and treatises of St. Augustine, St. Jerome, and St. Gregory the Great;[u] he spurned the acts of the synods, and "of his own authority affirmed that, though he had two sons born in *adultery*, yet he was still a Christian bishop."[v]

The last of these articles of impeachment denotes in reality no more than that Clemens maintained his right to retain his wife after consecration; and that he asserted the legitimacy of the children born to him while that relation subsisted. The terms "adultery" and "fornication" are so generally used by the Latin doctors in describing the matrimonial engagements of the clergy, that some pains are required to distinguish between the moral and the canonical offence. In this case, the statement, as against Clemens, is upon the face of it a naked falsehood, covered by the use of a word put into the mouth of the accused by the enraged accuser, and intended to convey an impudent avowal of guilt and depravity.[w] It is, however, obvious that the real offence of the two recusant prelates was their resistance to the imposition of a foreign yoke, and the introduction of a

Value of the charges.

[s] Probably he reprobated the practice of substituting saints for idols, and dedicating the temples of Thor or Woden to St. Peter or St. Paul.

[t] A singular complaint in the mouth of a spiritual plenipotentiary of the successor of St. Peter. The false pretence charged was, not that he exercised the power to forgive sins, but that he claimed to exercise it independently of the Petrine commission, and without regard to the Latin canons.

[u] Probably as appertaining to tradition, rather than to revelation.

[v] See the epistle of Boniface to Pope Zachary, ap. *Hartzheim*, Concil. Germ. tom. i. p. 62.

[w] Clemens is also charged with maintaining that when Christ descended into hell he liberated all who were detained there, whether they were Christians or pagan: an eccentric, but rather harmless, exposition of a probably apocryphal clause in the Apostles' Creed.

scheme of canon-law inconsistent with the liberties of their churches and the customs and habits of their people.

Difficulties of Boniface in France.

A more formidable obstacle to the meditated reforms arose from the reluctance of the Frankish nobility—Antrustions and Leudes—to part with the revenues of the sees which the necessities of the princes, particularly of Charles Martel, had compelled them to bestow on powerful lay claimants. Boniface, it is true, with the consent of the pope, consecrated archbishops to the metropolitan sees of Rouen, Rheims, and Sens; but the Princes Carlmann and Pippin were unable or unwilling to dispossess the lay occupants of the lands and endowments attached to those sees, and for the present the appointments remained unexecuted. In other respects the legate met with better success. An assembly, both of clergy and laity, was held at Soissons in the year 744, in the presence of Pippin himself. Here all the canons of the previous synods were confirmed and republished; clerical marriages were more explicitly condemned and prohibited; the new archiepiscopal and legantine jurisdiction in all ecclesiastical matters was established; and bishops and people were required to resort to those courts upon all occasions.[x]

Report of Boniface to Archbishop Cuthbert of Canterbury.

The successes of Boniface are very clearly summed up in the report of these proceedings which he sent to his friend Cuthbert archbishop of Canterbury, in the year 745, for the encouragement and instruction of the Anglo-Saxon prelates. "In this synod (of Soissons)," he said, "we have confessed and decreed the whole catholic faith in communion with, *and in subjection to*, the Roman church; and we have vowed obedience and true service to St. Peter and his vicar. We have resolved to hold annual synods, and to apply for our pallia to the see of Rome; and that we will in all things strive to pay canonical obedience to the precepts of St. Peter, in order that we may show ourselves worthy to be numbered with his flock. We have likewise resolved, that in every synod *the canonical decrees and ecclesiastical laws* (as received from Rome) shall be read

[x] See *Hartzheim*, Concil. Germ. tom. i. pp. 57, 58.

and published; that the metropolitans shall examine into the morals and diligence of the bishops; that, after each synod, diocesan assemblies shall be held for carrying the synodal resolutions into effect; and, in order to afford to every bishop the means of reforming what is amiss within his diocese, we have directed that he shall publicly complain thereof to his archbishop: for thus, at my own consecration, I swore to the Roman church to act, viz. that if I should find priests or people grievously and incorrigibly departing from the law of God, *I would at all times faithfully report such cases to the apostolic see and to the vicar of St. Peter for correction;* and in the same way, I think all bishops ought to report to their metropolitans, and they in turn to the church of Rome, whenever they meet with hindrances with which they are of themselves unable to contend."[y]

Difficulties and impediments.

Though secure of the cordial co-operation of the government, Boniface had still to contend against difficulties arising from the pertinacity of the lay holders of ecclesiastical property, and the resistance of a certain party among the clergy to the sweeping reforms he meditated. The only advantage obtained over the former was a reluctant consent to pay a trifling acknowledgment for their tenure of the church-lands; yet this admission sufficed to keep alive the claims of the plundered sees.[z] A more important step in advance was gained by the establishment of the legate in the important see of Moguntiacum, or Mayntz (Mayence), with metropolitan jurisdiction over all the regions in which he had ever preached, as far as the borders of the pagan Saxons and Sclavi, including the dioceses of Tongres, Colonia-Agrippina (Cologne), Worms, Speyer, Maastricht, Würzburg, Eichstedt, and Büreburg.[a] But many years elapsed before the inert resistance of the provincial clergy to the innovations of the legate could be overcome. Adalbert and Clemens persevered in their struggles for the independence of their churches. In

Boniface primate of Maintz.

[y] *Hartzheim*, Concil. Germ. tom. i. p. 67.

[z] *Ibid.* tom. i. p. 71.

[a] *Othloni* Vit. S. Bonif. lib. ii. c. 14; *Eckhart*, Fr. Orient. tom. i. p. 485.

other places the new ordinances were ostensibly adopted, but neutralised by neglect or passive resistance. The metropolitan bishops were found unaccountably remiss in applying to Rome for their pallia; and the perpetual wars of Pippin against the hitherto independent principalities of Germany for a long time impeded or thwarted the scheme of Boniface for a more complete establishment of his great province upon the Roman platform.

Resistance of Adalbert and Clemens.

In the year 747, his pious friend and supporter Carlmann, the joint-prince, or major-domûs, of the Franks, retired from the world. In the interim Boniface had found leisure and funds for the erection of several religious houses, more particularly of the afterwards celebrated abbey of Fulda in Hessia. At Rome all his views were adopted without comment or delay; and mandates were issued in conformity with his designs for drawing the Frankish and Germanic churches into the closest dependence upon the holy see.[b] But the active resistance of the schismatic bishops Adalbert and Clemens, and the inert opposition of probably a majority of the Frankish clergy, had materially disturbed the project. Of this portion of the priesthood,

Heathenising and married priests.

the archbishop gives a very unfavourable portrait. "Renegade priests," he says, "were still found who sacrificed bulls and goats to the pagan gods, or themselves partook of the meats offered to idols; the number of the schismatic clergy who, under the name of bishops and presbyters, deluded and carried away the people, was much greater than that of the orthodox: among these, there were very many vagrant, adulterous (married), sacrilegious, hypocritical pretenders, as also many shaven serfs who had fled from their masters;—servants of the devil, living after their own depraved lusts, and seducing multitudes of the people to support them in their resistance to the bishops. These persons, he averred, carried on their nefarious trade in wild and lonely places, or in the cabins of the country-

[b] Conf. Ep. Zach. Pap. ad Bonif., ap. *Hartzheim*, tom. i. p. 59; Concil. Rom. de Hæret. Adalberto et Clemente, *ibid.* p. 60; Ep. *Bonif.* ad Zach. *ibid.* p. 61; Ep. *Gemmuli* Diac. ad *Bonif. ibid.* p. 66; Ep. *Zach.* Pap. ad Franc. et Gall. *ibid.* p. 68; Ep. *ejusd.* ad *Bonif. ibid.* p. 69.

folk, where they might the more easily practise upon the ignorance of their dupes, and evade the correction of their bishops."[c]

It had, indeed, become apparent that nothing but the energetic support of the secular government could carry through a scheme of discipline involving at once the sacrifice of the favourite vices of the higher clergy, the superstitions of their inferiors, and the independence of the national church. It may be admitted, that the state of the inferior orders, as described by Boniface, afforded no hope that they could be persuaded to reform themselves, much less to assist in reforming the higher. But a closer study of the documents from which we draw our information leads to the conviction, that the superstitions and corruptions complained of were not the principal grounds of apprehension, but are put forward chiefly with a view to fill the cup of guilt to the brim, and cast on the obnoxious individuals and religious parties all the odium it was desired should attach to their cause. Reflecting upon the extraordinary latitude allowed to the Roman emissaries in dealing with the superstitions and prejudices of their converts,[d] we naturally conclude that Boniface was far less moved by the danger from that quarter than from the influence of the schismatic clergy, and the lingering attachment to the independence of their churches. This obstacle, in fact, lay directly in the path of the delegates towards the accomplishment of their scheme for "uniting all the Frankish churches in communion with Rome, and in *obedience and true service* to St. Peter and his vicar:" and it was manifest to Boniface that, until this spirit was quelled, the special object of his mission could not be attained, and that till then he must be accounted an "unprofitable servant" by the master whom he served.

Nature of the obstacles to the scheme of Boniface: the remedy.

After the retirement of Carlmann, his brother Pippin convoked an assembly of all the estates and prelates of the realm at Verneuil, to cause him-

Synod of Verneuil.

[c] Epp. *Bonif.*, ap. *Eckhart*, tom. i. p. 479; *Hartzheim*, tom. i. p. 84.

[d] Conf. Instructions of Pope Gregory the Great to Augustine,—Book III. c. vii. p. 217 of this work.

self to be recognised as sole major-domûs, or prince, of the Franks. Among the prelacy appeared Adalbert and Clemens, attended probably by a retinue of clergy of their party. Boniface perceived, and availed himself promptly of, the opportunity to crush his opponents. He produced before the assembly the papal sentence of deposition and anathema with which he had long since provided himself, and called for the immediate apprehension of the offenders. The motion was approved; the bishops, and their adherent the presbyter Gotschalk, were committed to his custody, and forthwith removed by him as prisoners to the remote abbey of Fulda, in the heart of the archbishop's peculiar domain. Here the offenders were unlikely to give him any serious trouble; and a salutary lesson was read to all who might be inclined to follow their contumacious courses. There is, however, reason to believe that resistance to the new state of things did not altogether cease with the deportation of the ringleaders. Boniface and his coadjutors had still many difficulties to encounter, and the continued support of the prince and the government alone held out any certain prospect of success. That support, however, was not wanting; every political circumstance of the times tended to draw closer the alliance between Pippin and the papacy. The events now to be brought under our observation will dispel the obscurity which may hang over that connection, and place the interests of the parties and the motives of their conduct in a very sufficient light.

Condemnation and banishment of Adalbert and Clemens.

Hitherto we have endeavoured to bring the advances of Latin Christianity in Great Britain, France, and Germany, into their true historical connection with the progress of the see of Rome towards that supreme spiritual dominion inherent in the theory, and inseparable from the practice of the chair of Peter. Within a century and a half from the landing of Augustine, the systematic efforts of Rome had been rewarded by the most remarkable successes. Within that time she had drawn round the outer margin of Latin Christendom a belt of dependencies capable of balancing or con-

Synopsis.

trolling any adverse influences among the older constituents of that body;—a band of adherents fresh and zealous in her cause, and armed for battle against the last remnants of religious liberty or license in the enclosed regions. For all these advantages she was indebted to her Anglo-Saxon emissaries. The names of Ecgfrid, Biscop, Willibrord, Wilfred, and Winfred, must ever stand highest in the grateful memory of the Romish church, and be entitled to the first places in the calendar of her missionary saints. Their merits are the more conspicuous, that theirs was the first Christian mission immediately connected with, and historically traceable to, the personal procurement of her pontiffs—the first that was sent forth in the name of Rome, by her authority, and for the promotion of her peculiar ends. Up to the epoch of Augustine's mission to Britain, the claims of Rome to the spiritual maternity of Latin Christendom rested upon the infirmest of legends; but by the successes of her Anglo-Saxon emissaries that claim obtained a certain historical basis; a colour of truth was cast back upon her antecedent pretensions; and it is shown how a really unconnected series of facts might, by good management, be construed into a simple continuation of one and the same succession of parental interferences;—proceeding, of course, upon the foregone presumption that the parent could never become superannuated, and that the pupils could never come of age.

CHAPTER VI.

APPROACHES OF THE PAPACY TO TEMPORAL SOVEREIGNTY. (I.)

Connection of ecclesiastical and political history—Merovingian race in France supplanted by the family of Pippin of Landen—The mayor of the palace—Pippin the Short—Pippin, Boniface, and Pope Zachary—Pippin takes the title of king—Proximate causes and character of the revolution—Papal participation—Opinions thereon—*The precedent*—Pope Stephen III. and Aistulph king of the Lombards—Papal policy—Journey of Pope Stephen to Pavia—His flight into France—His reception there—Moral and political effect of this reception—Negotiations, and treaty of Pontyon—Diet of Quiercy-sur-Oise—Coronation of Pippin and his sons—Papal views of the transaction—Pippin invades Lombardy—Submission of Aistulph and treaty of Pavia—Relations of the papacy to the Byzantine empire—Retreat of Pippin—Pope Stephen claims the fulfilment of the treaty of Pavia—Donation of Pippin; its character, scope, and intent—Aistulph again attacks the "patrimony of St. Peter"—Siege of Rome—Pippin raises the siege—Second treaty of Pavia—Confirmation and final execution of the *donation*—Death of Aistulph, and elevation of Desiderius—Extortions of Pope Stephen—Treachery of Stephen—Paul I. pope—His complaint to Pippin—Charges against Desiderius—Results.

Connection of ecclesiastical and political history.

We now connect the progress of papism, as presented to the reader in the foregoing chapters, with the most important political events of the eighth century; more especially with the transfer of the crown of France from the Merovingian to the Carlovingian race, and the consequent advancement of the papacy from a state of theoretical, if not actual, subjection to that of a temporal and political sovereignty. The name and achievements of Archbishop Boniface form the connecting link; the part he took, and the character of his agency, will therefore require an attentive examination.

The Merovingian race supplanted.

The antecedent history of the Merovingian princes presents the common phenomenon of a minister of state gradually usurping all the powers of government, superseding the nominal sovereign, and ultimately placing the crown upon his own head. In the infancy of feudalism, estates, offices, immunities,

proceeding from the free grants of the crown to meritorious subjects, were resumable at the pleasure of the grantor, or at the expiration or cessation of the services for which they were granted. But as the relation thus created between the sovereign and the free subject rarely ceased but with the life of the latter, and as in the subsisting state of society the resumption was often attended with difficulty and danger, the estate by degrees lost its resumable character. In this state of things, the transition from a precarious to an hereditary tenure was natural and easy. The great feudatories, Antrustions and Leudes, of the Merovingian kings generally engrossed the favours of the crown; and at length so far outgrew its control as to convert the conditional into an absolute estate in the possessions, lands, and lucrative offices they had thus acquired. The mayor, or high-steward, of the royal household had always been regarded as the prime minister of the sovereign, and the chief of the official and territorial nobility—Antrustions and Leudes. At the epoch of the deposition of the last nominal sovereign, the office and authority of mayor of the palace had become hereditary in the family of Pippin of Landen, who died in the year 639. From him it was within the ensuing century transmitted through six descents to Pippin surnamed "the Short," who, after the retirement of his brother Carlmann, remained the sole major-domûs and prince of the Franks.

Within that century the office of mayor of the palace had swallowed up all the powers of the state, together with all the attributes of sovereignty excepting the title. The titular kings had sunk down into mere state puppets. The popular reverence for the descendants of Clovis had been gradually subsiding into indifference; and the occasional exhibition of the royal pageant, upon certain state ceremonials, had begun to excite the contempt or the derision of the spectators. The interposition of a nominal sovereign between the people and the real ruler was inconvenient to the former, and mortifying to the ambition of the latter. The mayor of the palace, and probably all the influential

The mayor of the palace.

classes, desired the re-annexation of the title to the office of king. The poor puppet with the long hair and the flowing beard was consigned to oblivion in the remote and shabby villa assigned for his abode; Pippin himself assumed the state, and adopted the language, of a sovereign prince without contradiction or murmur in any quarter where resistance might have been seriously dangerous; and nothing remained but to bring about the catastrophe of the long and tedious drama.

Pippin the Short.

The caution, however, with which Pippin proceeded in this stage of his fortunes seems to show that he did not think himself as yet beyond the reach of difficulty and danger. But Pippin possessed in full measure all the qualities which the wild and lawless Frankish nobility and people were accustomed to respect in their princes. He was a gallant warrior, and an experienced statesman. By a brilliant series of successes against the insurgent Aquitanians, the Saxons, the Allemans, and the Bavarians, he had greatly extended the dominion of the Franks; he had humbled his domestic enemies, and attached the great bulk of the feudatories to his person and government. And now, in the last stage of his progress, a large and active body among the clergy of his realm rested upon him all their hopes for the accomplishment of a religious revolution, from which they expected to derive an immediate increase of wealth and power, and in the distance discerned a boundless extension of spiritual dominion.

Pippin, Boniface, and Pope Zachary.

With such encouragement, Pippin began by sounding the disposition of the estates in reference to the projected transfer of the crown to his own head. He had for some years past kept the phantom-king altogether out of sight; and in the year 751 he assembled a diet of the realm at Attigny in Champagne, at which he assumed the state and ceremonial of royalty without remark or contradiction. In the following year he tried the like experiment with the same success. Archbishop Boniface was present at both assemblies; and soon afterwards appears on the stage as negotiator with Rome for a purpose at the moment kept

secret. Again, in the year 752, he despatched his confidential friend and destined successor Lullus to Rome, with instructions to lay before Pope Zachary "certain grave matters, some by word of mouth, with others that he had committed to writing;" and to request an immediate reply "*upon the authority of St. Peter prince of the apostles*," in order that he (Boniface) might know how best to meet the views of the holy see.[a] Not long afterwards Pippin deputed his chancellor, Fulrad abbot of St. Denis, accompanied by Burchard bishop of Würzburg, a creature of Boniface, to propose to the pope the laconic question, "Whether the Merovingian, who still retains the title of king, but without the power; or the major-domûs, in whom by the will of the people all real power was vested,—ought to bear the royal *title?*" The reply of Zachary was prompt and favourable: "He who *lawfully* possesses the royal power may also *lawfully* assume the royal title." Notwithstanding the latent ambiguity of the terms, the oracle was deemed satisfactory. But the gravity of the question, and the promptness of the reply, presumes previous communication; and we are entitled to assume that the unreported message of Boniface had already apprised the pope of what he was required to reply to, and solicited a favourable response. And now Pippin, fortified by the ostensible approval of the highest ecclesiastical authority, and assured by previous experiment of the acquiescence of the people and the support of a powerful party in the Church, boldly assumed the royal title. He and his wife Bertrada were solemnly crowned by Boniface, as legate and representative of the holy see, at Soissons, in the presence of the assembled nobles and prelates of the realm. The unfortunate Childerich III. was deprived of the last attribute of royalty; he was shorn of his long tresses and beard, and immured in the abbey of St. Omer, where he died two years afterwards.[b]

Pippin assumes the royal title.

[a] See extr. of letter of Boniface to Pope Zachary, ap. *Eckhart*, Fr. Orient. tom. i. p. 496.

[b] The authorities for these transactions are the following: *Annal. Fuldens.* ap. *Pertz*, Mon. Germ. tom. i. p. 346; *Annal. Mettens. ibid.* p. 331; *Annal. Moissiac. ibid.* p. 292; *Annal. Lauriacens. ibid.* p. 138. Conf. *Fragm. Hist.* ap. *D. Bouquet*, tom. ii. p. 694; and the "Genealogia Caroli Mag." *ibid.* p. 698.

Proximate causes and character of the revolution.

Papal writers have been at some pains to exonerate Boniface and his patron the pope from the charge of lending themselves to so gross a violation of the sacred rights of kings as appeared to be involved in the deposition of Childerich III.[c] But a very slight inquiry into the position of both parties discloses powerful motives for the course they pursued. Boniface was impatient under the impediments opposed to his contemplated reforms and restitutions by the great feudatories on the one hand, and the recusant churchmen on the other. We find him at this point of time complaining bitterly to the pope of the inertness of Pippin in helping him to recover the usurped lands of the three archbishoprics, and his backwardness in aiding in the suppression of the schism; and avowing that without the co-operation of the prince he had no hopes of success in either attempt. His only course, therefore, was to fall in with, and promote by all the means in his power, the political schemes of the latter; and that he did so is conclusively proved by his prompt consent to place the crown upon the head of the usurper as soon as the response from Rome had furnished him with the all-sufficient authority of the holy see. Zachary, on the other hand, was at this point of time looking to Pippin for deliverance from the vexations of Greeks and Lombards, and the complete possession of the territories which he and his predecessors had so clamorously demanded.[d] It is moreover not very probable that, if either Boniface or the pope had regarded Pippin as unfriendly to the Church, they should have so promptly assented to an odious act of injustice to the legitimate line of princes, to whatever state of feebleness and inefficiency they might have fallen through the treasonable encroachments of their own servants. Reflecting, then, that the legate was present at both the diets of Attigny (751, 752); that the embassy of Fulrad and Burchard followed closely upon that of Lullus; that the reply of Zachary bears every mark of premeditation; and lastly, that his vicar and legate Boniface consum-

[c] See particularly *Eckhart*, Franc. Orient. tom. i. p. 496.

[d] Conf. *Mascou*, Hist. of the Germans, book xvi. § 34, p. 334.

mated the deed, in the name of the pope, by crowning and anointing Pippin with his own hands,—there can be little room to doubt the full participation of the holy see and its agent in bringing about a revolution which promised advantages of so substantial a kind towards the attainment of the cherished objects of their ambition.

Papal participation: opinions.

If, however, any doubt should remain as to that participation, we think it would be removed by the deliberate judgment of the annalists of the age. In one of these[e] we read that Pippin received the title of king of the Franks "in pursuance of the *sanction* of the Roman pontiff;" in another, "that by the *consent* of the blessed Zacharias the pope, Pippin the prince was *constituted* king of the Franks by Boniface," &c.;[f] again, in a third, that "in conformity with the *ordinance* of the Roman pontiff Pippin assumed the royal title;"[g] again, in a fourth, we read that, "by the *authority* of the Roman pontiff, Pippin, from being mayor of the palace, was *constituted* king;" and a fifth writer of the age informs us, that "Pope Zachary, by *authority* of the Apostle Peter, *issued his mandate* to the people of the Franks that Pippin, who already wielded the royal power, should with it enjoy the royal dignity."[h] These writers, it should be observed, one and all took the view of the transaction the papacy was at all times most anxious to uphold. And, in fact, the application of Pippin substantially committed to the arbitrament of the holy see the highest of all political questions—*the right of a sovereign to his throne.* Such an advantage was not likely to be overlooked by a power which had hitherto perseveringly endeavoured to obliterate the distinction between counsel and precept, advice and command.[i]

[e] *Annal. Bertin.*: "Hoc anno, secundum Romani pontificis sanctionem, Pippinus rex Francorum appellatus est."

[f] *Annal. Mettens.*: "Ex consensu beati Zachariæ papæ urbis Pippinus princeps a Bonifacio rex Francorum constituitur," &c.

[g] *Ann. Laur.*: "Secundum Rom. pont. sanctionem Pippinus rex appellatus est."

[h] *Annal. Fuld.*: "Zacharias papa, ex auctoritate S. Petri apost., mandat populo Francorum ut Pippinus, qui potestate regia utebatur, nominis quoque dignitate frueretur."

[i] It may be said that all counsel or advice given "virtute officii" is in the nature of precept. Whatever was done by the popes was done "by the authority of St. Peter," &c.; and when invested with that authority, their responses were "as the oracles of God." The popes themselves took no notice of the distinction between the language of advice and command in their own

The tranquil elevation of the new family to the throne of the Franks appears upon the whole before us as the natural result of that intimate alliance which had for some time past been growing up between the Church and the government of France. The advantage on the part of Pippin was immediate and palpable, —*he* had gained a throne: but the pontiff *had established a precedent* which by skilful management might elevate him to be the arbiter and dispenser of thrones. We repeat, therefore, that the value of such a precedent could not remain long hidden from the eagle-glance of a power whose existence depended upon close observation of, and prompt practice upon, the natural infirmities of the human character and the public mind of nations.

The precedent.

Pope Zachary died on the 15th of March 752; and was succeeded by Stephen, a presbyter of the Roman church. The new pontiff obtained from the Lombard king Aistulph a ratification of the treaty concluded with Rachis by his predecessor. But scarcely a twelvemonth afterwards, Aistulph, in contempt of his engagements, invaded the so-called duchy of Rome with the avowed purpose of incorporating the city and its territory with the bulk of his dominions.[j] In this extremity, the pope appealed for protection to his nominal sovereign the heretical emperor Constantine, surnamed Copronymus; but the latter was too much embarrassed at home by the difficulties in which his obstinate efforts to extirpate image-worship among his subjects had involved him to attend to the interests of his religious opponent, however closely connected with his own. As to the Lombard prince, supplications, remonstrances, menaces, bribes, had been lavished upon him without success; his uniform reply was, "Yield, or await your fate from the edge of the sword."

Pope Stephen and Aistulph king of the Lombards.

Reflecting, indeed, upon the political position of the papacy at this moment,[k] we find it surrounded with difficulty. The Lombard princes, it appears,

The papal policy.

language; and when their *ex-officio* suggestions were accepted and acted upon, the conduct of the recipient was always construed into an overt act of obedience to a lawful mandate.

[j] *Anastas.* Biblioth. in Vit. Steph. III.; *Baron.* Ann. 752, §§ 13, 14.

[k] See c. i. of this Book, pp. 247-249.

had completely misconceived their relations to the holy see. The latter claimed, with astonishing hardihood, the entire benefit of the Lombard conquests; while the former naturally conceived themselves entitled to the sovereignty of the territories wrested from their adversaries the Byzantines—the duchy of Rome among the rest—as enemy's property. The claims of the Church as proprietress of the various territories still within the lawful dominion of the emperor, and her liabilities as his subject, were so confounded together, that at this distance of time it is difficult to discover whether she herself was sensible of any distinction. All indications tend to the inference that the Byzantine governors of Rome were in fact dependents upon the pontiff, whom the weakness of the government had long since raised to the political chiefship of the city and its appurtenant territory. That territory the pope dealt with as his own; he negotiated and fought for it as his own; he entered into foreign alliances, and treated or tampered with the subjects of his neighbours, for its defence or augmentation;[l] and he claimed every inch of ground won from his own sovereign by his sovereign's enemies as at once devolving upon himself in full property.[m] As it might serve his turn, he was either the friend or the foe of the emperor,—he was the adversary or the ally of the emperor's foes. His spiritual influence was freely used for the purposes of this ambidextrous policy; and as long as its proper drift remained undetected, it was successful. It had overawed the able and gallant Luitprand; the feeble Rachis was its dupe and victim: but the rude soldier who now occupied the throne of the Lombards had cast off the trammels of papal influence; and the foiled pontiff was driven by the short-sighted violence of his adversary to throw himself without reserve into the arms of a power whose protectorate might, under ordinary circumstances, have appeared no less dangerous than the open hostility of the Lombards.

But now, by the zeal and activity of Boniface and the far-sighted policy of Pope Zachary, the relations of the

[l] Conf. c. i. pp. 245, 246 of this Book.
[m] As in the case of Perugia; see ch. i. p. 268 of this Book.

Journey of Pope Stephen III. to the court of Aistulph.

holy see with the Frankish kingdom had been placed upon a footing which not only left little ground to apprehend any hostile interference with the peculiar views of the papacy in Italy, but, on the contrary, opened an unbounded prospect of territorial acquisition at home and of spiritual influence abroad. Yet Pope Stephen III. was not without hope that the course theretofore pursued might still avail him to avert the necessity of so critical a step. He therefore prepared to visit the capital of his enemy, and to repeat the experiment which had succeeded so well in the hands of his predecessor Zachary. Before his departure, he strengthened the hearts of his people by litanies and prayers for deliverance from the imminent peril which threatened them. He carried in his arms the "Acheiropoeta," or image of the "Virgin Mother of God" made without hands, in solemn procession from her shrine to the church of the Præsepe; "and," we are told, "the people followed barefooted and weeping, strewing ashes on their heads, and carrying with them the broken treaty suspended to the cross of Christ." He gave notice to the king of the Franks that he intended, upon the approach of the Lombards to Rome, to seek an asylum within his dominions; but delayed his departure as long as any hope remained that the storm might, as on former occasions, pass over without immediate injury. But when, in the year 753, he heard that Aistulph had taken Ravenna, and reduced the Greek exarchate into his possession, he commended his flock "to the gracious protection of the prince of the apostles," and took the road to Pavia, still hoping to soften the obdurate heart of the Lombard by a moving appeal to his religion or his interests. But Aistulph was equally deaf to argument, remonstrance, or censure; and the pope became

Flight of the pope.

seriously alarmed lest he might be detained as the prisoner of his impracticable host. In this state of apprehension, Stephen and his suite suddenly took horse; they hastened with all speed to cross the pass of St. Bernard, and never drew bit until they had reached the monastery of St. Maurice in the Valais.[n]

[n] *Anastas.* Vit. Steph. Pap. ap. *Murat.* Ss. Rr. Ital. tom. iii. p. 168.

That this was a preconcerted movement appears from the circumstance that two deputies from Pippin, in the persons of the abbot Fulrad of St. Denis and Duke Rothard, were in readiness to meet and entertain the pontiff upon his entrance into the Frankish dominions, and to conduct him to the presence of the king, then resident at Pontyon.[o] The king's sons, Carlmann and Charles (Charlemagne), with a large retinue of lords and prelates, advanced to the distance of one hundred miles from the residence to welcome the pope. When the escort arrived within three miles of the royal villa, the pontiff found the king with all his court awaiting his arrival. As soon as he came in sight, the latter dismounted, and went forward on foot to meet him; Pippin and all his suite then prostrated themselves before him, and in that posture devoutly received his benediction. After that the king walked for some distance beside the palfrey of the pope, performing the humble office of bridle-groom. "Then," says the biographer Anastasius, "did the man of God, with all his company, lift up their voices with one accord, rendering glory and thanksgiving unto Almighty God with hymns and spiritual songs, until they entered the gates of the palace."[p]

His reception at the court of France.

The moral effect of this extraordinary reception must

[o] The modern Pont-sur-Yonne, in the department of that name.

[p] *Anastas.* ubi sup. The words used by the reporters and biographers are of some historical importance, especially with reference to the menial service said to have been performed to the pope by Pippin: "Cui (Stephano) et *vice stratoris* usque ad aliquantum locum ejus sellarem properavit;" literally, "He walked a certain space beside his (Stephen's) palfrey *in the place, or capacity, of groom.*" But the greater Frankish annalists, who give the most detailed accounts of the meeting (*Annal. Mettens.* an. 753; *Annal. Einhardi;* and *Chron. Moissiacence,* ap. *Pertz,* tom. i. pp. 331, 293, 139), are altogether silent as to the alleged prostration and service, nor do they make any mention of the three-mile procession. On the other hand, the papal biographer *is altogether silent* upon the alleged self-humiliation of the pope, which, the annalists tell us, took place on the following day. Anastasius says that the negotiation occurred *immediately* upon the arrival of the pope, and at a *private* interview with the king. The annalists affirm that the subject of the pope's visit was not entered upon till the following day, and that he then appeared before the king *in public,* clothed in sackcloth and with ashes on his head, craving aid against the enemies of God and St. Peter. No hint of these incidents is found in the minor Frankish annalists. Though Anastasius wrote at an earlier period than most of the latter, it is nevertheless believed that they wrote from much more ancient accounts. But the *truth* of the statement of Anastasius is of less importance than the fact that it met with almost universal belief, and that it has been converted into a formidable instrument for the promotion of the papal scheme.

Moral and political effect of the reception.

have been great at the time. Both parties, however, may be believed to have acted upon the impulse of the moment, without reflecting on the construction that might thereafter be put upon their reciprocal demeanour. But when the pontiff or his successors reflected on the *kind* of homage paid by the most powerful monarch of the age to the vicar of St. Peter, the advantage to be derived from it lay under the eye of the papacy in too bold relief to be easily overlooked. As soon as it became (whether truly or falsely) a matter of universal belief that the great king of the Franks had fallen down and worshipped—that he had performed the menial office of groom to the successor of St. Peter, no doubt could, in that age of simple faith or credulity, be entertained of the transcendental dignity and authority of him to whom such honour was rendered. It may be admitted that the story of the papal biographer is open to suspicion; yet it soon became a matter of perspicuous belief, confirmed and strengthened by the whole course of subsequent events.

Negotiations, and treaty of Pontyon.

The substance and subjects of the ensuing negotiation between Pippin and the pontiff is involved in some obscurity; the form is ostentatiously described by the papal biographer. On the day after his arrival at Pontyon, we are told, the pope and his companions appeared before the king clothed in sackcloth and with ashes upon their heads. The pontiff prostrated himself upon the earth before the temporal prince, and adjured him, by the mercy of Almighty God and the merits of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, to hasten to the rescue of the church and people of Rome. In this humble posture the pastor of the Christian Church obstinately persisted, until the king and his two sons had pledged hand and oath to the fulfilment of the papal petition: the suppliant then assumed the joyous and erect posture of one who had been suddenly raised from a state of bondage to liberty and life. Pippin, his sons, his court, and his nobles, swore to cause ample satisfaction to be rendered to the pope and the Church; they engaged to reduce the Lombards to submission, and to insist upon the

amplest restitution of all the "rights and possessions" of the "republic" in Italy.[q] The terms of this treaty, if it may be so called, are so large and indefinite that it is difficult to say whether any definite understanding was at this time come to between the contracting parties. Whatever that understanding was, the purport of the treaty was soon afterwards confirmed at a full assembly of the estates of the realm, held in the presence of the pope at Quiercy-sur-Oise.[r] The practical exposition must be gathered from subsequent events.

Diet of Quiercy-sur-Oise.

During the winter of the year 753 to 754, Pope Stephen resided in the monastery of St. Denis near Paris, and was there frequently visited by Pippin and his two sons. Within that period he was reduced to the verge of the grave by a severe malady; but was, we are told, by the intercession of holy Dionysius, the patron saint of the monastery, suddenly and miraculously restored to perfect health. In testimony of his gratitude for this gracious interposition, Stephen announced his intention to consecrate an altar in the abbey church in honour of the apostles Peter and Paul. The ceremony was performed in the presence of the king and queen, the two princes, and a numerous assemblage of ecclesiastics and persons of all ranks. In the midst of the service, the pope, as if impelled by some sudden inspiration, broke off, and proclaimed Pippin and his consort Bertrada king and queen of the Franks. He bestowed the like grace upon the two princes Carlmann and Charles (Charlemagne); and after a solemn blessing upon the whole congregation, he addressed the nobles and dignitaries present, "binding them by the authority of St. Peter, by God himself delegated and intrusted to him, that, for all ages to come, they should

Coronation of Pippin and his two sons by Stephen III.

[q] *Annal. Moissiac.* ap. *Pertz*, tom. i. p. 293; *Annal. Mettens. ibid.* p. 331; *Anastasius*, ubi sup. The words used by the latter are the following: "*Reipublicæ* jura seu loca reddere modis omnibus." The word "respublica" is ambiguous. It is generally used to denote the whole state or empire; and the promise might in this sense be made to extend to every thing still possessed by the emperor in Italy. But as the pope certainly never intended that any part of those territories should be restored to the heretical emperor, it is most probable that the term "respublica" merely had reference to the so-called duchy of Rome and the districts claimed as the special patrimony of the Church.

[r] *Anast.* ap. *Murat.* tom. iii. pt. i. p. 169. The place is named Carisiacum.

not presume to choose them a king from any other race or family but that which had now been elected and set apart by Divine Providence *for the protection of the most holy and apostolic see;* and by him, *the vicar of St. Peter, yea, even by our Lord Jesus Christ himself,* by that most holy unction raised up and consecrated unto the royal dignity."[s] The pope thereupon pronounced a solemn sentence of excommunication and anathema upon any transgression of the precept which annexed that sovereignty exclusively and for ever to the family and posterity of Pippin.[t]

Papal view of this transaction.

It is of no great historical importance to ascertain whether this act of consecration was spontaneous or premeditated on either side. Yet there were reasons why it should have been desirable both to Pippin and the pope. The former must have been anxious to strengthen his title, and to save harmless the principle of hereditary succession, so seriously shaken by the detrusion of the Merovingians: a scion of that family might still be forthcoming to put in an appeal to the ancient attachment of the people; a disposition which, it may have been thought, so solemn an act of appropriation by the supreme pastor of the Church might extinguish, and the reigning dynasty be invested with a sanctity not enjoyed by that it had supplanted. On the other hand, the pontiff, to whom so lofty a function was tacitly assigned, could not but rejoice at the opportunity of exercising a power little less than divine. And, in truth, we are not long left in the dark as to the view taken by the pope himself of this celebrated transaction. "You have received," he says, in a letter written shortly afterwards to Pippin and his sons, "that which none of your ancestors or kindred have been deemed worthy to receive; inasmuch as the prince of the apostles has chosen you among all families and nations to be his own *peculiar servants*,[u] and hath committed all his causes unto your hands: and surely *you shall render unto God*

[s] *Baron.* (ex Areopagiticis) Ann. 754, p. 590.

[t] *Clausula de Pipp. in Franc. Reg. Consec.* ap. *D. Bouquet*, tom. v. p. 9.

[u] "Peculiares;" a term used in the ninth century in the sense of *property*, whether applied to persons or things. *Ducange*, Gloss. ad voc. "Peculiaris."

a strict account of the manner in which you shall have advocated the rights of the doorkeeper of the kingdom of heaven."[v]

Pippin invades Lombardy.

The sequel proves how well Stephen had succeeded in impressing Pippin with the nature and extent of the obligations thus cast upon him. The first and most important of these lay in the tacit stipulation that he (Pippin) was to reap no benefit, personal or political, from the labour and expense he was called upon to incur. The entire profit was to result to the "respublica," or to the holy see, in such manner as the pontiff should thereafter determine. Yet the king, with the utmost promptitude, despatched messengers to the court of Aistulph, demanding the amplest satisfaction to the pontiff and church of Rome for all the injuries and losses he had inflicted upon them. To this demand Aistulph returned a defiant refusal; and in the spring of the year 754 Pippin crossed the Alps with an army, to which the Lombards could oppose no effectual resistance in the field. But the consideration that he was fighting for a cause foreign from his own or his people's interests probably inclined him to a moderate course, and he once more tried the effect of negotiation. His envoys demanded the restitution of the Pentapolis, or five cities of the ancient Picenum, besides the towns of Narni and Cecanum in Umbria, to the church and "republic" of Rome; for which restitution he offered an indemnity of 12,000 solidi. It is remarkable that all these places and districts had been very recently severed from the Greek exarchate,—districts, in fact, to which Aistulph possessed the clearest title which the right of conquest can give, and which could be reclaimed by Rome, whether republic or church, only as the subject of the Byzantine Cæsars. But the difficulties that might have arisen from this state of things concerned rather the pope than the king of the Franks; the most important consideration in his case being how to get rid of a burdensome

[v] *Steph.* Pap. Ep. ad Pipp. &c. ap. *D. Bouq.* tom. v.: "Pro 'justitiâ' ipsius *janitoris* regni cœlorum." It will be remembered that this was the formidable metaphor which so greatly alarmed King Oswy of Northumbria. See c. iii. of this Book, p. 319.

obligation at the least expense to himself and his people. But the very moderation of the terms proposed contributed probably to weaken their chance of acceptance. Aistulph peremptorily rejected the king's ultimatum; declaring that he would yield to the pope no greater boon than his permission to return to Rome whenever such should be his pleasure. Pippin now pushed on to Pavia, where Aistulph had resolved to make his stand till the advance of the season, the effects of the climate, and the activity of his own operations on the flanks and rear of the invaders, should compel them to retreat. But the Frankish king pushed the siege with so much vigour and success that the heart of the Lombard failed him; and he consented to the required restitutions, with the additional mortification of paying the expenses of the war, besides an annual tribute of 5000 solidi, in token of vassalage to the Frankish crown. The treaty was ratified by the oath of the Lombard king and his nobility; and forty hostages from the most distinguished families in the kingdom were given up as pledges for its fulfilment. Pippin formally transferred the ceded districts *to the pope;* and when he evacuated Italy, left his chancellor, Fulrad abbot of St. Denis, behind him to enforce the fulfilment of the treaty.[w]

Submission of Aistulph, and treaty of Pavia.

Though we are told that a Greek envoy accompanied the pope to the court of Pippin, no further mention of that personage occurs in the course of the transactions at Pontyon and Quiercy. Neither in the accounts we possess of those negotiations, nor in the terms of the treaty of Pavia,—as far as our information extends,—is any notice taken of the Greek emperor or his rights. The only *parties* who appear to have any interest in the result are, on the one side the pope and the Romans, and on the other the Lombards: the only *names* mentioned are those of Pippin and the Franks, the pope and the Romans, Aistulph and the Lombards. The *objects* specified in the treaties are, "justice to St. Peter," and "restitution of the rights of the Roman republic." The bearing of these facts upon the

Actual relation of the papacy to the empire.

[w] *Anastas.* ubi sup. pp. 169, 170; *Annall. Mettens. et Moissiac.* ap. *Pertz*, loc. cit.

irreconcilable theological quarrel which divided the Greek and Latin churches—to which we shall hereafter have occasion to refer more particularly—leaves no doubt that religious alienation, political isolation, and the desire of territorial aggrandisement, had obliterated from the minds of the Roman pontiffs all memory or sense of allegiance to their Byzantine masters, and awakened the most sanguine hopes of profiting by their weakness, and sharing their spoils.

Retreat of Pippin.

Pope Stephen would fain have persuaded Pippin to tarry in Italy until he should have been put into actual possession of the ceded territories. But Pippin was of opinion that he had done enough to redeem his costly engagements to the pope, and satisfied himself by deputing to others the execution of the treaty he had extorted. The pope was left in the enjoyment of a magnificent "donation" on paper, but destitute of the means to put himself into possession of an acre of the promised land. In submitting to the mortifying terms of the treaty of Pavia, Aistulph had no other object than to get rid of the invaders, and to gain time. No sooner, therefore, was the Frankish heriban dismissed for the season, than Aistulph collected his scattered divisions, and resumed his attacks upon the territories of the Church. The pope, incensed as much at the imputed tergiversation of Pippin as at the perfidy of the Lombard, very emphatically reminded his Frankish protectors that they would not be permitted thus to trifle with the terms of a treaty to which the holy see was a party. "We pray you," he writes, "most excellent sons in the Lord, to take compassion upon the holy church of God and St. Peter, and to *put her in possession of all* that by your donation you are firmly tied and bound to render unto her. Remember, and in your heart's core hold fast by, the promises you have made unto the keeper of the gates of the kingdom of heaven. Think not that you will be permitted to keep your promise by mere words; hasten rather to expedite the *delivery* of your *donation*, that you may not mourn your remissness to all eternity. For the life of this world is short

Stephen claims the fulfilment of the treaty.

indeed; like a shadow it becometh shorter, and like a garment it waxeth old. Rather, therefore, lay hold of that eternal life which the blessed Peter holds out to you, in his cause and that of righteousness. Accomplish, therefore, the good work you have begun; for know that the prince of the apostles holds your chirograph as firmly as he holds the donations therein set forth. And surely ye shall fulfil it, lest, when the great Judge shall come to judge the living and the dead, and to chastise the world with fire, the same prince of the apostles shall draw forth your broken covenant in judgment against you. We therefore adjure you, by Almighty God, by His mother the ever-glorious Virgin, by the blessed princes of the apostles Peter and Paul, and by the tremendous day of judgment, that you cause to be delivered up all towns, places and districts, hostages and captives unto St. Peter, and all that to your donation belongs; because *for that purpose it was that the Lord, by my humility and the mediation of the blessed Peter, anointed you to be kings, that through you the Church might be exalted*, and the prince of the apostles receive his righteous due."[x]

Character of the donation of Pippin.

It should be observed, that the ceded districts, though but indistinctly marked out by the annalists, must have comprised by far the largest portion of what remained of the late exarchate of Ravenna. The pope therefore, by this treaty, without shame or hesitation, annexed to his church in full property a territory belonging *de jure* (at least as far as he was concerned) to his acknowledged sovereign. That territory he accepted in the absolute form of a "*donation*," or free gift, from a stranger, whom he himself had bribed or hired, without provocation or pretext, to rob both his master and his master's enemy for his own exclusive profit. Pippin acquired none of the rights of the sovereigns he had plundered, while he adopted more than all the obligations the pontiff could have called upon the latter to fulfil. The pope contracted no temporal duty in return: he was, indeed, quite willing that his debt should be registered in heaven; but the payment was to

[x] Ep. Steph. Pap. ap. *D. Bouq.* tom. v. p. 488.

be sought there likewise. The debt of the church-temporal was adroitly transferred to the account of the church-spiritual; a state of reciprocity in which the policy of the church of Rome contrived for centuries to retain her spiritual subjects.

But Constantine V. (Copronymus) was reputed a heretic of the blackest die, therefore entitled to no religious or political sympathy. As a protector he was impotent; as a friend not to be trusted: his sovereignty was merely titular, his power evanescent. Such a position, in such an age, removed every consideration of loyalty or allegiance far out of sight; and Stephen felt no more serious scruple in appropriating the plunder of his ostensible sovereign than in wresting it from the grasp of the "perfidious" Lombards. Again, it should not be overlooked that the interposition of the term "respublica" in the articles of treaty was simply colourable. The donation was taken, not to Rome as a state or body politic, but to the "blessed Peter, prince of the apostles," and to his church; it was a bond payable to the "doorkeeper of the kingdom of heaven," and its redemption was the price of admission to his realm above. The pontiff moreover desired it to be understood, that it was with the sole view to insure such payment that Pippin and his sons had been anointed kings; so that "through them the Church might be exalted, and the prince of the apostles receive his righteous due." After this, we can entertain no doubt that the pope required the annexation of all these extensive territories in full sovereignty to the "patrimony of St. Peter;" and that the treaties of Pontyon, of Quiercy, and Pavia, entitled him to demand from both parties, not only a full recognition of right, but also the corporeal possession of all towns, places, and districts comprised in the donation, together with all hostages, captives, and other securities for the full delivery and quiet enjoyment of the same.

Its scope and intent.

But the trials of Stephen III. were not yet at an end. In the winter of the year 754 to 755, Aistulph suddenly appeared with overwhelming forces before the gates of Rome, and invested the city

Aistulph again invades the "patrimony."

on all sides. His wild hordes spared neither churches nor shrines. The contagion of iconoclasm had infected his troops, and contributed to the wanton destruction of sacred objects: they broke into and plundered the churches; they threw the consecrated elements which they found upon the altars into their cauldrons, and mixed them in their messes; they spitted the sacred images on their swords, and flung them off into the blazing temples. The suburbs of Rome, and every house, hovel, or building that impeded the operations of the besiegers, were levelled with the earth. For a period of two months the Romans defended themselves with desperate valour. Their proposals for peace were repelled with scorn and menace. Aistulph could be brought to no more favourable terms than immediate and unconditional surrender, and the delivery of the pontiff into his hands: if these terms were complied with, he promised the citizens to spare their lives; if refused, he swore to put to the sword man, woman, and child, and to raze the city to the ground.[y]

Siege of Rome.

But for some time previously to the commencement of the siege, Pope Stephen had foreseen, and, to the best of his ability, provided against the danger. Due preparations were made to support and encourage the citizens; and messengers were despatched to France with pressing supplications for relief from the impending peril. The siege-operations before Rome, it appears, began in the month of January; and before the first day of March 755 King Pippin was encamped in the plains of Lombardy, threatening the Lombard capital with immediate danger. Aistulph was compelled to withdraw from Rome at the very moment when the citizens were reduced to the extremity of distress, and hasten by forced marches to relieve Pavia. But, sensible that he was overmatched in the field, and with the knowledge that the views of Pippin did not extend beyond the deliverance of Rome, and the surrender of his conquests to the pope, with an indemnity for the ex-

Pippin raises the siege of Rome.

[y] *Anastas.* Vit. Steph. III. ap. *Murat.* tom. iii. p. 173; Ep. *Steph.* III. ap. *D. Bouq.* tom. v. p. 490; *Fredig.* Chron. Contin. *ibid.* p. 3.

penses of the war, he humbly proposed that the terms of peace should be determined by the arbitrament of the great nobility and clergy of the Frankish host. This offer was accepted: the arbitrators were appointed; and the award directed that Aistulph should pay to Pippin one-third of the treasure of his kingdom for the costs of the war, with gratuities to the principal officers; that he should thenceforward punctually discharge the trifling tribute stipulated by the prior treaty; that he should deliver to the pope all the lands, cities, and districts therein comprehended; and again make oath and give hostages for the performance of these obligations.[z]

Second treaty of Pavia.

These terms were accepted by Aistulph; and this time better care was taken to secure their fulfilment. Fulrad abbot of St. Denis, as commissioner of Pippin, received the surrender of Ravenna and the Pentapolis. The king then caused a formal deed of donation to be drawn up, whereby he made over "*to the apostle Peter and the holy Roman church* all the cities, towns, territories, and jurisdictions therein named, to be held and enjoyed by the pontiffs of the apostolic see for ever."[a] Fulrad, after taking formal possession in the name of the pope, proceeded to Rome, and dutifully presented the deed to the holy father, with the keys of the ceded cities and the hostages taken from the citizens for their future fidelity.

Confirmation and execution of the "donation."

The accidental death of Aistulph by a fall from his horse in the chase (A.D. 756) opened a new field to the enterprising genius of the pope. The duke Desiderius of Tuscany and the retired king Rachis became rival candidates for the vacant throne. The former, however, got the start of his opponent, and secured the favour of Stephen. Fulrad, accompanied by Paul, the brother of the pontiff, re-

Death of Aistulph, and elevation of Desiderius.

[z] *Anastas.* Vit. Steph. III. loc. cit. p. 173; *Fredig.* ubi sup. p. 4.

[a] *Anastas.* in Vit. Steph. III. loc. cit. p. 171, says that the deed of donation was extant in the archives of the holy see in his own times. The ceded territory consisted of the cities of Ravenna, Rimini, Pesaro, Fano, Cesena, Sennigaglia, Eso, Forlimpopoli, Forli, Susubbio, Monferrata, Commachio, Urbino, Narni, and several places whose names have vanished from our modern maps; such as Acerragio, Monte Lucari, Serra, Castellum St. Mariani, Bobri, Callio, and Luculo.

paired to the camp of Desiderius, and obtained from him a deed of gift in favour of the holy see, comprehending the cities and territories of Ferrara, Castrum Tiberiacum, and Faenza. Fulrad after this joined the forces of Desiderius with a body of Frankish troops left at his disposal in Italy; the pope ordered Rachis back to his convent, and his rival was acknowledged king of the Lombards without further opposition.[b]

Extortion of Stephen.

But Stephen could not rest satisfied with his position in Italy until the last fragment of the Greek possessions was delivered into his hands. Soon after the accession of Desiderius, he obtained from him a verbal cession of the cities of Bologna, Osimo, and Ancona; and endeavoured to prevail upon Pippin, as *advocate* of the Church, to become bound for the fulfilment of this promise. He urged the king "to cause a quick end to be made to the cause of his great patron St. Peter; and with that view, to command all *the other cities which were formerly comprised under one dominion*,[c] with all their territories, forests and dependencies, *in integro*, to be given up to his spiritual mother the Church, that she might live in perfect peace and happiness; for that the people of the Church could not move freely beyond their own frontier without the possession of those cities, *which had always been connected with them under one government*."[d] How far he was successful in his attempts to interest the Frankish prince in his ambitious schemes, does not appear; but Desiderius afterwards declined to perform his engagement, upon grounds with which the conduct of Stephen himself supplied him. It appeared, namely, that while the pope was exacting from Desiderius new conditions as the price of his support, he was at the same time busy in effecting the dismemberment of his kingdom. He had not only drawn the great Lombard duchies of Beneventum and Spoletum into the closest intimacy with the holy see, but had encour-

Treachery of Stephen III.

[b] *Anastas.* ubi sup.

[c] The whole exarchate of Ravenna, as lately held by the Greeks.

[d] Ep. Steph. Pap. III. ap. *D. Bouq.* tom. v. p. 499. After duly informing the king that to his certain knowledge the late king Aistulph was now in hell, he gives the particulars of the further cessions extorted from Desiderius.

aged them to renounce their dependence upon the crown of Lombardy.[e] Alarmed and irritated by such duplicity and treachery, Desiderius hastened to reduce the revolted dukes to obedience. While engaged in these operations, the active and ambitious Stephen passed from the scene; and was succeeded by his brother, the deacon Paul. Desiderius had marched his armies through the districts lately ceded to the pope, for the purpose of quelling the rebellion of his Beneventine and Spoletan subjects. Paul complained of this to Pippin, as an invasion of the territory of the Church.[f] With unparalleled effrontery, he informed the king of the Franks that the people of the duchies had thrown themselves upon the protection of the Frankish monarchy; but that now Desiderius, to the great contempt and disparagement of his (Pippin's) royal dignity, had dared to waste the towns and villages of his clients with fire and sword; that he had taken prisoner Albinus duke of Spoletum, *who had but a short time before sworn allegiance to St. Peter and to Pippin*, with several of his nobles, and after severely wounding and ill-treating them, now detained them in chains.[g]

Paul I. pope.

His complaint.

But an offence of greater magnitude remained behind. The king of the Lombards, said Pope Paul in his letter of complaint to Pippin, had entered into a treasonable negotiation with the recreant Byzantines; and was at that moment engaged in concerting with the emissaries of the emperor an attack upon the city of Ravenna both by sea and land. The intelligence, however, does not appear to have produced the desired effect: Desiderius still delayed the surrender of Bologna, Ancona, Osimo, and Imola; and the pope continued to pour his importunities into the ear of

Charges' Desiderius with conspiracy against the holy see.

[e] "The people of Spoletum," says Stephen, in the letter last quoted, "have taken to themselves a duke *from the hand of the blessed Peter*; and so likewise the *Beneventines* have through us commended themselves to your favour." It admits, therefore, of no doubt, that the pope had tampered with the loyalty of the subjects of Desiderius, at the very time he was extorting cessions from him as the price of his friendship and support.

[f] A glance at the map will show that the cessions in question almost barred the access of the central government to the dependent duchies of the south. The treaty could not have contemplated such an isolation.

[g] Ep. *Paul.* Pap. I. ap. *D. Bouq.* tom. v. pp. 503, 504.

Pippin. He spared neither flatteries nor threats to prevail upon the king once more to stretch forth his arm to enforce the demands of the holy see.[h] His alarm assumed a more lively character as soon as it was found that the Byzantines had by every means of active intrigue, but more particularly by disseminating the dangerous principles of iconoclasm, endeavoured to disturb the Church in her Ravennatine dependencies. The demonstrations of a maritime invasion were continued; and it suited the papal policy, whether truly or falsely, to represent every movement of Desiderius as evidence of a criminal compact with the spiritual enemy of the Church, and of the protecting power whose interests the pontiff on all occasions identified with those of his see and the success of his political schemes.

Results.

Throughout these latter transactions the zeal of Pippin does not appear to have burnt very brightly. At length, however, the persevering importunities of Pope Paul produced some fruits. In the year 760 Pippin sent Remidius archbishop of Rouen and duke Autchar to the court of Desiderius, to compel him to give satisfaction to the pope—to what extent we are uninformed.[i] Envoys or representatives of the Frankish king took up their permanent residence in Italy, and became the medium of communication between the holy see and the Lombards. With this state of things the pope appeared to be for the present satisfied.[j]

[h] Ep. *Paul.* Pap. I. ep. iv. ap. *D. Bouq.* ubi sup. p. 504.

[i] Ep. *Paul.* Pap. I. ad Pipp. loc. cit. p. 522.

[j] Ep. *Paul.* Pap. I. epp. viii. xxiv. xxv. xxvi. ubi sup. pp. 509 et sqq.

CHAPTER VII.

APPROACHES OF THE PAPACY TO TEMPORAL SOVEREIGNTY. (II.)

Progress of Rome in the eighth century—State of law and legislation—Accession of Charlemagne—Project of Queen Bertrada—Disorders in Rome—Constantine and Philip, popes—Stephen IV. pope—Ferocity of faction—Stephen IV. against Desiderius and the Lombards—Remonstrance of the pope against the project of Bertrada—Menaces of the pope—Divorce of Charlemagne and Irmengarda—Pope Stephen's decree to regulate the papal elections—Disorders in Rome—The Lombard faction—Paul Afiarta—Humiliation and death of Stephen IV.—Hadrian I. pope—Suppression of sedition—Desiderius invades the "patrimony"—Flight of Gerberga, widow of Carlmann—Desiderius and Gerberga—He espouses her cause—His advance to Rome—Sudden retreat—Charlemagne invades Lombardy—Winter campaign in Italy—Foreign policy of the papacy—Approaches of the papacy to political sovereignty—Siege of Pavia—*First* expedition of Charlemagne to Rome—Charlemagne at Rome—ratifies the treaties of Pontyon and Quiercy—The *donation of Charlemagne*—obtained by misrepresentation or fraud—Execution of the deed of donation—Charlemagne "patrician"—Surrender and deposition of Desiderius—Charlemagne *king of Italy*—Gains of the papacy—Position of the papacy in respect of the lands granted—Actual result.

Progress of the papacy in the eighth century.

The donation of Pippin the Short forms an epoch in the history of the advancement of the papacy to temporal sovereignty. But Rome had not yet formally renounced her dependence upon Constantinople. It is even probable that a Byzantine governor still resided there; and it is known that the pontiffs continued for some time longer to date their public acts by the current year of the Byzantine Cæsars.[a] The senate and people of Rome retain a name and place in history; nor have we reason to believe that they had as yet publicly or officially recognised any constitutional power or authority in their bishop distinct from his spiritual functions. But it has been rightly observed,[b] that

[a] *Art de vér. les Dates*, tom. i. p. 259; and conf. *Fleury*, H. E. tom. ix. liv. xliii. p. 409.

[b] *Fleury*, ubi sup. p. 408.

Pope Paul I., after the example of his predecessor Stephen, had systematically confounded his temporal with his spiritual faculties. We may add, that in every document of this and the preceding pontificate the republic and the papacy are in such wise identified with each other, as to appear to form one body-corporate, having no distinct existence or interests. And this was the medium through which it was most important to the advancement of the pontificate that the world at large should view the relation in question. The originally voluntary and spontaneous chieftainship of the popes was to be made to assume a definite constitutional form; not so much by express claim or enactment, as by gradually acquired habits of submission at home and general estimation abroad. No course could be better adapted for the purpose than that pursued by the pontiffs of Rome. Though possessed of no defined prerogative within the city or its appendant territory, the wealth and revenue of the State was for the most part at their disposal; they belonged, indeed, neither to the senate nor the people, but their spiritual character raised them to an eminence immeasurably above both. Such advantages, under proper management, could not fail to facilitate a *de-facto* concentration of political power in their hands, amply compensating by its own indefinite and illimitable character the absence of a formal legislative prerogative. Abroad the state or republic of Rome was known only through the pope; every recorded transaction with foreign states, Constantinople itself not excepted, passed through his hands, or those of his accredited agents: embassies, correspondence, negotiations, emanated from him; all reports were made to him—apparently to him alone; treaties with foreign powers were concluded in his name; hostages and securities were delivered to and held by him: nor is there in all these transactions any appearance of participation on the part of the Roman republic, at all distinguishable, religiously or politically, from that of the Roman pontiff.

State of law and legislation.

It is true that there were anomalies in this state of things that could not but be obstructive of regular government at home. But in

an age in which habit and custom for the most part supplied the place of law, the papacy was in no worse position than that of the races with which it was brought into contact. In this respect Italy differed little from the rest of Europe. Systematic legislation was irreconcilable with the barbaric character of subsisting governments; and the popes of Rome were as little able to escape the perils and disorders incident to such a state of things, as the kings of the Franks or the Anglo-Saxon royalets of Britain. The progress of civilisation alone can consolidate the diversity of custom and usage into law. The pontifical government at home stood upon no better foundation than that upon which the contemporary princes of the world had to rely for the obedience of their subjects; yet it is remarkable, that this defect in its outward position was never absent from the mind of the papacy; and we think we cannot err in imputing to this cause the unceasing efforts in all its relations to give an authoritative pre-eminence to its own positive system of canon-law. We must hereafter recur to this subject, in connection with the progressive consolidation of the papal power. At present we revert to those political events which imparted to pontifical Rome a standing among the "kingdoms of this world," and which enabled her to avail herself of her spiritual resources with increased vigour and effect.

Accession of Charlemagne.

Pippin, surnamed "the Short," first king of France of the dynasty called after the name of his more celebrated son, died in the year 768. Before his death, he divided the government between his sons Charles,—generally known by the name of "Charlemagne,"[e]—and Carlmann. At the moment of their accession, a transient feeling of jealousy and alienation between the brothers was assuaged by the interference of their mother Bertrada, to whom both princes were sincerely attached. Before the death of Pippin,

[e] I regret to be obliged by French custom to use this awkward appellation. The original historians always name him "Carolus Magnus," and the Germans "Charles the Great"—"Karl der grosse."

Tassilo duke of Bavaria had incurred the penalties of herelitz, or treason, by deserting the standard of his uncle and liege lord.[d] The offence could not be overlooked; and Bertrada, apprehensive of a sanguinary rupture between her sons and their refractory cousin, devised a scheme by which she hoped to effect a reconciliation, and to consolidate the peace by a closer family union. The duke of Bavaria had married a daughter of Desiderius, the king of the Lombards. The duchess had a sister named Irmengarda; Bertrada negotiated a marriage between the latter and her elder son Charles, with a view, through the influence of the sisters, to preserve the peace between their husbands.[e] But events which had in the mean time occurred at Rome overclouded the prospects of the benevolent queen, and so exasperated the fears of the pontiff as to stamp every connection with his Lombard enemy with the brand of treason to the cause of religion and the Church.

Project of Bertrada.

After the death of Paul I., in the month of June 767, Toto, lord or duke of Nepi, a town and district not far distant from the city, had procured the elevation of his brother Constantine, then a layman, to the pontifical throne, by the aid of a party among the populace of Rome. Christopher and Sergius, two priests of the adverse faction, resorted to king Desiderius to expel the intruder; and by his influence or directions the Lombard duke of Spoletum furnished them with a military force to restore order in the city. Duke Toto was killed in an attempt to expel the Lombards: Constantine was deposed and thrown into prison; and the Lombards thought this a favourable opportunity to set up a pope of their own. For that purpose, they forcibly drew forth from his cell a humble recluse named Philip, conducted him to the Lateran, and installed him in the pontifical chair. But Christopher and Sergius

Disorders in Rome. Constantine and Philip popes.

[d] *Einhart, Annales*, ann. 757; *Annal. Laurissiac.* ad eund. ann. Conf. the oath of vassalage under the Frankish princes, ap. *Marculf.* Formulæ, ap. *Canciani*, Barb. Leg. Ant. tom. ii. p. 201.

[e] *Ann. Einhart*, ann. 770; *Ann. Laurissiac.* ad eund. ann. ap. *Pertz*, tom. i. pp. 148, 149; *Ann. Fuld. ibid.* p. 348; *Chron. Moissiac. ibid.* p. 295. Conf. *Baron.* Ann. 770, cum not. *Pagi*, no. iii. p. 61.

now protested as loudly against the elevation of Philip as they had before clamoured against that of Constantine. The Lombard duke found himself unable to maintain his ground against the insurgent populace; and the involuntary intruder Philip was permitted to retire to his cell. The presbytery then went through the form of a valid election; and, after a reputed vacancy of a year and a month, raised Stephen, cardinal-priest of St. Cæcilia, to the pontifical throne by the name of Stephen IV.

The victorious faction glutted their vengeance upon the supporters of Constantine, as well as upon their own treacherous allies, with impartial ferocity. The guiltless intruder Philip was dragged from his retreat and brutally murdered by the populace. Constantine himself, his brother Passivus, and other friends, were deprived of sight, and suffered the most barbarous indignities. The new pope made no movement to check these enormities; and not many days after his election summoned a holy synod in the church of the Lateran, to add further punishment and disgrace to the personal injuries already inflicted upon Constantine and his followers. The blind man was ignominiously dragged before this assembly of Christian fathers, and fiercely interrogated touching the daring impiety he had committed. The miserable man humbly confessed his error; but ventured to insinuate that his elevation to the episcopal dignity from the condition of a layman was not unprecedented, and imprudently called to mind several cases of a like elevation to the pontificate in justification of that part of his own conduct. "But," says the papal biographer, "while he was babbling on in this fashion, the zeal of the holy bishops for the sacred traditions of the fathers was suddenly kindled; they rose with one consent from their seats, and with many kicks and buffets cast him out of the church. All his acts were burnt, his ordinations cancelled; and now all those who had supported or communicated with him cast themselves upon the ground, crying loudly for mercy."[f]

Stephen IV. pope.

Ferocity of the victorious faction.

These atrocities were no doubt in a great degree

[f] *Anastas.* Vit. Steph. IV. ap. *Murat.* tom. iii. p. 177.

Pope Stephen against Desiderius and the Lombards.

caused by the fever of alarm into which the daring attempt of the Lombards upon the pontifical throne had cast the new pope and his friends. They were aware that there still existed in Rome a party favourable to the Lombard connection, and holding communication with Desiderius. And now, in addition to former causes of fear and animosity, came the news of Queen Bertrada's scheme for drawing closer the bonds of amity between the sworn protectors and the mortal foe of the holy see. The news of a union between Charles of France and a daughter of Desiderius sounded in the ear of Pope Stephen as the death-knell of the darling scheme of temporal aggrandisement which his three predecessors had pursued with such sleepless vigilance and activity. The church of Rome, her rights, her possessions, her patronage, formed in his mind, as it had in theirs, one sacred and inseparable trust —one undivided and indivisible representation of the divine majesty upon earth; to the maintenance of which King Charles, as their advocate and protector, was no less irrevocably pledged than he was to that of the divine unity itself. As the Lord had said before him, so now his express image and representative, the pope, declared of himself: "He that is not with me is against me; he that gathereth not with me scattereth abroad." With all the energy of grief and indignation Stephen addressed the king; treating the bare idea of an alliance between the plighted defender of holy Church and her relentless persecutor as an outrage too flagrant, a contempt of his engagements too flagitious, a pollution too monstrous, to be contemplated without aversion and horror. "Steep and slippery," he exclaimed, "is the path that leadeth to destruction: of all temptations to sin, woman is the most dangerous: a marriage with a daughter of the impious Lombard would be no marriage, but a mere intercourse of abomination—a pure suggestion of Satan. Whence, then, this sudden madness, O most excellent princes! Shame that it should be even whispered abroad, that the nation of the Franks, the glorious race of

Remonstrance of Stephen against the scheme of Bertrada.

princes that sits upon the throne of that illustrious people should think to pollute itself with the perfidious, the filthy Lombards,—that unclean rabble which deserveth not to be named among the nations of the earth! O, let it not go abroad that kings so exalted could ever have thought to defile themselves by so infernal a mixture! For what part hath light with darkness; or what portion hath the faithful with the unbeliever? Remember, most excellent sons, that you are a holy people, a royal priesthood, *sanctified and anointed to be the defenders of your holy mother the Church.* Call to mind how that you vowed to our holy predecessor Pope Stephen (III.) and unto St. Peter, that you would be the friends of our friends, and the enemies of our enemies. Can it, then, be that you have really so grievously sinned against your own souls as to contract alliance with the persecutor of the Church, the invader of her provinces, the deadly enemy of her pontiff?"

The pope further reminded the kings that they had sworn *true faith and obedience* to the pontiff of the holy see; and he adjured them by the blessed Peter, by the only true and living God, and by the tremendous day of judgment, that they and neither of them should presume to take to wife the abhorred daughter of Desiderius, or to give their sister to his son; but, on the contrary thereof, manfully contend against the Lombard until they should have constrained him *to render unto the Church all that he owed to her*, and make ample satisfaction for all the injuries and miseries he had inflicted upon her people. In conclusion, he informed them that he had laid that his epistle upon the altar of the blessed Peter; and had thereupon offered up the holy sacrifice, and sent it wet with his tears direct from the holy place. "If, therefore," he said, "you presume to *disobey* this our solemn exhortation, be it known to you that *you thereby incur the sentence of anathema;* and we do pronounce you aliens from the kingdom of heaven: we give you over unto Satan and his torments, to have your portion with the outcasts here below, and to be consumed in everlasting fire hereafter. But if you shall

Papal menace.

receive and observe this our ordinance to keep it, unto you be eternal benedictions from the Lord our God, and the reward of everlasting joys with the saints and elect of the Lord."[g]

Divorce of Charlemagne and Irmengarda.

But in the interim the apprehended marriage had been consummated, and the papal thunderbolt had missed its aim. In this emergency, accident came to the relief of the pope: the new queen was found to be of so infirm a constitution as to be incapable of bearing children; and upon that plea King Charles repudiated her before the expiration of a twelvemonth; and with the approbation of the Proceres and clergy of the realm, married Hildegarda, a noble lady of Suevic extraction, by whom he afterwards had several children.

Pope Stephen's decree for the regulation of the pontifical elections.

The general government of Pope Stephen IV. at home bore the same character of vigour and firmness of purpose. Very shortly after his elevation (A.D. 769), he despatched his minister Sergius into France to announce his election, and to solicit the king, Pippin, to send a select number of the bishops of his realm to Rome, there to attend a great council, to be held in the basilica of the Lateran, for the adjustment of certain important matters arising out of the late disorders, and the adoption of the necessary measures to prevent a recurrence of the like enormities, as also to encounter the evils brought upon the Church by the iconoclastic abominations prevailing in the East. But before the arrival of Sergius at the Frankish court, Pippin had passed away. The new kings, however, cheerfully complied with the request of the pope; and the council was attended by twelve bishops from France—"men approved for their learning, well versed in the Scriptures and in the ceremonies of the holy canons." The synod, when assembled, proceeded in the first place (as already noticed) to inflict condign punishment upon the principal offender and his accessories; they decreed in the next place that no layman, nor any clerk who had not proceeded regularly to the order of

[g] *Baron.* Ann. 770, t. xiii. p. 61. See the letter, ap. *D. Bouq.* t. v. p. 541.

cardinal (titled priest or deacon) of the church of Rome, should be raised to the pontifical throne; that no layman, whether soldier or civilian, should participate in, or be present at, the election of the pope; that none but cardinal or titled priests and deacons, with the whole congregation of the clergy, should have voice or part in such election: but that afterwards, and before his instalment in the pontifical palace, the chiefs of the militia, the soldiery, the citizens of credit, and the whole populace of Rome, should hasten to salute the new pontiff; and that every one present should subscribe the authentic act of election.[h]

Disorders in Rome.

Some effective measures, to put an end to the disorders incident to the popular right of intervention in the election of the pontiff of Rome, were no

[h] *Anastas.* in Vit. Steph. III. seu IV. loc. sæp. cit.; *Hard.* Concil. tom. iii. pp. 2013-2016. There is much confusion in the wording of the several documents from which the acts of this council are compiled. Fleury (tom. ix. p. 464) thinks that the militia and general body of the people were called upon to ratify the choice of the cardinal, or titled clergy and the churchmen generally. The words, however, do not seem to bear that construction. The terms used are the following: "Et priusquam pontifex electus fuerit, et in patriarchiam deductus, omnes optimates militiæ, vel (et) cunctus exercitus, et cives honesti, atque universa generalitas populi hujus Romanæ urbis ad *salutandum* eum, *sicut omnium dominum*, properare debeat." There is, perhaps, a stronger ground for believing that they were not intended to bear that meaning. A power to do an act generally implies a power to decline to do it. In this case, if the militia and people of Rome had been empowered to refuse to ratify the choice of the presbytery, it would have thrown wide open the door to all those disorders the council was most anxious to shut out; it would have rendered the elections uncertain and precarious; it would have given full play to the factions which already infected the clergy and people; and must have ended in the establishment of that mischievous interference most apprehended by the government. The wording of the decree, I think, implies no more than that, after election, and before enthronement, the new pontiff was to be produced to the public at large, in order that they might recognise and *salute* him as their lord and master. I am, however, perplexed by a passage in the Decretum of *Gratian* (Distinct. lxxix. c. 4), which assigns as a reason for changing the mode of election that "at the death of the pontiff the Church had suffered violence, because the elections had proceeded *without the knowledge and consent of the emperor* (of Constantinople); and that no nuntii from the emperor were present at such elections, as *according to canonical rite and custom they ought to have been*, with a view to prevent the occurrence of scandals." Then follows an ordinance apparently in contradiction to that reported by Anastasius: "We therefore decree that when a pontiff is to be consecrated, the bishops and all the clergy being assembled, he that is to be ordained be elected *in the presence of the senate and people;* and that thus, being *elected by all*, he be then consecrated *in the presence of the imperial legates.*" I can hazard no conjecture as to the quarter whence Gratian gathered his version of the ordinance. Referring it, as he has done, to the reign of Stephen IV., it is an obvious anachronism: inasmuch as all intercourse with Constantinople had long since ceased. The heresy of Constantine Copronymus would of itself have sufficed to keep any emissaries of his at a distance, and much more to exclude them from all share in the management of the papal elections.

doubt necessary. The transference of that right to the clergy exclusively may have been warranted by the state of the times, and the inveterate spirit of faction now almost indigenous among the population of the city and its appurtenant territories, chiefly those of the Tuscan and Campanian dependencies. A provision was therefore inserted in the acts of the council prohibiting the proprietors and indwellers of the castles or strongholds surrounding the city from flocking to Rome upon election occasions, to the great danger of the public peace. Such a prohibition indicates a serious state of insecurity, and serves to throw some light upon the strange disturbances which embittered the pontificate of Stephen IV. Though delivered from the perils he anticipated from the menacing alliance of his protectors with the family of his deadly enemy, he beheld with alarm the continued existence of a strong party attached to that enemy both within and without the walls of Rome. At Ravenna, Desiderius had managed to expel the legitimate archbishop Leo, and to maintain a creature of his own in the chair of that city for nearly a twelvemonth. But the active ministers Christopher and Sergius succeeded in expelling the intruder, and restoring the rightful incumbent. The king encountered his opponents by dissimulation and intrigue. Not venturing upon an open attack, he pretended a pious desire to visit the holy places; and relying upon the party he had kept together within the walls, he appeared before the city with an escort not more numerous than became his royal dignity. But, by the diligence of the two ministers, he found the country on all sides in arms, and the gates of Rome closed against him. In this dilemma, an intriguing priest named Paul Afiarta stood his friend, and raised a faction among the fickle populace against the papal party; the pontiff became alarmed, and consented to an interview with the king in the church of St. Peter of the Vatican. The first conference went off smoothly, and the pope returned in safety to his palace. Meanwhile Paul Afiarta and his friends were gaining strength; and the pontiff, in still more serious alarm, was

The Lombard faction.

Paul Afiarta.

tempted to try the effect of a second meeting, in the hope of persuading Desiderius to desist from his purpose of entering the city. But by this time matters were ripe for action: while the pope was detained a close prisoner in the basilica of St. Peter by the Lombards, and cut off from all communication with his supporters, Desiderius, or his agents within the walls, managed to persuade the populace that the two ministers Christopher and Sergius had conspired to murder the pope and possess themselves of the government of the republic. This groundless falsehood so exasperated the people, that the two ministers with difficulty escaped immediate destruction. Stephen at the moment saw no means to save their lives but by dismissing them from their offices; secretly advising them either to take refuge in a convent, or, if they could, to join him at St. Peter's. They preferred the latter course, and with no small difficulty reached their master in his asylum. Having thus gotten his more active opponents into his power, Desiderius saw no further advantage in detaining the pontiff. Stephen was permitted to return to the Lateran; while a Roman rabble, under the direction of Paul Afiarta, broke the sanctuary, tore their victims from the altar, and put out their eyes with such barbarous cruelty that Christopher sank under the infliction, and died in agony a few hours afterwards.[1]

Humiliation and death of Stephen IV.

The spirit of the pope was thoroughly broken by these enormities; and Desiderius, with the aid of his confederate Paul, extorted from him autograph letters addressed to Queen Bertrada and her son Charles, in which he accuses his two ministers, and with them duke Dodo, then acting as Frankish commissioner for carrying into execution the cession of the territories comprised in the donation of Pippin, of divers acts of treason against his (the pope's) person and authority. He is then made to declare that these crimes had so exasperated the people, that when brought before him for trial, he had been unable to save them from personal ill-treatment; that he himself owed his life to the protection extended to him by his most excellent son Desiderius,

[1] *Anastas.* ap. *Murat.* tom. iii. p. 179.

who happened fortunately to be at that moment at Rome on a pious visit to the holy places; and that, without his aid, he would beyond doubt have fallen a sacrifice to the malignity of the two traitors, and the diabolical machinations of duke Dodo and his Frankish satellites. The letter concluded with a strong invective against the latter, and an assurance that he had received from Desiderius the fullest satisfaction for all the territorial claims of the Church.[j]

Hadrian I. pope.

Pope Stephen IV. did not long survive this severe humiliation. He died on the 31st of January 772; and was succeeded within the first fortnight of the month of February[k] by Hadrian, an ecclesiastic of noble birth, experience, and courage. In the interim the party of Paul Afiarta and the Lombards in Rome had apparently lost ground; certain it is that in the very outset of his pontificate the new pope felt himself strong

Suppresses the sedition.

enough to cast off the mask which his predecessor had been compelled to wear, and to bid defiance to the adverse faction. The Lombard king made an unsuccessful attempt to carry on the game of fraud and violence which had proved effectual against the late pope. His emissaries, however, failed to make any impression upon Hadrian; they were, we are told, driven to admit the sins of their master, and to promise in his name to make due surrender of all the lands and territories he had hitherto wrongfully resumed or neglected to surrender. Hadrian accepted this submission; and appointed commissioners to receive the cession of the various towns comprised in the donation of Pippin, or in the treaties or promises subsequently extorted from Desiderius. But the latter, unable to suppress his hatred of the Frankish yoke, or his resentment against the holy see for robbing him of all the fruits of legitimate conquest, to which he might reasonably lay claim, had in an evil hour taken a step which led immediately and inevitably to his ruin. Oaths and promises were as vapour compared with

[j] See the letter, no. xxvi. *Codex Carolinus*,—ap. *D. Bouq.* tom. v. p. 537.

[k] Strictly on the v. id. Feb., or the Monday after Quinquagesima, 772, corresponding with the 9th Feb. in that year. Ciacone makes the v. id. Feb. to fall on a Sunday. See Vit. Hadrian I. p. 545.

the dazzling but delusive prospect before him. Instead of the expected cession, the papal commissioners found that he had suddenly possessed himself of the papal cities of Ferrara, Commacchio, and Faenza; that he had closely invested Ravenna, and carried away all the inhabitants of the surrounding country, thus cutting off the means of subsistence which the besieged might have hoped to obtain from them.[l]

Desiderius invades the papal territory.

On the 4th of December, in the year 771, Carlmann, the younger of Pippin's two sons, had died suddenly[m] at Seltz, in Alsatia, leaving a widow, Gerberga, and two infant children. The ordinary rule of succession would have assigned to the latter the dominions of their parent. But after his death, the Frankish estates made no movement in favour of the sons: Charles was unanimously hailed sole king of the Franks; and Gerberga, fearing that the lives of her children were not safe in the custody of their uncle, fled with them to the court of Desiderius, probably in the hope, by his assistance, of reinstating them in their inheritance. The apparent advantage thus offered was joyfully accepted by the intriguing Lombard; and the breach with the pope was the first-fruit of the new alliance. The king of the Franks was at the same time aware that a party in the Neustrian and Burgundian kingdoms had been, even in the lifetime of Carlmann, intriguing to procure a separation from the Austrasian, or purely Germanic division; and to that end had endeavoured to provoke a civil war between the brothers. That Charles entertained any design against the lives of his nephews, is not probable; but the flight of Gerberga, and the shelter afforded to the pretenders by his vassal Desiderius, was, in the opinion of the age, as it was in fact, an act of rebellion. And now the danger to which his own interests might be exposed concurring with his obligations as official protector of the Roman

Flight of Gerberga, widow of Carlmann.

Desiderius and Gerberga.

[l] *Anastas.* in Vit. Pont. ubi sup. pp. 179, 180.

[m] *Annal. Laurissiac.* ad ann. 771, ap. *Pertz*, i. p. 148; and *Ann. Einhard.* p. 149.

church, inclined him to lend a favourable ear to the complaints of the pope against his faithless and perjured enemy.[n]

Desiderius espouses the cause of Gerberga and her sons.

Upon the report of his commissioners, Hadrian addressed the most urgent remonstrances to Desiderius. The reply came in the shape of a civil request that the pope would grant the king an interview at Pavia, where, he said, all matters of difference might be most conveniently arranged. But the presence of Gerberga and her two sons revealed to Hadrian the motive and the probable consequences of the insidious invitation; the proposal was declined; and Desiderius without delay threw off the mask. He advanced with his army towards Rome, with the two infant princes in his train; and, with the announcement of his speedy arrival, he bade the pope prepare to impart the royal unction to the sons of the late King Carlmann.[o]

Advance of Desiderius upon Rome, and sudden retreat.

But in the mean time the vigorous pontiff had established himself firmly upon the throne. The party of Paul Afiarta had been dissolved, and the ringleaders arrested and banished from Italy. Hadrian now entertained no doubt of his ability to hold the city till the arrival of the succours he felt secure of obtaining from France. His messengers were already on their road to the court of Charles at Thionville, with the clearest claim to the covenanted protection in their hand; and he boldly retorted the menaces of Desiderius with a threat of excommunication. At this critical moment of his fate, the heart of the Lombard king failed him; and he reconducted his armies to Pavia. Charles had by this time collected an overwhelming force at Geneva, ready to give effect to negotiation, rather than with the immediate design of punishing his rebellious vassal. He contented himself for the present with sending commissioners into Lombardy to inquire into the truth of the matters of charge alleged against Desiderius. Their report left no doubt of the duplicity and falsehood of the Lombard. He therefore demanded im-

[n] *Einhard.* Vit. Car. Mag. c. iii., ap. *Pertz.* tom. ii. p. 445; and see also the Annalists in the same vol. of the "Monumenta Germanica."

[o] *Anastas.* ubi sup. p. 184.

mediate restitution to the holy see of all the lands and territories included in the donation of Pippin, together with three hostages of sufficient rank for the due execution of the mandate; and he engaged, if these conditions were complied with, to pay to Desiderius the sum of 14,000 golden solidi at stated terms by way of indemnity.

The motives for this extraordinary moderation have not been disclosed to us.[p] We are equally at a loss to comprehend those of Desiderius for rejecting the terms offered, and preparing to meet in the field forces so superior in number and discipline to those he could oppose to them. Be this as it may, the Frankish armies poured across the passes of Mont Cenis and the Great St. Bernard directly upon the Lombard capital. Disaffection dissolved the Lombard armies; the best of his troops deserted the standard of their prince; the Spoletans and Beneventines returned home; they came at once to an understanding with the pope, and were taken under the protection of the holy see. The king, with a remnant of his lately numerous host, took refuge in Pavia; while his son Adalgis, accompanied by the widow and sons of Carlmann, shut himself up in Verona. Leaving a sufficient force to observe Pavia, Charles pursued the latter in person; and duke Autchar, who had hitherto proved the faithful companion and guardian of the young princes, was prevailed upon to surrender them to their uncle. Verona, however, continued to hold out, and Desiderius defended himself with courage in Pavia. The term of service for which the constituency of the Frankish heriban were bound was about to expire, and little progress had as yet been made by the besiegers. But Charles had obtained an ascendency over the minds of his military retainers which none of his predecessors had enjoyed;[q]

Charlemagne invades Lombardy.

[p] *Einhard*, in his Life of Charlemagne, seems to intimate that the king was at that time, or had but very lately been, engaged in a war in Aquitaine. In such an unsettled state of things, it is not improbable that he might regard an accommodation with Desiderius, upon terms compatible with his suzerain dignity, as desirable. See *Einh.* Vit. Car. Mag. ap. *Pertz*, ii. cc. v. and vi. p. 445.

[q] We learn from Einhard (Vit. Car. Mag. ubi sup. c. vi. p. 446), that Pippin had encountered the most serious difficulty from this cause; and that though his work in Italy was attended with much less inconvenience, and was sooner accomplished, many of his nobles threatened to desert him when their term of service had expired.

and he met with little difficulty in persuading them to prolong their term of service through the mild winter of Lombardy. To that end, he gave to his camp before Pavia the aspect and character of an imperial capital. He sent for his consort Hildegarda and his children to join him there, and domiciled himself and his court with befitting splendour and magnificence to sustain that character, and to deprive the besieged of all hope of relief; indicating at the same time the disposition of the Frankish prince to acquire an interest in Italy, which, we are inclined to believe, came as unexpectedly upon the pope as it did upon the Lombards themselves.[r]

Winter campaign in Lombardy.

A very superficial consideration of the historical facts and documentary testimony which have hitherto come under our observation would suffice to show, that though the Roman pontiffs desired nothing more ardently than the dismemberment of the Lombard kingdom, yet that they desired it only for their own profit. In their bitterest invectives against the hereditary enemies of the Church, they carefully avoid any hint at the transfer of the minutest portion of the spoil to a stranger, be he ever so serviceable to their projects. In all their numerous and lengthy addresses to the "advocates and protectors" of the holy see, they carefully keep out of sight any prospect of indemnity for the blood to be shed, the labour to be endured, the cost to be incurred, in helping them to the property of their neighbours. With singular adroitness, they contrived that no hint of remuneration of a temporal nature should ever enter into their communications. Yet if the thought could be stifled in the minds of the sovereigns, it was impossible that it should not occur to the subjects as often as such unrequited expenditure of their blood and treasures was required at their hands. All this must have been obvious to a man of Pope Hadrian's discernment and experience: he could not but know that such a game must have an end; and that then the great problem

Foreign policy of the popes.

[r] Conf. *Anastas.* Vit. Pont. ubi sup.; *Annal. Lauriss.* et *Einh.* ann. 773, ap. *Pertz*, i. p. 151. See also *Eckhart*, Franc. Orient. tom. i. pp. 623-625.

would arise, how to escape being drawn into the vortex of reciprocity in which he might thereafter become involved, and to avoid the manifest danger of sinking from the state of an unarmed and defenceless ally into that of a dependent or a subject of the protecting power.

But no such danger was likely to arise, unless the pontiffs should commit the error of encircling their brows with the diadem before the world was fully prepared to tolerate the anomaly of a Christian bishop wearing a kingly crown. The estate of the papacy, vast as it was, was regarded at the time more in the light of ecclesiastical endowment than of temporal sovereignty. The title set up by the church of Rome to its territorial possessions was not different in its nature from that of almost every church or convent to the lands attached to it. The privileges and jurisdictions enjoyed in right of those endowments were in the nature of royalties, and comprehended many of the essential prerogatives which in more modern times are regarded as belonging exclusively to the sovereign authority. But the difference between the position of the church of Rome and that of all others with reference to their respective endowments consisted in this, that against the claims of the central power the Roman pontiff might set off the illimitable prerogative of St. Peter's chair; and there was little danger that the occupant of that chair should fall back into the condition of a subject, as long as he could impart to the temporal estate of his see the exemptions and immunities properly belonging to his assumed spiritual character. This was, as we think the sequel will make sufficiently manifest, the all-important position the papacy had to maintain. Centuries elapsed before it was fully established; but in the interim we may place our finger upon a peculiarity in the relative position of the holy see to the European monarchies which operated so as to secure her incidentally against all duties or liabilities implying political dependence. Popes Zachary and Stephen III. had laid a solid foundation for the doctrine, that a mere *inchoate or simply possessory claim to thrones and dominions was*

Incipient relation of the papacy to the temporal sovereignty.

by the papal sanction convertible into a solid title to the sovereignty; and *that crowns might be conferred, and successions unalterably determined, by the spontaneous act of the Roman pontiff*:[s] doctrines which, if pursued to their ultimate consequences, must not only emancipate the dispenser of crowns from all subordination to the recipients, but tend to reduce the latter to political as well as spiritual dependence upon the former.

Siege of Pavia; Charlemagne's *first* expedition to Rome.

But as yet no serious progress had been made towards the establishment of this palmary doctrine of papal omnipotence. Charlemagne had not learnt to postpone his temporal interests to his spiritual obligations to the holy see. He had irrevocably resolved to take his reward for the hitherto unrequited labours of his predecessors into his own hands, and to place upon his own head the crown of Italy. Yet even the mighty monarch of the West did not so far trust his own competency to make a valid transfer of the new kingdom as to dispense with the concurrence of the Church. He therefore converted the siege of Pavia into a close blockade; and leaving a large body of troops behind to watch the besieged, he repaired at the approach of Easter to Rome with a brilliant retinue of prelates and abbots, dukes and barons, ostensibly to celebrate the feast of the Resurrection at the shrine of St. Peter.[t]

Ratifies the treaties of Pontyon and Quiercy.

The Romans received the king with unbounded demonstrations of joy. Thirty thousand citizens, we are told, went forth to meet him, bearing before them the "bandora," or sacred standard of the republic. The whole body of the clergy, with crosses and banners, escorted him to the basilica of St. Peter, where he spent the Easter-eve in devout exercises and prayers. On the following morning Pope Hadrian, surrounded by his clergy, took his station at the porch of the church ready to welcome the king. The latter advanced up the flight of steps leading to the pope's station, devoutly kissing each step of the ascent. At the landing

[s] Conf. ch. vi. pp. 377 et sqq. and 384 of this Book.

[t] *Einh.* et *Laurissiac.* Annal. ann. 774, pp. 153, 154.

Hadrian embraced him, and saluted him with the kiss of peace; and taking him by the left hand, led him into the church, the clergy singing praises to God, and chanting in full chorus, "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord." The pontiff and the king then prostrated themselves in devout adoration at the shrine of Peter; the sacred body of the apostle was uncovered; and Charles solemnly *ratified the treaties of Pontyon and Quiercy by oath upon the relics of the prince of the apostles.*

The *donation* of Charlemagne,

In the course of the week, Charlemagne visited and worshipped at all the holy places in succession; on the fourth day Hadrian repaired to the quarters of the king, and opened negotiations for a *new deed of donation* to the holy see. Why such a deed should have been necessary, it is not difficult to conjecture; for so it was, that when the pontiff had rehearsed to Charlemagne *his* copy of the treaty to which his father Pippin, his brother Carlmann, and himself, had been original parties,[u] that deed appeared to convey to the church of Rome territories which are named in no contemporary document as portions of the donation of Pippin and his sons. Some of these had never belonged to the exarchate of Ravenna, as it existed under the Greek dynasty, nor had ever been comprised within it at any time since the Lombard invasion in the year 568. Of this deed, as read by the pope, Charlemagne himself was entirely ignorant. The districts named comprehended all the territories from "the port of Lunæ and the island of Corsica, Luriano, Monte Bardone, Berceto, Parma, Reggio, Mantua, Monselice, the entire exarchate of Ravenna, with the provinces of *Venetia and Histria, together with the duchies of Spoletum and Beneventum.*"[v] But it should be observed, that Spoletum and Beneventum had been in fact all along integral portions of the Lombard kingdom; moreover it is known that Pippin did not dismember that kingdom in favour of the pope, and that those duchies were not comprised in the surrenders which Pippin extorted from

probably obtained by misrepresentation.

[u] See chap. vi. pp. 382 and 391 of this Book.

[v] *Anastas.* in Vit. Hadrian. Pap. I. ap. *Murat.* iii. p. 186.

Aistulph in pursuance of the treaties of Pontyon and Quiercy.[w] It is further known, that at the time of the conclusion of those treaties the pope had as yet laid no claim to the possession of the two duchies; that they were held by professed feudatories of the Lombard kingdom; and that they continued to form a part of that kingdom down to the latest period of its existence.[x] It should be noticed at the same time, that the biographer deposes to the fact that the deed of Pippin, Charlemagne and Carlmann was extant in his own days; and it may be reasonably supposed that he extracted his enumeration of the ceded territories from its contents. The suspicion of some deception, therefore, cannot but occur to us when we find the same writer, in his account of the transactions with Charlemagne, putting into the mouth of the pope a totally different statement of the contents of the operative documents, and adding as original portions of the donation of Pippin territories as to which his earlier enumeration is altogether silent.[y]

Character of the donation of Charlemagne.

That Charlemagne possessed any copy of the donation of Pippin, is very doubtful; if he had, the discrepancy between that document and the actual demands of Pope Hadrian could not have been withdrawn from his observation. But on the supposition that he was ignorant of the contents of the earlier donation, the temptation to misrepresentation, for the purpose of bringing those demands into ostensible harmony with the prior concessions, is very obvious.

[w] The enumeration of Anastasius himself, in his Life of Stephen III., agrees in few particulars with the statement in his Life of Hadrian I. See c. vi. pp. 385, 386 of this Book.

[x] That is, until the dissolution of the armies of Desiderius, when the dukes of Spoletum and Beneventum threw themselves upon the protection of the pope. See p. 409 of this chapter.

[y] I conceive that the only mode of reconciling these contradictory statements is to suppose that Anastasius was mistaken as to the latter enumeration; and that he confounded the contents of the prior donation with the new donation of Charlemagne, which no doubt contained territories to which the popes had subsequently put in a claim, more especially the two duchies. The provinces of Istria or Histria, and Venetia, had been conquered from the Greeks at a very early period of the Lombard domination. It is possible that the southern portion of the former region had been retained by the Greeks, and that it formed a part of the Ravennatine exarchate. But Venetia, otherwise called Friuli (Forum Julii), had always been one of the great duchies of the Lombard kingdom. No mention of either occurs in the earlier enumeration of Anastasius of the territories given up by Pippin to Pope Stephen III. See the dissertation upon this donation, ap. *Pertz*, Mon. Germ., tom. iv. legum ii. part ii. p. 7.

The king might be induced to believe, that, in making the additional grants, he was only carrying out the treaties of Pontyon and Quiercy, in fulfilment of the original pledges given to Pope Stephen III., to which he had been a party. This impression would account for the facility with which Charlemagne transferred to the pope nearly the whole of southern Italy,[z] together with the Venetian and Istrian dependencies of the Lombard kingdom. Be this as it may, the *donation* executed by Charlemagne, at the request of Pope Hadrian I., was, in fact, *an entirely new grant*, comprising, indeed, much of the older claim, but extending it to at least double the area stipulated for in the prior donation. This document was formally executed by the king, in the presence of the pope, and attested by all the prelates and dignitaries of his itinerant court. The solemn delivery was accompanied by every ceremony which could impart to it the character of a sacramental act. The deed was first deposited upon the altar of St. Peter; it was then removed to the shrine itself, and placed between the book of the Gospels and the sacred body; after which the king and all his attendants made oath unto St. Peter, and unto Hadrian his vicar, that they would faithfully observe and keep all things therein contained upon pain of eternal damnation. The document was then finally delivered into the hands of the pope, and two copies or counterparts were deposited by the hand of the king himself in the shrine of the apostle.[a] When this careful and minute ceremonial was completed, Charlemagne appeared in public clad in the robes of the *patrician*, in accordance with the ceremonial of the Byzantine court, and in token of his inauguration as the temporal "advocate," or sworn protector, of the holy see. Soon after the conclusion of these solemnities, he took his leave of the pontiff, and rejoined his forces before Pavia.

Execution of the deed of donation.

Charlemagne *patrician.*

[z] The whole, with the exception of the small territories of Naples, Brundusium, Tarentum, and the southern extremity of the peninsula of Calabria, still held by the Greeks.

[a] It does not appear that he carried away with him any authenticated copy.

Surrender and deposition of Desiderius.

The garrison of the city was by this time reduced to extreme distress by famine. All hope of relief had vanished; and Desiderius, with the surviving remnant of his adherents, surrendered at discretion. The captive king and his family were immured in distant convents, where they were permitted to wear away the remnant of their days, under a custody more vigilant than any single gaoler could exercise, with the advantage of a certain degree of personal liberty. The capture of Pavia was followed by the submission of every province and city of the kingdom. Adalgis evacuated Verona, and retired to Constantinople; and Pope Hadrian hastened to hail the conqueror "*king of the Lombards.*" Charlemagne himself, however, varied the title, and crowned himself "*king of Italy*;" a change—as may hereafter appear—not indifferent to the papal court. But the exarchate, together with all the territories comprised in the new donation, were punctually delivered into the actual possession of the pontiff. Charlemagne, it is true, had added a new kingdom to his empire; but Hadrian had reaped even more solid advantages. Besides an enormous addition of territorial wealth, he had acquired a moral ascendency of far higher value. In his dealings with the greatest sovereign of the age he had, without remark or censure, assumed the tone and demeanour of a superior: he had exacted promises; he had imposed oaths; he had granted titles; he had received homage susceptible of any extravagance of interpretation: and all this was gained without contracting a single obligation, and without defining either his own position with relation to his benefactor, or his powers as temporal proprietor of the vast domains annexed to his see.[b]

Charlemagne king of Italy.

Gains of the papacy.

It is a question of very great difficulty to determine either what the legal character of that position was, or what were the lawful powers and prerogatives acquired

[b] In this portion of the narrative we have consulted (besides the Life of Hadrian by Anastasius the "Librarian") the Epistles of Hadrian I. ap. *D. Bouq.* tom. v. p. 544; the *Annal. Lauriss.* ann. 774, ap. *Pertz*, ubi sup.; and *Eckhart*, Franc. Orient. tom. i. p. 629.

by the pope within the ceded territories. If it be asked whether the pontiff, by virtue of this donation, acquired the supreme dominion or full sovereignty of the districts annexed to the holy see; or whether he took by it only the "dominium utile," enabling him to dispose of the profits and revenues to arise from them, without power to alter the political or municipal constitution; or, generally to take to himself the temporal government,—we must admit that the course of history has not as yet furnished us with facts enough for a satisfactory reply. It has, indeed, been contended that Charlemagne intended to transfer, with the territory, all the rights exercised by the Greek emperor within the exarchate, or by the Lombard kings within the components of their kingdom. Others have thought that nothing more was granted than the feudal renders and tributes payable by tenants to their superior lords. But the deed itself, even if extant, would probably reveal no more than a general grant of *possession*, without any specification of incidental rights; and the question must await its answer from the subsequent acts of the parties and their successors. It is, however, remarkable that Charlemagne should in the outset have put aside the title assigned to him by the pope for the more comprehensive designation of "King of *Italy*,"—a title certainly not indicating an intention to part with the "dominium supremum" implied by it.

Indeterminate position of the papacy in respect of the territories granted.

But whatever may have been the contemporary intent or understanding of the donation of Charlemagne, certain it is that the holy see became thereby possessed of a territorial power and jurisdiction which must ever after rank her with the great dynasts of Christendom. The spiritual empire of the head of the Latin church rested no longer solely upon the Petrine myth. It was now based on the broader and safer foundation of a combined sacerdotal and temporal authority, far more consonant with the character of the times than that unsupported, unarmed, externally helpless priesthood upon which the pontiffs had hitherto been compelled to rely; a position, it must be confessed, fraught with incon-

Actual result.

venience, distress, and danger; and from which there was probably no escape but in the course of temporal aggrandisement to which they so perseveringly and successfully resorted. It may strike us as singular that not a whisper of surprise or dissatisfaction should have been heard when the chief pastor of the Saviour's spiritual kingdom lifted up his head high among the princes of this world. But the explanation provided by the papacy was for the present satisfactory. "Our kingdom," said they, "is not *of* this world; it is like that of Christ, in all, above all, over all. As all are subject to Christ, so likewise are they subject to his vicar and representative on earth in all that appertains to His kingdom. But that kingdom extends *over all;* therefore nothing belonging to this world or its affairs can be above or beyond the jurisdiction of St. Peter's chair." In conformity with this theory, no amount of temporal dominion requisite for the support of this spiritual prerogative was to be regarded as in any respect inconsistent with the Saviour's declaration respecting the nature of his kingdom. It waited simply as the accident upon the principal; the universality of the spiritual authority conferred carried with it, as its natural corollary, a corresponding grant of temporal power. The premises being admitted, we think the conclusion sufficiently logical to command attention; at all events, it surpassed the comprehension of the age to emancipate itself from the practical inference.

BOOK V.

CHAPTER I.

THE MONOTHELITE CONTROVERSY.

General retrospect — Rome in the controversies of the sixth and seventh centuries—Monothelite and Iconoclastic controversies—The Monothelite controversy: its origin and character—Unguarded conduct of Pope Honorius I.—The Ecthesis of Heraclius—Character of the Ecthesis—Pope John IV.—His apology for Honorius—He condemns the Monothelite heresy—Conversion of Pyrrhus—Address of the Africans—The *Type*—The Latins reject the Type—Martin I. pope—Council of the Lateran against the Type—Condemnation of Ecthesis and Type, &c.—Excess of jurisdiction—Canon-law of Rome—Arrogance of Pope Martin I.—Pope Martin endeavours to recover his influence over the Illyrians—Arrest, imprisonment, and death of Pope Martin I.—Uncanonical election of Eugenius I.—Vitalian pope—He makes approaches to Constantinople—Case of John of Lappæ—Constans II. enforces the Type—Expedition and death of Constans II.—Relations between Rome and Constantinople between the years 668 and 679—Roman synod of the year 679—Synodal acts and report—Character of the synod—Assembling of the (so-called) *Sixth General Council*—Constituency of the council—Proceedings, and their result—Condemnation of the Monothelite heresiarchs—Sentence upon Pope Honorius I.—Concluding acts of the council—Edict of confirmation — Pope Leo II. accepts the decrees, and adopts the anathemas.

THE preceding Book of this volume has been devoted rather to the external and political history of the papal power, than to the theoretic development of the properly hierarchical supremacy. Before the close of the eighth century, the Western churches had, upon the basis of purely Roman tradition and hardihood of assertion, adopted the principle of the chair of Peter. That tradition had been accepted without inquiry, and manifest progress had been made in obliterating all distinction between the spiritual unity of the Christian body and the outward means proposed by Rome for its maintenance. The annexation of a temporal dominion to the spiritual headship was in all respects the most important

General retrospect.

of the securities demanded of the world for its spiritual allegiance; and hereafter it will become our duty to trace the process by which she succeeded in imparting to that dominion the inviolable sanctity of the spiritual prerogative she claimed; and ultimately to expand it into an autocratic scheme, embracing all temporal government, and implying the extinguishment of all spontaneous movement in the exercise either of religious or political power.

Rome in the controversies of the sixth and seventh centuries.

In the division of the narrative to which our attention is now called, the subject must be viewed in another aspect. In the struggle against Oriental theosophy, we trace with greater perspicuity the *theoretic* development of that supremacy to which the Latin churches had submitted without material resistance. Remembering that Rome had imposed upon herself the task of sustaining the character of fountain of orthodox tradition and sole channel of sacerdotal authority,[a] it will be acknowledged that every religious discussion of importance must involve her both as party and as judge in the controversy. We have already had occasion to notice her participation in the great Arian struggle, and her management of the equally important divergences of opinion upon the doctrine of the incarnation and of the union of the divine and human nature in the Saviour.[b] We are now called upon to examine the character and results of her interposition in the two great theological movements which agitated the Christian world in the sixth and seventh centuries of the Christian era.

Monothelite and Iconoclastic controversies.

The *first* of these—the so-called *Monothelite* controversy—may be described generally as a revival, under a somewhat different form, of the old Monophysite, or Eutychian, heresy. The *second*—generally known by the description of the *Iconoclastic* controversy—arose out of a question relating to the proper use of images as objects of Christian worship. The objections urged by the enemies of images, though less of a strictly dogmatic character, were of the highest interest to religion, as they touched upon the great

[a] Conf. vol. i. Book II. c. i. pp. 285, 286;—c. ii. p. 294 of this work.

[b] Conf. Book I. c. ix. pp. 201 et sqq.; and Book II. cc. iv. and v. passim.

practical distinction between Christianity and heathenism. The question they really involved was, whether the whole, or the great majority of the Christian body, had not apostatised from the faith, and turned them back to idols. This statement of the question thrilled through every nerve of the Christian body, and kindled passions and animosities which had their natural issue in ruthless bloodshed and persecution.

The Monothelite controversy; its origin and nature.

Honorius I. succeeded to the papal throne in the year 625, his pontificate coinciding with the last fifteen years of the reign of the emperor Heraclius. From the conclusion of his successful wars against the Persians, religion, or rather religious controversy,[c] had become the almost exclusive object of his solicitude. While the Arabs under Abubekr and Omar were overthrowing army after army sent to repel them, and wresting province after province from the empire, the emperor occupied himself with the discussion of theological questions, and with ingenious devices for reconciling religious differences among his subjects.[d] His attention was at this moment more especially attracted to an opinion first started by Theodore bishop of Pharan in Arabia, touching the *modus operandi* of the divine and human will in the "Logos." Theodore maintained that there was in all their manifestations such a sameness of action as substantially to identify them with each other; a view which led Heraclius to imagine a plan for reducing the remnant of the Monophysite, or Eutychian, party to a conformity with the Chalcedonian formula. With this view, the patriarch Sergius of Constantinople and his imperial pupil gave their assent to a scheme proposed by Cyrus patriarch of Alexandria for reconciling Severians, Jacobites, Theodosians, and other offsets of the great Eutychian school, founded upon a presumed *iden-*

[c] The mould, we may observe, in which the religious mind in the East was generally cast.

[d] Without denying the occasional light which a sketch of the Arab conquests, and of their effects upon the Christian body in general, might throw upon the proper subject of our narrative, this advantage, like many others of an episodic character, must be sacrificed to the inexorable law of time and space. We must therefore confine ourselves to the incidental mention of such connections as they arise.

tity of the will, divine and human, in the Christ; and they announced it to Pope Honorius as holding out a flattering prospect of religious compromise, in which neither party should be called upon to make any material sacrifice of opinion. The document, when published, appeared in all respects to be in exact verbal agreement with the doctrine of Chalcedon. But the seventh article affirmed, "that it is *the same Christ* and the *same* Son who produces operations, divine and human, by one and the same theandric manifestation of his will, *which will is at once both human and divine;* and that to make any distinction between the human and the divine, is beyond the powers of human discernment."[e]

Unguarded assent of Pope Honorius I.

This proposition, though it involved no dogmatic assertion of the *identity* of the two wills, was properly held to imply it. Sophronius bishop of Jerusalem first sounded the alarm in the East; but Sergius of Constantinople was first in the field; he preoccupied the ear of Pope Honorius by a long and not very ingenuous account of the origin and design of the movement, and of his own share in it. The reply of Honorius to this communication indicates some misgiving; he nevertheless adopted the document, and fully appears to have assented to an absolute *oneness* of the human and the divine will in the Christ. Yet he recommended the utmost caution in the promulgation of the doctrine, and strongly urged that, as the subject was acknowledged to be above human comprehension, all discussion of it ought to be avoided. Sophronius, however, soon afterwards pointed out to him with great earnestness the danger to which this unguarded act must expose him; and Honorius applied himself with redoubled industry to suppress the controversy. In his communications with the East he therefore flung himself back on the Chalcedonian doctrine, and dogmatically affirmed that "as there is but one Christ, who, operating by two natures, works things human and divine, so there ought to be but one doctrine (respecting him) grounded upon forbearance to teach what is not expressly revealed of

[e] *Baron.* Ann. 633, § vii.; *Fleury*, tom. viii. p. 348.

him in Scripture, nor affirmed by the fathers of the Church."[f]

But this prudent advice did not suit the dogmatising humour of the Greeks; neither would the quiet abandonment of the proposed scheme have answered the purposes of the emperor and his advisers, Sergius and Cyrus. Their definition of the relation between the nature and the will of the divine Logos was therefore published, under the title of "*Ecthesis*," or exposition of faith. Setting aside the *modus operandi*, this document affirmed purely and simply the identity of the human and the divine will in the following terms: "Therefore we, following in all things the holy fathers, confess but *one will* in the Christ; and we believe that his flesh, animated by a reasonable soul, hath never made any natural movement, separately and of itself, differing from or contrary to the spirit of the Logos which subsisteth in hypostatical union with his flesh."[g] The Ecthesis of Heraclius.

In all matters of dispute which interest or excite the public mind, however trivial or obscure they may be, it is as well, in the statement at least, to have the common sense of mankind in our favour. The Monothelites lay under a serious disadvantage in this respect. The assertion of one will in two natures comes as near as possible to a contradiction in terms; and their adversaries of the Eutychian party might reasonably call upon them, after that, to renounce the two natures as well. This argument was successfully urged by the Catholic opponents of the Ecthesis; and they did not scruple to stigmatise the imperial exposition as sinking down into the lowest form of Eutychianism: it was an affirmation and a denial of the same thing in the same breath; it made every thing uncertain; and could serve no purpose but that of a trap for the unwary on both sides. But before the publication of the Ecthesis, Pope Honorius I. died. He was succeeded by Severinus I., to whom the document was transmitted through the hands of Isaac, the exarch of Ravenna. How it was treated by Character of the Ecthesis.

[f] *Baron.* Ann. 633, §§ 27 and 42; *Fleury*, tom. viii. p. 385.

[g] *Ibid.* Ann. 639, § 12; *Fleury*, tom. viii. p. 411.

this pontiff, we have no certain information;[h] his pontificate lasted only two months and three days; and on the 25th Dec. 638 John IV. was elected to fill the papal chair. In the month of May 641, the emperor Heraclius passed from the scene of his mischievous activity, and was succeeded by his son Constantine III.[i] To him Pope John IV. addressed an apologetic letter, denying the complicity of the late Pope Honorius in the heretical ravings of the Monothelites. He affirmed that he could not have meant to approve the doctrine of a *single will*, but only to assert that there were not *two contrary and conflicting* wills in the Christ. That Honorius had seen his error, hardly admits of a doubt; but the Christian world was unfortunately in possession of his reluctant yet explicit consent to the Monothelite opinion, and has declined to withdraw the charge of heresy.

Pope John IV.; his apology for Honorius.

In the year 639 Sergius of Constantinople was succeeded by Pyrrhus, a stanch advocate of the Monothelite dogma. But a few months afterwards he was banished, without canonical trial or sentence of deposition, for a supposed participation in the murder of Constantine III., the son and successor of Heraclius (A.D. 641). Meanwhile Pope John IV. was succeeded by Theodore, lately the resident, or apocrisarius, of Rome at the court of Constantinople; a person conversant with the state of parties in the East, and a strenuous opponent of the new heresy. Without delay he forwarded to Constantinople his condemnation of the late patriarch Pyrrhus, and of the Ecthesis of Heraclius; but declined to approve the elevation of his successor Paul. The new patriarch, like his predecessor, was, in fact, an advocate of the Ecthesis, and rejected the requisition of the pope to remove that document from the churches and public places, where, according to custom, it had been conspicuously posted. The pope then

Theodore pope. He condemns the Monothelite heresy.

[h] *Baronius* and *Pagi* (A. 639, § ii.) assert, upon insufficient ground, that the Ecthesis was refuted by Pope Severinus.

[i] Who only a few months afterwards was poisoned by his step-mother Martina; and her son Heraclionas raised to the throne. But the new emperor was within a short time deposed, he and his mother cruelly mutilated and banished.

reduced his demand to a simple request that his condemnation of the Ecthesis should be made equally notorious, and be as conspicuously exhibited to public view. But the emperor Constans III. adhered pertinaciously to the religious policy of his grandfather; and the papal remonstrances remained without result.

Conversion of Pyrrhus.

But accident threw an important advantage into the hands of Rome. Maximus, a monk of Chrysapolis near Chalcedon, during his exile in Africa had fallen in with and converted the banished patriarch Pyrrhus, and persuaded him to resort for absolution to Rome. Pope Theodore received the penitent with benignity; and he absolved and recognised him as the legitimate patriarch of the imperial city. In the East, the bishops of Palestine and Cyprus supported the papal views, while those of the three great ecclesiastical divisions of Africa lent their undivided assistance towards the suppression of the new heresy.

Address of the Africans.

They addressed the pontiff of Rome as the "father of fathers," the "chief of all pontiffs," the "never-failing fountain of power," the "conservator of the faith," without whom, said they, "nothing, even in the remotest places, shall be discussed or determined; neither shall any judgment be rendered, except it be first brought to the knowledge of that holy see, and be fortified by its authority." After this ample libation on the altar of Roman prerogative, they besought the pope to issue a dogmatic condemnation of the Ecthesis, to inquire into the heresy of Paul of Constantinople, and upon conviction to cut him off from the sacred body of the Church.[j] The prelates of the Byzacene province adopted a bolder course. They addressed the emperor Constans directly, calling upon him peremptorily to renounce the Ecthesis, and constrain the patriarch Paul to revert to the Catholic confession. They reminded him that God had made him emperor, that he might be the guardian of His truth; that he was bound to use the power given to him in subservience to his duty to the Church; that *that* was indeed his principal duty; and that "He by whom kings reign and princes exercise

[j] *Baron.* Ann. 646, § 3.

judgment" had thus exalted him that he might put down heresy with a strong arm, and prefer the maintenance of the orthodox faith above all secular pursuits or interests.[k]

The *Type*.

The resistance to the luckless Ecthesis gathered strength from day to day. The patriarch Paul involved himself in a public disputation with Sericus and Martin, the legates of Pope Theodore, upon the theological merits of that document; a step which served rather to provoke than to allay contradiction. Deserted by reason and common sense, the patriarch took refuge in authority, and finally supported himself upon the decisions of the two great patriarchs, Honorius of old, and Sergius of new Rome. The appeal was treated by the pope as an insult to the holy see; by the adverse party in general as a mere subterfuge. Alarmed by the almost desperate state of public affairs, and the increasing disaffection of his subjects, the emperor Constans thought it expedient quietly to set aside the Ecthesis, yet without in terms renouncing the heresy sheltered under it. With this view he issued a decree, to which he gave the name of the *Type* (formula), with the professed intent to put down all discussion of the mystery of the two wills. The instrument contained a naked statement of the questions at issue, and then shortly and peremptorily prohibited all discussion of its substance, or allusion to its terms, by clergy or laity, under the severest temporal penalties.[l]

The Latins condemn the Type.

It is doubtful whether the publication of the "Type" was known at Rome before the death of Theodore,[m] and it is probable that all the steps taken against its author and his accomplices are referable to the pontificate of his successor, Martin I. The Type had, in fact, become an object of unmitigated aversion in the Latin church. Like the unfortunate Henoticon of Zeno, it was universally stigmatised as a device

[k] *Baron.* Ann. 646, §§ 6 and 7. This letter was, according to Baronius, sent to Pope Theodore at Rome, to be delivered to the emperor by his apocrisarius.

[l] *Ibid.* Ann. 648, § 2.

[m] He died on the 14th of May 649. See *Pagi* ad *Baron.* Ann. 648 and 649. *Fleury* follows Baronius in supposing the condemnation of Paul and Pyrrhus with the Ecthesis and Type to have been decreed in a Roman council held under Theodore. Pagi, with apparent reason, refers the entire transaction to the reign of Martin I.

of Satan for the extinguishment of the truth, by extending protection to error,—it was a sacrilegious encouragement to men to hold in private, and even to profess a heresy they could not defend before the tribunal of the Church; an iniquitous attempt to suppress the truth, and a detestable persecution of its defenders. After the death of Pope Theodore, the Roman clergy and people marked their indignation by electing Martin, one of the papal champions at the conferences held at Constantinople, to the vacant chair, and consecrating him on the spot, without waiting for the legal confirmation of the emperor. No time was lost by the new pope in furtherance of the wishes of his constituents. In the month of October 649 a general council was assembled in the palace of the Lateran, attended by one hundred Italian and Gallic bishops, together with some prelates of the Latin party in the East. In the interim the patriarch Paul of Constantinople, irritated by the implacable hostilities of the Latins, had caused the altar of the pope, which stood in the palace of Placidia,[n] to be removed or thrown down, and prohibited divine service according to the Latin form within his jurisdiction. About the same time, it appears that the ostensible convert Pyrrhus had been persuaded, by some hopes held out to him by the exarch of Ravenna, to retract his late recantation, and again to enrol himself in the ranks of the Monothelites. Pope Martin opened the session of the council by a diffuse exposition of the errors of Cyrus of Alexandria, of Sergius, Pyrrhus and Paul of Constantinople; he described the "execrable Type" as an open device of Satan for the suppression of the truth; he declaimed furiously against the sacrilegious overthrow of the papal altar, and the persecution of the legates; and moved for a canonical decision and sentence against the culprits, together with a due condemnation of the unspeakable heresy and its promoters.

Martin I. pope.

Council of the Lateran.

In all papal synods the subjects of discussion were always beforehand rigorously defined and marked out by the pontiff himself; the pro-

Condemnation of the Ecthesis, Type, &c.

[n] Probably the private chapel and altar of the resident apocrisarii.

ceedings were directed by him, and the validity of the resolutions and decrees made to depend upon his present concurrence or subsequent sanction. Such a course of proceeding deprived the acts of these synods of all value independently of such sanction, and placed the members in the position of a mere court for registering the decrees of the pope. By the directions of Martin, the council, when assembled, proceeded to examine minutely into the theological character of the Monothelite heresy; and in the result that error was unanimously denounced and anathematised. The Ecthesis and Type fell under the like condemnation; not only all who should maintain the *one will* in the Logos, but all who should attempt to evade the censures of the Church by a criminal compliance with the imperial scheme for suppressing inquiry and discussion, were solemnly pronounced to be accursed. The persons of the heresiarchs were involved in this sentence; and Theodore of Pharan—the primal offender—Cyrus of Alexandria, Sergius of Constantinople, and his successors Pyrrhus and Paul, were deposed and anathematised in due order, and all their acts and writings declared void and of none effect.[o]

Excess of jurisdiction. Canon-law of Rome.

The progress of our narrative hardly as yet warrants any definite historical judgment upon these proceedings. It may, however, be borne in mind that the pope had taken upon himself the office of supreme judge in a cause in which he could not pretend to a scrap of properly *canonical* jurisdiction. It may also be remarked that the terms "canon," "canonical," "canon-law," had by this time acquired a signification at Rome having no manner of reference to their original import. It may be conjectured that in the use of these terms the pontiffs had in mind only the Roman collections of ecclesiastical ordinances under the several titles of "Public synodal constitutions," "Godly laws of the Prince of the Apostles," "Book of the Canons," &c., containing, in all probability, a medley of general and particular ordinances as received in the Ro-

[o] See the proceedings, ap. *Baron.* Ann. 648, for 649; and *Hard.* Concil. tom. iii. pp. 648 et sqq.

man church, and founded upon maxims and principles drawn indifferently from œcumenical statutes and papal decretals or dicta; the whole being invested with the universal authority currently imputed to the Petrine prerogative. And in this sense Pope Martin I. understood and applied them. By virtue of this local code he assumed the character of universal judge; he caused the decrees of his council to be translated into Greek, and transmitted to the emperor Constans II.; he informed the latter of the utter rejection of the Ecthesis and Type, and the solemn repudiation of all compromise with heresy; and arrogantly demanded the immediate registration of his censures among the laws of the temporal state. As if to give matters a turn still more offensive to the government, he took the execution into his own hands, and disseminated copies of his adjudication over all Christendom. He commanded the clergy of Antioch and Jerusalem to cut themselves off from all intercourse with the advocates of the Ecthesis and the Type; he deputed a vicar-general for the dioceses of Syria and Palestine, with powers to try and determine on behalf of the holy see the faith and qualifications of all candidates for the episcopal office; declaring at the same time all ordinations made in contempt of the vicarial authority, thus arbitrarily conferred, to be absolutely void.[p]

Arrogance of Pope Martin I.

Pope Martin I. applied himself with equal zeal to the maintenance of the ancient claims of his see, as to the accomplishment of his more recent encroachments upon foreign jurisdictions. Archbishop Paul of Thessalonica had offended him by sending in a confession of faith which did not contain a *verbal* adoption of the late proceedings of the Lateran. For this offence the pope suspended him from all sacerdotal function until he should have purged his "contempt of the holy see" by recording an express curse against the Monothelite delinquents. He wrote urgent letters to all the bishops of the great Illyrian diocese, commanding them to hold no communion with their

Martin I. attempts to recover his jurisdiction over Illyricum.

[p] *Baron.* Ann. 649, § 59; *Fleury*, tom. viii. pp. 480-483: and conf. *Hard.* Concil. tom. iii. loc. cit.

metropolitan, to repudiate his ordinances, and to permit him to do no functional act until he should either return to his duty to the holy see, or his place be filled up by an orthodox successor. But the state of the times was unfavourable to the execution of the comprehensive scheme of Pope Martin. The spirits of men were paralysed, and their attention distracted, by the rapid progress of Arab conquest. The advantages he had gained in Syria and Palestine were of no avail to Rome, in the prostrate condition of those churches. The patriarch of Constantinople was not now assailable from that quarter; and the attempt to re-establish the papal jurisdiction in Illyricum led to no better result than further to inflame the rancorous spirit of Constans II., and prompt him to instant vengeance against the haughty opponent of his cherished scheme of religious compromise.

Arrest, imprisonment, and death of Pope Martin I.

While the council was still sitting at the Lateran, the emperor sent his chamberlain Olympius into Italy with a precept to all bishops and secular persons of rank and authority to subscribe the "Type." This mandate was accompanied with a secret order to cause Pope Martin to be arrested and sent in custody to Constantinople. For the moment this scheme was unsuccessful. But about four years afterwards the exarch Calliopas was more fortunate. Martin was at length apprehended and conveyed to the capital by the satellites of the exarch. This violent proceeding was not altogether destitute of legal excuse. The pope had been consecrated without soliciting or waiting for the imperial warrant; Constans was therefore justified in treating him as an intruder. But no such apology can be pleaded for the wanton cruelty which the aged and infirm pontiff suffered at the hands of the worthless tyrant into whose power he had fallen. He was transferred from one prison to another for a period of more than two years, till his death, at Cherson in Scythia, on the 16th of September 655. But the *coup-d'état* was for the moment successful; and the reluctant clergy of Rome, after resisting the imperial commands for the election of a new pope as long as possible, at length, on the 8th of September 654,—conse-

quently more than a year before the death of Pope Martin,—filled the chair by the election of the archpriest Eugenius, as if it had been vacated by death.[q]

Uncanonical election of Pope Eugenius I.

Pope Martin I. could exhibit a title to the chair of Peter clear of all canonical objection. The secular defect it laboured under could have no ecclesiastical consequence; and as long as he lived, no bishop could, consistently with the general law of the Church, be elected in his room. If we should incline, with Fleury, to admit the necessity of the case as an apology for this fatal irregularity in the election of Eugenius I., we should be driven from our position by what took place at Rome not long after his instalment in the papal chair. The double apostate Pyrrhus had been reinstated in the chair of Constantinople; but survived his restoration little more than four months. He was succeeded by the cardinal priest Peter, a professed Monothelite heretic. Peter, however, announced his election in due form to the new pope, and directed his synodal letters to be publicly presented to the pontiff in the great church of the Lateran before the assembled clergy and people of Rome. But Eugenius was saved from the indignity of holding communion with a notorious heretic by a spontaneous movement of the assembled multitude. When the imperial messengers approached with the document in their hands, the bystanders rushed upon them, seized the letters, and flung them contemptuously out of the window, and exacted a solemn engagement from the pope never to hold communication with the heretical pretender.[r] This contempt of the imperial commands remained unpunished; and it may be confidently believed that, under the protection of the zealous populace, the clergy might, if it had so pleased them, have successfully resisted the revolting mandate for the imposition of a new pope while his predecessor was not only still living, but suffering in the cause so fondly cherished and boldly vindicated by the people.

[q] *Anastas.* in Vit. Mart. I. et Eugen. Pap., ap. *Murat.* Ss. Rr. Ital. tom. iii. p. 190. Conf. *Art de vér. &c.* tom. i. p. 253; and *Fleury*, tom. viii. pp. 540, 541.

[r] *Ibid.* Vit. Eug. Pap. ubi sup. p. 140.

Vitalian pope; makes approaches to Constantinople.

But we believe that the latter acted with more sincerity than their ecclesiastical leaders. A spirit of circumspection—to give it the mildest term—from this moment marks the conduct of the Roman clergy in their relations to the court of Constantinople. Pope Eugenius died on the 2d of June 658; and the clergy, with the consent of the emperor, chose Vitalian, a native of Sigæ in Campania, to succeed him. We may be allowed to express some surprise when we find that the first act of the new pontiff was a renewal of that communication with the heretical Peter of Constantinople which his predecessor had so solemnly renounced. Vitalian lost no time after his inauguration in transmitting his synodal letters both to the emperor and patriarch, announcing his elevation to the papal chair.[s] But the position of Pope Vitalian was in many respects critical; and we observe throughout his pontificate considerable caution and complaisance in his demeanour towards his heretical sovereign. With the example of Martin I. before him, and an obsequious exarch at hand to execute the imperial commands, the stern opposition of his predecessor had no charms for him. The controversy of the "one will" was allowed to sink to a whisper; and Pope Vitalian was permitted by a return of courtesy to exercise a degree of influence in the ecclesiastical affairs of the East which Martin had in vain endeavoured to vindicate as his right. John bishop of Lappæ, or Lampione, a district of the province of Crete subject to Thessalonica, had been deposed by Paul, the metropolitan bishop of that city. John appealed to Rome against the sentence; the synod of the diocese inhibited the appeal; but the pope, regarding the inhibition as a contempt of his authority, quashed all

Case of John of Lappæ.

[s] *Baronius* thinks that the letter addressed to Peter was merely hortatory, and not a proper synodal letter implying communion (Ann. 655, § 5). The existence of the letter is only known from the reply of Peter, which was partly read at the General Council of Constantinople. *Hard.* Conc. tom. iii. p. 1347 A. The expressions quoted certainly imply a very friendly tone in the letters of the pope: "Spiritalem nobis lætitiam peperit litera vestra unanimis sanctæ fraternitatis." *Pagi* (ad loc. Baron.) takes pains to prove that Vitalian did not write on this occasion to Peter, but only to the emperor Constans and his son. *Fleury*, on the other hand, understands the letter to have been a formal synodal epistle. H. E. tom. viii. p. 562.

proceedings against the delinquent bishop, and commanded the metropolitan to reinstate him in his see, with a pecuniary indemnity for all costs and charges he had incurred in consequence of the prosecution. The actual result of this exercise of power is not known; but as Paul afterwards so far assented to the legality of the appeal as to send the minutes of the provincial trial to Rome for the pope's inspection, it is not improbable that he withdrew the inhibition and submitted to the reversal of his judgment.[t]

Constans II. was not wanting in a return of courtesies to the pope. He received the letters and legates of Vitalian with great respect; he confirmed the privileges of the holy see, and in token of his favour presented a superb Ms. of the Gospels, in a case of gold, to the church of St. Peter at Rome. The costly gift was received by the pope with the most profound reverence, and solemnly deposited in the treasury of the church. But the controversial truce did not extend beyond the confines of Italy. Constans was as firmly as ever resolved, by means fair or foul, to compel the adoption of the "Type" among his Eastern subjects. While his theologians, with the patriarch Peter at their head, were inventing expedients to reconcile adverse opinions on the subject of the "one will," he occupied himself in hunting down the adversaries of his own particular scheme for ridding his government of the disturbances arising out of these vexatious meddlings with the popular creed. The "Type" was to accomplish all this; but its opponents treated it with derision and scorn; they defied the tyrant by every form of resistance, and courted persecutions, imprisonments, and mutilations, even death itself, so they might but kindle into a flame the contempt and abhorrence with which the people were beginning to regard the bloodthirsty debauchee upon the throne.

Constans II. enforces the Type.

The self-devotion of the fanatics produced the intended effect. The martyrdoms of Maximus of Chrysapolis and his disciple Anastasius[u]

Expedition and death of Constans II.

[t] *Ciacone*, Vit. Pont. tom. i. p. 462; *Fleury*, tom. viii. p. 603; *De Mornay*, p. 114.

[u] These men had represented their

drew after them hosts of equally resolute followers and victims; the public hatred hovered like a thunder-cloud over the head of the tyrant, and he determined to remove himself out of its reach before it should burst upon and overwhelm him. Collecting a considerable fleet and land force, he disembarked on the coast of Calabria, with a view to the recovery of the long-lost provinces of Southern Italy. But he met with so severe a check from the Beneventine Lombards as to divert him from the enterprise. He retired upon Rome; and after plundering the city of almost all its remaining treasures of art and portable public wealth, he finally retreated to Syracuse in Sicily; and was there slain by the hand of a slave, in the year 668.

Relations of Rome and Constantinople between the years 668 and 679.

From this point of time the decline of the Monothelite party in the East may be dated. The odium which the persecutions, cruelties, and caprices of its imperial patron had brought upon that confession tended to produce a pretty general approximation to the Catholic party. Peter of Constantinople, the ingenious inventor of a *threefold* will in the divine Logos, was succeeded in the year 666 by the archdeacon Thomas; between that period and the year 678 no fewer than five patriarchs successively occupied the chair of Constantinople. All these prelates were treated by Pope Vitalian and his short-lived successors Adeodatus, Domnus, and Agathon, as professed or suspected heretics; and their synodal letters, though regularly sent, were as regularly rejected. Constans II. had been succeeded by his pacific son Constantine IV., surnamed Pogonatus. Four years afterwards (672) Pope Vitalian sank into the tomb, and Adeodatus followed him upon the papal throne. This pontiff held the see for the short term of four years and a few days under six months; and in 676 he was succeeded by Donus, or Domnus, for the brief period of two years and rather more than five months. But short as these periods

party in the East at the council of the Lateran under Pope Martin I.; and on their return maintained its decisions with that insolent audacity which is so often mistaken for Christian firmness in support of the truth. Inordinate theological pride has its martyrs, as well as honest conviction.

were, the latter pontiffs witnessed the first approaches towards a religious pacification. Constantine IV. proposed to Pope Domnus that a conference should be held between Theodore of Constantinople and Macarius of Antioch on the one side, and the pope in person, or his legates, on the other, for the purpose of determining the terms of reunion between the East and the West. Domnus did not live to reply to the emperor's proposal; but in the following year (679) his successor Agathon convoked a general council—or what was intended to represent a general council—of the Western churches, for the ostensible purpose of deliberating upon the proposal under his own superintendence.

Roman synod of the year 679.

The synod, when assembled, consisted of a large majority of Italian prelates subject to the see of Rome, including the metropolitans of Milan, Aquileia, and Ravenna. From France we read the names of only three bishops; and, incidentally, that of Wilfred, titular archbishop of York, who was then at Rome for the purpose of prosecuting his suit against the presumed usurpers of his province.[v] All that we know about the proceedings of this council must be gathered from two letters addressed to the emperor Constantine; the first from the pope himself, the second from the council over which he presided.[w] The pontiff sets out by affirming the maternal authority of the holy see over all the churches of the West; the council then sitting he declared to be a full representation of the whole Latin church; although some time had been required to collect a sufficient constituency to enable it to sustain that character. "He was," he said, "sincerely anxious to render to the emperor all due obedience; and he had with that intent hastened to appoint proper legates to confer with him: not, however, to debate or to discuss matters of

[v] See Book IV. c. iv. p. 336 of this work.

[w] These epistles, or rather treatises, may be studied by those whose patience is proof against the dullest prolixity, in *Hard.* Conc. tom. iii. pp. 1074 and 1115. The second epistle runs in the name of "the pope and council;" both are addressed to the emperor Constantine and his two brothers, Heraclius and Tiberius Augg. The substance is, as usual, very well and shortly given by *Fleury*, tom. ix. pp. 13 and 16. Conf. *Baron.* Ann. 680, §§ i. et sqq.

faith, but solely to lay before him succinctly the articles of the Catholic creed relative to the question then in hand; and this he stated dogmatically to be, that 'as in the Lord Jesus Christ there are two natures, there are likewise two wills and a twofold *modus operandi*.' And from this faith he affirmed the holy church of *Rome had never swerved*."

Synodal acts and report.

The second epistle contained the proper report of the synod, and was signed by the pope in the first place, and after him by all the bishops, according to rank and seniority. They are, in their aggregate capacity, described as the "Council of the Apostolic See;" their functional competency was—so they desired it to be understood—deduced from the papal authority, and all their acts were supposed to derive their validity from his concurrence and sanction alone. Their faith, they declared, was that of Rome; they implicitly adopted the whole Roman tradition, upon the avowed ground that their own ignorance and incapacity to judge for themselves were so profound that they could find no sure refuge against the entanglements of religious error, but in the closest adhesion to the dogmatic forms handed down to them through the chair of Peter.[x]

Character of this synod.

The apprehension of heretical contamination was, in truth, increased to a panic by the sense of helpless ignorance here expressed. Throughout the whole course of her history the church of Rome was as deeply indebted to this state of religious diffidence as to any other of those numerous foibles which contribute to weaken self-reliance, and to reduce the mind of men and nations to a state of quiescent dependence upon intelligences destitute of any stronger claim to authority than that which their own individual or aggregate judgment, if properly exerted, might have supplied. Yet, in cases like the present, the Roman pontiffs were anxious not to forfeit the support to be derived from these synodal assemblies by depriving them altogether of that appearance of spontaneous and deliberative action which was necessary to give a current value to their deliberations.

[x] *Baron.* ubi sup. §§ xxxii.-xxxiv.

True it was that this council at Rome was, like other Italian synods, in no material sense either a representative or an independent body: no notice of the meeting had been given to the bishops of Spain, Britain, or Germany, and only partially to those of France; but it suited the papal policy to assign to it the ostensible functions of a deliberative body competent to represent the sentiments of the entire Latin communion; and thereby to impart to its decisions, though purely papal, that authoritative character which belongs to a properly constituted legislative body.

Assembling of the sixth general council.

The papal manifesto and the synodal report were delivered to the emperor by separate deputations; and great care was taken that the instructions of the envoys should be in both cases in perfect harmony with each other. The emperor was informed that the delegates had no power to enter into any discussion; that their only duty was to deliver into his hands the confession of the entire Latin church upon the disputed question; that that confession was not subject to any alteration or correction; and that it was the unanimous resolution of all the "churches of the West and the North" to regard all who rejected it as outcasts from Christian communion. Constantine had in the mean time removed the obnoxious patriarch Theodore, to make room for George the Syncellus, a person of a more tractable disposition; and he had caused a synod of bishops similarly disposed to assemble at Constantinople. At the same time he ordered the patriarch Macarius of Antioch, the champion of the Monothelite opinion, to assemble the bishops of his persuasion in the greatest possible number, and freely to examine and report to him upon the matters to be submitted to a general council by the deputies of Pope Agathon and the Western churches. It does not appear that the emperor disclosed to the dissentients the contents of the papal instructions; he baited his trap with the lure of free discussion, though fully and emphatically apprised that the suppression of all inquiry was the first condition of reconciliation. The Monothelite bishops fell into the snare; and Macarius, with his friends, took their

seats in the council, which was then regarded as fully constituted, and invested with the proper character and functions of an œcumenical council of the Christian church.

Constituency of the so-called sixth general council.

The first meeting was held in the palace of the Trullum at Constantinople on the 7th of November 680. The emperor, attended by thirteen members of his council of state, presided as judge, or moderator. The highest places of honour were assigned to the legates of the pope; the next, to the patriarchs George and Macarius, the metropolitan of Ephesus, and the legates of the sees of Alexandria and Jerusalem, in their order; the Spanish, Gallic, German, and British churches were unrepresented; nor does it appear to have been thought at all necessary to notice them as constituents of the Latin communion otherwise than as represented by the papal legates.[y] The latter

Proceedings, and their result.

opened the proceedings by denouncing the heresy of the "one will," but in conformity with their instructions declining to enter upon any dogmatic discussion of the controverted doctrine. The emperor, however, called upon both parties to declare their opinions, and to defend them freely by reference to the councils and the writings of the fathers. The metaphysical and religious difficulties involved in the controversy were not much discussed; Scripture, and its genuine interpretation, was scarcely adverted to at all: both parties confined themselves to long quotations and extracts from the councils and the dicta of the catholic fathers;

[y] *Baronius* and his commentator Pagi (Ann. 679, § i.) were sensible of this objection to the universality of this so-called sixth œcumenical council. *Baronius* tells us that the records of all the other preliminary or constituent provincial councils held by order of the pope are lost; and Pagi adds, that the Gallic bishops present at the preparatory council held at Rome had, by their subscriptions, vouched themselves as deputies of the churches of Gaul and Germany. But, as Fleury properly remarks, Wilfred of York also took upon himself, without a shadow of authority, the character of legate of the Anglican church. I think, however, that the term "legatus," used in the four subscriptions of Adeodatus of Gaul, Wilfred of York, Felix of Arles, and Taurinus of Toulon, denoted simply their official character as presidents of the several Gallic and British provincial councils. And in that character the three French metropolitans, like Wilfred of York, took upon themselves to speak for the bishops of their provinces. There is no evidence whatever of any special provincial convocations for the purpose of collecting the suffrages of the unrepresented churches. See the subscriptions, apud *Hard.* Concil. tom. iii, p. 1131.

and indulged in mutual revilings and charges of forgery, interpolation, false quotation, suppression, and fraud. Macarius of Antioch was at first feebly supported by the patriarch George; but when overpowered by the superior learning or volubility of his opponents, he took his stand upon the authority of the three great patriarchs, Honorius of Rome, Sergius of Constantinople, and Cyrus of Alexandria. It was, however, pretty soon apparent to which side the emperor inclined, and the patriarch George accordingly professed himself convinced. He and his clergy declared that the authorities relied upon by the Latins were conclusive. All the Thracian and Asiatic bishops, with the exception of five, deserted Macarius; and when the latter, nothing daunted, poured out his maledictions upon his opponents—more especially the hero of the adverse faction, the martyred Maximus—reasserted the fidelity of his quotations, and eulogised Honorius, Sergius, and Cyrus as the pillars of the orthodox faith, he was answered by an almost unanimous sentence of excommunication and deposition, involving him and all his remaining adherents in one general condemnation.

Condemnation of the Monothelite heresiarchs.

The success of the Latins was not, however, without serious alloy. Macarius had brought the name of Pope Honorius so prominently forward during the eight or nine first sessions, that the fathers could not avoid dealing with him as they were called upon to deal with the associated names of Sergius and Cyrus. In the thirteenth session it was therefore resolved that the writings of all these persons, having been found to be at variance with the doctrine of the Apostles, the decrees of the councils, and the concurrent opinion of the fathers, heretical in themselves, and dangerous to the welfare of men's souls, they, their persons and their doctrine be blotted from the memory of all Christians, and erased from the records of the catholic Church. The sentence thus concludes: "Sergius therefore, late bishop of the city of Constantinople, the author of this heresy, Cyrus of Alexandria, Pyrrhus and Paul of Constantinople, Theodore bishop of Pharan, and all others

whom Pope Agathon hath condemned, we do hereby condemn and drive out of the Church; and together with these we do pass the like sentence, and do in like manner doom to eternal perdition *Honorius late pope of old Rome*, for that it hath been manifestly proved, by his epistle to the said Sergius, as exhibited to us, that he hath in all things followed and adopted the impieties of him the said Sergius." The original letters of Honorius, together with the writings of all the condemned persons, which were to be found in the archives of the church of Constantinople, were publicly consigned to the flames; the names of the martyrs and confessors of the orthodox opinion were restored to their honours in the Church; and in the sixteenth session, the anathemas decreed in the thirteenth were read and promulgated, including the solemn curse upon the memory of *the "heretic Honorius of Rome."*

The like sentence upon Honorius of Rome.

In the eighteenth and last session, the fathers drew up and agreed upon their confession of faith, to which they appended an authentic list of the dead and living heretics whom they had condemned. The list was found to contain the names of Honorius, Cyrus, and Macarius, the patriarchs of the three Petrine sees of Pope Gregory the Great,[z] besides those of many minor heretics. As each name was pronounced in succession, with the appended anathema, the holy fathers echoed the curse with wonderful zeal and unction. With what feelings the papal legates listened to this scurvy treatment of a successor of St. Peter, we are not informed. In other respects their triumph was complete. An address was voted to the emperor, eulogising his piety, reiterating the anathemas, praising Pope Agathon, —"through whom," said they, "the blessed apostle Peter hath spoken unto us,"—and concluding with a request that he would ratify their proceedings with the seal of temporal law, by his imperial subscription and publication. A synodal letter to Pope Agathon was then drawn up, informing him that they had, agreeably to his desire, condemned the heretical teachers named in his letters,

Concluding acts of the council.

[z] See Book III. c. vi. pp. 204, 205 of this work.

including that of Honorius, whom the pope had certainly not named among the number. In conclusion, they besought the pope to adopt their confession of faith, which act they doubted not would call down the divine blessing upon himself, the emperor, and the whole estate of the church and republic of Rome.[a]

The synod closed its sittings on the 16th of September in the year 681; and the emperor without delay issued his edict for the execution of the conciliar decrees. The edict followed accurately the terms of the decrees, even to the enumeration of the persons condemned, among whom the name of Honorius of Rome stood out conspicuously; it concluded with an absolute prohibition to all classes of persons, lay or ecclesiastical, by private or public discussion, or otherwise, to revive the disputes now so happily brought to a conclusion. Every transgression of this precept was to be visited by the like civil penalties as those annexed to doctrinal recusancy.

Imperial edict of confirmation.

Pope Agathon died in the month of January 682; and was succeeded by Leo II., an ecclesiastic of good repute for piety and learning. Owing to some unexplained delay at Constantinople, the new pope was not consecrated till the following October. A few months afterwards, he signified to the emperor his "pure and simple" adoption and confirmation of the decrees of the late council. "After due examination," he declared, "we pronounce this sixth general council of the Church to be in strict conformity with the five preceding councils. We also received with pleasure the (confirmatory) edict of your majesty; because, in conjunction with the decree of the council, we are thus put in possession of a two-edged sword for the extirpation of all manner of heresy. We therefore give our entire consent to the definitions of this holy sixth general council, and receive it as of equal authority with the five preceding councils of the universal Church; and we do

Pope Leo II. accepts the council, and adopts the anathemas.

[a] This very short synopsis of the so-called sixth general council may be compared with the details in the *Concilia*, tom. iii. pp. 1043-1644,—six hundred folio pages. See the abridgments of *Baronius*, Ann. 680 and 681; and *Fleury*, tom. ix. pp. 25-65.

hereby anathematise the inventors of the new heresy—to wit, Theodore of Pharan, Cyrus of Alexandria, Sergius, Pyrrhus, Paul and Peter of Constantinople, and lastly *Honorius*, who, instead of maintaining the bright purity of the apostolic see, did conspire and make common cause with heretics for the overthrow of the true faith.[b]

[b] *Baron.* Ann. 683, §§ xiii.-xv. The cardinal rejects this and other four letters of the same pontiff (to the Spanish churches) as forgeries; but *Pagi* treats the cardinal's objections as "ineptiæ."

CHAPTER II.

THE RAVENNATINE CONTROVERSY—THE QUINISEXT.

Political and religious position of the holy see—Participation of Rome in the sixth general council—Comparative state of the Eastern and Western churches—Death of C. Pogonatus—His successors—Leontius—Tiberius III.—Bardanes—Religious revolutions in the East—Claims of Ravenna—History of the Ravennatine patriarchate—The Autocephaly—Conflict between Rome and Ravenna—Privileges of Ravenna cancelled by C. Pogonatus—Benedict II. pope—Election of Sergius I.—Substitution of saint and relic worship for idolatrous superstitions, &c.—Success of Pope Sergius I.—Origin and convocation of the "Quinisext" council—Objections to the constitution of the Quinisext council—Canons of the Quinisext—Pope Sergius I. rejects the council—Abortive attempts to compel acceptance of the Quinisext decrees—Complaisance of Justinian II. towards the holy see—Mysterious journey of Pope Constantine to Constantinople—Conjectural explanation.

In considering the political and ecclesiastical position of the papacy subsequently to the fifth general council, we are struck by the decline it exhibits both in spiritual dignity and religious influence. The schism of the "three chapters" had inflicted a deep wound on the constitution of the papacy in the West; a wound which rankled in the body of the Roman church for more than half a century, and was with difficulty closed by the zeal and discretion of the great Gregory. Within the seventh century the vexatious neighbourhood of the Lombards, and the still more weakening political connection with Constantinople, was not as yet balanced by any external political support; and the pontiffs of Rome had been compelled to trim between the Greek and Lombard belligerents in Italy to obtain for their spiritual subjects a precarious immunity from the visitations of war, and the dangers of religious contamination. The Monothelite controversy was the climax of misfortune to Rome. The error of Pope Honorius I. drew after it a frank abandonment of the

Political and religious power of the holy see in the seventh century.

Ennodian doctrine of impeccability,[a] and an incalculable loss of spiritual dignity. The abductions of Vigilius and Martin had affected only the temporal power of the holy see; the lapse of Honorius shook the foundation of a supremacy grounded upon a reputed incapability of doctrinal error. The, if possible, still more palpable mistake of Pope Leo II., in consenting to the condemnation of his predecessor, fixed the stigma of dogmatic peccability on the chair of Peter; and, while this backsliding should be remembered among men, the proud position gained for Rome by the labour of Leo I., and the learning or logic of Symmachus, could never be recovered.[b] But, in truth, the whole attention of the pontiffs of this and the following century had been in a great degree withdrawn from the ecclesiastical, and riveted—perhaps by the necessities of their political position—upon their temporal interests. The loss of spiritual dignity sustained by the result of the late council was to some extent compensated to Leo II. by court favour. Constantine Pogonatus granted certain important privileges to the see of Rome: a material reduction of the sum payable to the imperial treasury for confirmation was consented to; and the customary deliveries of corn hitherto leviable upon the patrimonial estate of the Church in Calabria and Sicily, together with a few other fiscal burdens, were remitted.

Participation of Rome in the sixth general council.

But in other respects the holy see had been treated with no degree of respect or deference corresponding with the claims so successfully maintained by former pontiffs. So rapid had been the decline of true theological learning, so profound the decay of genuine piety, so absorbing the pursuit of merely worldly objects among the hierarchy and clergy generally, that the influence of Rome, great as it was, had to work with far baser materials, and with far less skilful hands, than those at her command when Leo I. convoked, directed, and controlled the great synod of

[a] Conf. Book III. c. ii. p. 76 of this work.

[b] If Leo II. had dealt with the condemnation of Honorius as Leo the Great had treated the twenty-eighth canon of the council of Chalcedon, the danger had been evanescent. But the pure and simple acceptance of the decrees of the sixth general council left no room for escape. Conf. Book II. c. v. p. 408 of this work.

Chalcedon. Marcian, and his wife Pulcheria, supported that pontiff upon religious rather than political grounds; Pogonatus took no other than a purely political interest in the proceedings of the sixth œcumenical synod. Leo the Great could build upon a foundation of solid learning and an enlightened exposition of Scripture; he addressed himself to a world not yet wholly enslaved to sacerdotal tradition: Agathon presumed upon the ignorance, rather than the intelligence, of his party; and supported himself almost solely upon traditional lore and patristic authority. The great object of papal ambition in that age was the extension of the temporal estate of the Church; while the emperor was thinking of nothing but how to put an end to the vexations of religious faction, and to make the suppression of discordant theological opinions the stepping-stone to the extension of the imperial power in Italy. The theological sceptre had thus passed from the hands of Rome. Agathon could no longer insist upon a potential presidency; the acts of the council no longer ran in the name of the pope of Rome; the council was no longer convoked by him; his legates no longer presided over and directed all proceedings; nor did the fathers regard themselves as called together for his purposes, or to do his work. Constantine presided, directed, and moderated in matters of religion, as well as in those of form and order; he affected to treat the litigants as equally privileged, and the matters and things to be brought under discussion as subject to his scrutiny and approbation. He took no account of the attempt of the pope to limit the powers of the synod to the simple acceptance of his definitions; he permitted and encouraged reiterated discussion of the controverted dogmas, and virtually repelled the pretension of Rome to bind down the Christian world to the despotic decision of the Latin chief.

Comparative state of the Eastern and Western churches.

The prospects of Rome in the West wore a more favourable aspect. Bating the independent attitude of the Spanish prelacy,[c] so soon to be altogether struck out of the list of Christian establishments, the Western and Northern churches were draw-

[c] See Book IV. c. ii. p. 275.

ing daily closer around her. In fact, the ignorance or credulity of the Christians of the West afforded a better security for their religious coherency than the theological acumen of the Greeks for the maintenance of their own ecclesiastical integrity and independence at home, or their influence abroad. In the East practical religion was almost swallowed up by dogmatic formalism, leaving the heart emptied of every principle of resistance to the baser passions and interests of the moment. Honesty and sincerity are the only permanent securities for liberty or independence in Church or State; and where these are wanting, independence, if not a chimera, more frequently turns out a curse than a blessing. Within the remnant of the Oriental empire still unconquered by the Arabs, the Christian prelacy had abandoned themselves to the baneful spirit of theological faction; and when not engaged in denouncing and persecuting one another, had become the servile instruments of a government infected with every vice engendered in the hotbed of despotism. The ultimate results of the great Monothelite controversy must be here shortly adverted to, with a view to the contrast of feebleness and of strength in the religious state of the two great divisions of Christendom.

Death of Pogonatus: his successors.

Constantine Pogonatus died in the year 685, and was succeeded by his worthless son Justinian II. After a reign of ten years,—consumed in self-indulgence, indolence, and cruelty,—he was deposed, mutilated, and banished by Leontius, the popular favourite of the day. Within the first three years of his exile, his enemy was supplanted by Apsimar, who ascended the throne by the title of Tiberius III.; but in the eighth year of the reign of the latter prince, Justinian II. suddenly reappeared at the gates of Constantinople, and was introduced into the city by the ever-fickle populace. His restoration was the signal for the renewal of those unheard-of cruelties which in him had become a second nature; and in the year 711 Philippicus Bardanes ridded the world of the tyrant, without mitigation of the tyranny to which all these miseries were ascribable. Bar-

Leontius.

Tiberius III.

Philippicus Bardanes.

danes professed Monothelite opinions; and the first act of his government was to abolish or destroy every memorial of the sixth general council upon which he could lay his hands. At the simple mandate of the new emperor, a numerous synod of bishops was found fully prepared to anathematise every enemy of the Monothelite tenets, and to restore to fame and honours all whom that council had condemned or deposed. The names of Sergius, Honorius, and all who had suffered with them, were solemnly reinscribed in the sacred diptychs, and their effigies were again set up in the holy places. Cyrus, the orthodox patriarch of Constantinople, was deposed, and the Monothelite Johannes seated in his chair.

Religious revolutions in the East.

Passing over the intermediate successions, the see of Rome was at the period of the elevation of Bardanes (A.D. 711) occupied by Pope Constantine. The former thought fit to send an apology for his conduct to Rome; but the pontiff rejected his explanations with contempt; he cast out the emperor's statues from the holy places, and erased his name from the liturgy of the Church: yet he carefully avoided carrying his religious resistance beyond the limits of temporal allegiance; and successfully defended the imperial commander Peter against the rebel Christophiles, who, under favour of the religious fermentation in Rome, endeavoured to maintain himself in arms against the sovereign. Three years afterwards a new revolution hurled Bardanes from the throne; and now Anastasius II. (Artemius), his successor, professed the orthodox faith. With sycophantic alacrity the clergy of the East hastened to restore the sixth general council to all its pristine dignity and honour. The acts of his predecessor were annulled, and the sentiments of the new emperor were conveyed to Pope Constantine through the exarch Scholasticus of Ravenna. The intrusive patriarch John at the same time sent in an ample retractation of the Monothelite error, with a lame apology for his late defection from the faith, and participation in the deposition of the orthodox Cyrus. He concluded his excuses by asking pardon for his sins, and entreating the pope to accept his synodal letters in token

of communion and amity. The example of John was followed by all the metropolitans and prelates of the East; and they now professed and taught the doctrine of the two wills with at least as furious a zeal as they had, under Philippicus, taught the adverse tenets.

Claims of Ravenna.

From such a rival, Rome, though she might not have much to gain, could have little to fear. The hypocritical vacillations of the Greek hierarchy justified the simple confidence of the Western churches in the honour and integrity of Rome; while the alternations of frantic dogmatism and unprincipled sycophancy in the Greeks shut out from their view all the remoter consequences of their own misdemeanours, and threw the advantage into the scale of ignorant integrity and consistency. But this spontaneous self-surrender of the Western churches partook of none of the capricious servility of the Byzantine character. A spirit to insist upon ancient rights, even against the chair of Peter, often caused embarrassment to the course of pontifical government.

History of the Ravennatine patriarchate.

The citizens of Ravenna had not forgotten that their city had ranked with the imperial capitals of the empire; and that the bishop of Ravenna had partaken of the proud distinction conferred upon the city when it became the imperial residence of Honorius and his court. The privileges claimed were understood to extend to an exclusive jurisdiction over the Æmilian province, resembling that of Constantinople over her Thracian diocese. These privileges were designated by the Greeks by the name of "*Autocephaly*," implying exemption from patriarchal or other visitatorial control.[d] After the decree of Valentinian III., it is difficult to conceive on what legal ground Ravenna could claim exemption from the patriarchal jurisdiction of Rome.[e] Though not lying within the Roman vicariate, or "provinciæ suburbicariæ," and therefore not an immediate or ordinary dependency of the holy see, she was obviously included within the vast region embraced by that decree. Yet it seems that Ra-

The Autocephaly.

[d] *Bingham*, Ecclesiastical Antiq. vol. i. p. 277.

[e] See abstract of the decree, in vol. i. Book II. c. iv. p. 353 of this work.

venna had been raised to patriarchal rank when the city became the seat of government. She is said to have been taken out of the province of Milan, as Constantinople had, for a like reason, been severed from that of Heracleia; and when thus separated, her autocephaly seems to have been, at least for a time, fully acknowledged. It may, however, be doubtful whether the privilege extended to exemption from the ultimate pontifical or superabounding jurisdiction of the pope, or whether it only liberated her from the ordinary patriarchal authority of the holy see. It is even probable that the claim of Ravenna extended only to exemption from the latter jurisdiction. But the popes, not content with asserting their general visitatorial powers,—which gave them only an indirect and incidental privilege of interference,—denied not only the self-existence of Ravenna as an independent church, but also her special patriarchal character. In the exercise of this supremacy, Pope Vitalian had consecrated bishops within the province of Ravenna in the teeth of the remonstrances of the patriarch Maurus. The latter applied for redress to the emperor Constans II., and obtained from him an imperial charter, exempting the church of Ravenna from all foreign interference, "in such wise that *that* church should be in no manner subject to the patriarch of old Rome, but be absolutely self-existent and self-governed; that the bishops of Ravenna should be no longer obliged to go to Rome, but should be consecrated by the bishops of the diocese, in the same manner as other archbishops are consecrated, and, like them, receive their pallium from the emperor."[f]

Contest between Rome and Ravenna.

It appears, therefore, that neither Maurus nor the emperor intended any more than to secure to the ecclesiastical province of Ravenna the ordinary canonical privileges of all metropolitan churches; that, namely, of choosing and consecrating their own archprelate. On the other hand, it is manifest that the bishop of Rome regarded both church and province as simple dependencies of his chair; the

[f] See *Agnellus*, Vit. Pont. Ravenn. ap. *Murat.* Ss. Rr. Ital. tom. ii. pp. 143-6. Muratori gives the entire charter.

choice of the prelate to rest, probably, with the suffragans, the approval and consecration being reserved to himself. Vitalian, therefore, treated the application to the emperor as an insult to the supreme patriarchal jurisdiction of the holy see, and cited Maurus before himself at Rome to answer for the contempt. In his reply, the archbishop maintained that the independence of his church had been secured by ancient and positive agreement with the holy see; he rejected the citation, and bade the messengers of the pope faithfully report this answer to their master. Vitalian took no notice either of the alleged compact or the charter of Constans, and excommunicated the archbishop in due form. The latter retorted the injury with the like solemnity; and to the close of their lives both pontiffs treated each other as aliens and outcasts from Christian communion.[g]

Privileges of Ravenna cancelled by C. Pogonatus.

The religious revolution which followed upon the accession of Constantine Pogonatus completely changed the position of the two sees. The obnoxious grant of Constans II. was reversed by his successor: he cancelled the claim of autocephaly; he directed the charter, "surreptitiously" obtained by the late archbishop, to be delivered up; and ordered that for the future the pontiff-elect of Ravenna should repair to Rome to receive consecration at the hands of the pope. At the same time he prohibited the usual honours to the memory of Maurus; but exempted the Ravennatine church from the customary payment to the holy see for investiture.[h] Constantine was in truth anxious to uphold the work of conciliation begun at the great council of 681. The alliance of Rome was of more importance than the rights or honours of the capital of a precarious dependency. He had the sagacity to perceive that the support of the head of the Latin church must be more conducive to Byzantine interests in Italy than the goodwill of any individual or section of the hierarchical body. He therefore strove to maintain the

[g] *Agnellus*, ubi sup.; and see the unsatisfactory "observations," p. 145.

[h] Or grant of the pallium. *Anastas.* in Vit. Leo II. ap. *Murat.* tom. iii. p. 145.

pacific understanding established with Leo II.; and when, in the year 684, that pontiff was succeeded by Benedict II. pope. Benedict II., he dispensed with the expensive and dilatory proceedings hitherto requisite to obtain the imperial confirmation, and directed that on every occasion of a papal election, instead of the customary embassy to Constantinople, the exarch of Ravenna should be empowered to issue the imperial warrant for the consecration of the pontiff-elect.[i] As a further testimony of his high regard and reverence, he dedicated his two sons, Justinian and Heraclius, to the service of the holy see, by the delivery of the long hair which, in accordance with custom, was cut off from the heads of youths when they arrived at the age of manhood, into the hands of the pope in token of the filial relation of which that act was a symbol and a pledge.[j]

The death of Constantine Pogonatus in 685 opened the succession to the elder of these youths, Justinian II. Between the new emperor and the holy see the same relations of amity continued for some years to subsist. At home the papacy was not altogether free from domestic disturbances. The archbishop of Cagliari in Sardinia was infected with the like schismatic spirit of autocephaly with the prelates of Ravenna. He was, however, speedily reduced to submission.[k] But a more threatening demonstration occurred in the choice of a successor to Benedict II. himself. The armed population, or militia, of Rome refused to concur in the election of the nominee of the clergy, and put up a candidate of their own. After many days of fruitless conference, fortunately unattended with any breach of the peace, the affair was happily settled by both parties abandoning their respective favourites, and agreeing to the election of Conon, a very respectable but extremely infirm old man.[l] The new pope soon sank into the tomb; and his death was, as usual, the signal for a renewal of

Papal elections.

Conon pope.

[i] *Anastas.* in Vit. Bened. II. ubi sup. p. 146; conf. *Fleury*, tom. ix. p. 75.

[j] *Ibid.* ubi sup.; conf. *Ducange*, Glos. voc. "Capilli."

[k] *Ibid.* ubi sup. p. 146.

[l] Benedict II. himself was so feeble that he was almost incapable of performing the duties of his office. He sat only ten months and twelve days. Conon sat eleven months and twenty-three days. *Anastas.* ubi sup.

the contentions which had attended his own election. People and clergy separated into two factions, each of which put forward its own candidate, and took up a military position, with a view to intimidate each other rather than to commit themselves to actual warfare. The more moderate on both sides at length seceded from the factions, and elected Sergius, the precentor of the Roman church. Meanwhile Paschal, one of the adverse candidates, had put himself in communication with the exarch Platys of Ravenna, and engaged to pay him the sum of one hundred pounds of gold as the price of his patronage. Allured by the prospect of so rich a bribe, Platys furtively appeared in Rome, resolved at all events to secure the promised treasure. But finding that the interest of Sergius was in the ascendant, he extorted from the successful candidate the bribe he had no longer any prospect of obtaining from the unlucky Paschal. The pope-elect met with some difficulty in raising the money; Platys was, however, at length satisfied, and Sergius was, with his consent, installed and consecrated.[m]

Election of Sergius I.

The payment of this exorbitant demand does not seem materially to have crippled the pecuniary resources of the new pontiff. He expended larger sums upon the repairs and internal decoration of his churches than any of his predecessors; he introduced new ceremonies into the ritual, and increased the pomp and show of public worship; a display in harmony with the habitual policy of the Roman church. It should be borne in mind, that though the spurious Christianity introduced by the Lombard conquerors into Italy was in a great degree extinct; and though the majority of that people had within the seventh century slidden gradually into the Latin profession,—still many heathen practices remained to be overcome. Arianism, in alliance with the old popular superstitions, still lurked in the habits and prepossessions of the new converts. The zeal and assiduity of the Latin clergy had successfully combated many of these evils. In lieu of their ancient groves and fountains and rude altars, the papal

Substitution of saint and relic worship for idolatrous superstitions, &c.

[m] *Anastas.* in Vit. Sergii I. ubi sup. p. 148.

churchmen had provided the people with stately temples: relics, images, processions, and a showy ritual offered an acceptable substitute for their bloody sacrifices, their riotous festivals, and their idolatrous mummeries. Princes and people slipped gently into the smooth path of relic and image worship, recommended to them as substitutes for the numerous objects of superstitious reverence they had been required to abandon. They now put that trust which they had formerly reposed in charms, amulets, and incantations, in the power of the saints and the virtues of their relics; they became as eager as the devout Franks themselves for the possession of these efficacious remains, and vied with each other in the erection of shrines and churches for their due honour and worship.[n]

Policy of Pope Sergius I.

This course of religious policy, considered with reference to the objects in view, such as they were, was recommended by its obvious expediency. Any expenditure of treasure for the purpose of captivating the senses,—perhaps ultimately of fixing the attention of a semi-barbarous race upon the higher doctrines and nobler practice of the Christian profession,—could not fail to bring with it a rich increase of influence and wealth to the priests of the shrine. The maintenance of the honours supposed to be due to the images of the Virgin mother and the saints was a measure of at least equal importance. Sergius I. took advantage of the religious sympathy which in these respects subsisted between his church and his Lombard neighbours to eliminate the last remains of the schism of the "three chapters," which still lurked in some districts of the Lombard kingdom. Nearly a century and a half had elapsed since that unhappy experiment upon the settled faith of Christendom had been tried. Murmurs were already beginning to be heard in some quarters against the abuses of image-worship; and Pope Sergius might, on that ground alone, be more keenly sensible of the importance of combining the undivided force of religious prepossessions for

[n] See the history of the restoration of the Abbey of Monte Casino, ap. *Paul. Diac.* lib. vi. c. 40; and of the theft of the bones of St. Benedict by the Frankish relic-venders, *Ibid.* lib. vi. c. 2. Conf. Hist. of the Germ. p. 816.

the defence of a practice by this time intertwined with all the devotional habits of his spiritual subjects, and essential to the whole course of the religious policy of the holy see.[o] In this effort the pope, we are told, was eminently successful; and Sergius enjoyed the prospect of unbroken religious peace throughout the vast extent of his patriarchal influence.

Origin and convocation of the Quinisext council.

It is not to be denied that the Roman pontiffs were justified in regarding the Eastern churches as the proper foci of religious strife. As long as their connection with the Byzantines lasted, they were never safe from the disturbing influences of Greek tergiversation and dishonesty. Thus, in the year 691, the emperor Justinian II. was informed by his restless ecclesiastics that as the two last general councils had omitted to publish any positive ordinances or canons, no rule existed for the practical application and execution of the general principles of ecclesiastical government the fathers had then and there laid down. With a view to supply this defect, the emperor was persuaded to summon an extraordinary assembly of the Oriental churches, which was to be regarded as an adjournment of, or supplementary to, the two preceding general councils: all acts and proceedings to be there adopted were to flow out of those councils, and to derive their authority from them; so that the convocation should not assume an œcumenical character in any other respect than as part and parcel of the great synodal bodies they undertook to represent. They agreed, in short, to regard themselves as a sort of executive council, invested with the powers necessary to frame the body of rules required for the practical execution of the principles of ecclesiastical government and discipline previously established. And in that view of its functions, the meeting afterwards became known to the Latins as the "Quinisext" Council,

[o] Paul the Deacon has hit upon the true motive for the suppression of the writings of Theodoret, Theodore, and Ibas. Eutychians and Catholics were equally alarmed by the dangers they were supposed to threaten to the honours of the divine "Theotokos." See *Paul. Diac.* lib. vi. c. 14; and conf. Book IV. c. v. p. 157 of this work.

and to the Greeks as the *σύνοδος πενθεκτή*. The fathers met in the Trullum, or vaulted hall, of the imperial palace at Constantinople, from which circumstance it is very commonly known by the name of the council of the Trullum. The first session was held on the 31st of August 691; and in that and the following sittings no fewer than one hundred and two canons were enacted. But as it is not proposed in this place to advert fully to the manner in which the fathers of this council dealt with the whole system of church-legislation,[p] we confine our remarks to a few of the more prominent characteristics of this body of ecclesiastical law, in their bearing upon the interests of the Latin church and her pontiff.

Objections to the constitution of the Quinisext.

The pretence set up by the Greeks, that this synod was an adjournment or continuance of the two prior general councils, is altogether untenable; the fifth having been held nearly 140 years, and the sixth only eleven years, before its convocation. Though in strictness it might not be necessary that the members attending should be the same either in respect of persons or numbers, yet in this case the disparity is so great in both respects as to leave no room for that identity of mind and purpose which must always subsist between an original and an adjourned meeting of a deliberative body. A more important objection arises out of the non-participation of the Latin church. There is but scanty evidence that any notice of the intent of the convocation was given to the great Western patriarch; and certain it is that the acts of the council were not signed by a single prelate of that great division of Christendom[q] to whom any representative character could with decent probability be assigned.[r] Spaces are, indeed, left in

[p] Further remarks upon this subject must be reserved for a future opportunity, more especially in our proposed ecthesis of the ecclesiastical law of the ninth century.

[q] Unless we reckon Basilius bishop of Gortyna in Crete, as a province of the eparchia of Illyricum Orientale, to the Western patriarchate. This person signs as "locum tenens totius synodi S. Rom. ecclesiæ." Anastasius the librarian says that the legates of the holy see were present; but there is nothing in the signatures to confirm him but this anomalous "locum tenens," whose pretensions to represent any body or any thing are negatived by every other circumstance in the transaction. But conf. *Anastas.* ubi sup. p. 149; and the subscriptions, ap. *Hard.* Conc. tom. iii. pp. 1699 et sqq.

[r] I have looked carefully through the

blank for the signatures of the pope, and the archprelates of Thessalonica, Ravenna, Sardinia, and Corinth; but there is no ground to believe that these spaces were ever filled up by any of the great ecclesiastics for whom they were reserved. The Latins were therefore at full liberty to regard the proceedings as incomplete and void, even if the fathers of the council had not evinced in the whole course of their deliberations an almost total disregard of the opinions and interests of the Latin communion. This supercilious spirit is plainly brought to light in drawing up their catalogue of the fathers whose writings should be admitted as of canonical authority in the Church. Among these no single name of a Latin father appears but that of Cyprian of Carthage.[s] It can hardly be supposed that, if that church had been either personally or virtually represented, such an omission could have been perpetrated. But even while thus canonising their own peculiar body of tradition, the subtle Greeks could not abstain from attacking that of their Western brethren. Up to this moment, it may be observed, the question of sacerdotal matrimony had never been made the subject of general conciliar deliberation, nor even of public discussion, between the two divisions of Christendom. The meddlesome subtlety, however, of the Quinisext fathers now raised the question by a direct comparison of the Roman practice with their own in respect of the marriage of ecclesiastics; without perhaps perceiving that they were thereby drawing a line of separation between themselves and the Latins, which, but for this impertinence, might for ages have remained in convenient and peaceful obscurity.

Canons of the Quinisext.

The extreme feebleness of the reasoning by which they maintained the validity of their own practice, could not but add contempt to the dislike with which Rome always contemplated the minutest departure from her own peculiar discipline. The Greeks fully admitted that indelible taint of impurity

signatures in my copy of the councils (as above), but do not find any signature "loco Ravennatis," as there ought to be according to *Van Espen's* reading. See his works, tom. iii. p. 359.

[s] See canons i. and ii. among the "Canones Trullanas," ap. *Van Espen*, tom. iii. pp. 360, 361.

which, in the opinion of the more rigid Latin doctors, attached to the matrimonial connection,[t] and acknowledged the principle, that the mediating priest ought to be free from such taint. Consistently with this profession, the Latins very generally held it necessary to eradicate the evil, and to prohibit the marriage of all orders of the priesthood without distinction. Supporting themselves upon the same grounds, the Greeks vainly dreamt that by restricting matrimonial intercourse they could divest it of its inherent character, and present their priesthood without the reproach of sensual contamination.[u]

Wanton collision with the Latins.

In the same litigious spirit, the council declared the Roman custom of keeping every Saturday as well as every Wednesday in Lent as a day of rigid abstinence from food, to be contrary to the apostolic rule; and they ordered that that church should be admonished to reform its practice.[v] Some irritation might naturally have been felt by Rome at the reiteration of the name of Pope Honorius among the heresiarchs condemned by the sixth general council;[w] but that feeling must have been stimulated to resentment by the xxxvi[th] canon, which revived the ancient pretensions of Constantinople to equality of rank, and resuscitated the question of political attribution in opposition to spiritual pedigree.[x] The xxxviii[th], indeed, imparted, *ipso facto*, conformable ecclesiastical privilege to every city which it might please the emperor to advance to higher rank, whether municipal, provincial, or

[t] Conf. vol. i. Book II. c. i. pp. 262 et sqq. of this work.

[u] The Greeks admitted that the Latin practice was a rule "exactæ perfectionis;" a clear admission that their own did not come up to that standard. They decreed that no clerk or presbyter should marry after orders; if married before, he might retain his wife, provided she was his first and only wife, and a virgin at the time of marriage. But a temporary abstinence from connubial intercourse was made a canonical qualification for the celebration of the divine offices; and when a presbyter was made a bishop, he was to banish his wife, if he had one, from his presence for the rest of his life. See Can. Trullan. can. xii. ap. *Van Espen*, tom. iii. p. 368. The defensive allegation that the Lord and his apostles had sanctioned marriage did not on their own principle apply to the priesthood; for if it did, they could not justify their restrictions, because the sanction pleaded imposed none. The root of the error, we conceive, lies in the gross misconception of the nature of the matrimonial connection from which both parties set out.

[v] Can. Trullan. *Hard.* Conc. iii. can. lvi. p. 1682. See also *Van Espen*, ubi sup. p. 390.

[w] See can. i. *Hard.* ubi sup. p. 1658.

[x] Conf. vol. i. Book II. c. v. pp. 399-405 et sqq.

metropolitan;[y] a provision which threw spiritual rights into the background, and in a great measure placed them at the mercy of the sovereign.[z] This canon was probably all the more offensive to Rome, because it introduced and recognised as law the very principle upon which the rank of the patriarch of Constantinople rested; a principle at all times contemplated by Rome with unmitigated disgust and alarm. The fathers, however, at the close of their sitting, signed the acts of the council in the order of their respective rank—the emperor at the head, the four patriarchs in succession, leaving a blank space for the signature of the pope; and, in their proper places, three similar spaces for those of the bishops of Thessalonica, Ravenna, Sardinia, and Corinth. Soon after the conclusion of the acts, Justinian sent off a duplicate original to Pope Sergius, requiring him to sign and return the document. But to this demand the pope returned a peremptory refusal. We are not in possession of the grounds alleged by the pontiff at the time in justification of his disobedience; but where so much appears upon the face of the document itself to awaken the suspicions and excite the apprehensions of Rome, the reasons of the refusal may be very readily apprehended.[a]

Pope Sergius I. rejects the council.

Stung to the quick by this contemptuous treatment of his mandate, Justinian II. despatched orders to Zacharias, his protospatharius, or officer in command of the Ravennatine army, to arrest Pope Sergius, and send him in chains to Constantinople. In obedience to the imperial command, that officer marched an army to Rome, and encamped outside the walls of the city. But soldiers and citizens were equally disgusted at the sacrilegious attempt: the former broke into open mutiny; and, supported

Abortive attempts to compel the acceptance of the Quinisext decrees.

[y] The clause as quoted in *Hard.* Concil. ii. p. 607 (Concil. Chalced.), is part of the xvii[th] canon. It runs thus: *εἰ δέ τις ἐκ βασιλικῆς ἐξουσίας ἐκαινίσθη πόλις, ἢ αὖτις καινισθείη, τοῖς πολιτικοῖς καὶ δημοσίοις τύποις καὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν παροικιῶν ἡ τάξις ἀκολουθείτω.* The Quinisext thus quotes this canon: *εἴ τις ἐκ βασιλικῆς ἐξουσίας ἐκαινίσθη πόλις, ἢ αὖτις καινισθῇ, τοῖς πολιτικοῖς καὶ δημοσίοις τύποις καὶ ἡ τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πραγμάτων τάξις ἀκολουθείτω.* Id. ibid. tom. iii. p. 1675. The verb *καινόω* is here obviously used in the sense of "to devote," "to change to higher rank," "to dedicate to higher purposes."

[z] Conf. *Van Espen*, vol. iii. pp. 379-381 ad Trullan. Conc.

[a] Conf. *Bower*, vol. iii. p. 152.

by the populace, compelled Zacharias to take refuge from their indignation under the protecting mantle of the pontiff himself. The latter, anxious to save the minister of his nominal sovereign, exerted himself to assuage the tumult, and with some difficulty persuaded the populace to permit the offender to leave the city.[b] It was obvious that no impression could by such means be made upon the ecclesiastical position of the papacy; and within four years of the close of the Quinisext council, Justinian, as already noticed, was deposed, mutilated, and banished. He lived in exile till the year 699; but by boldness and promptitude recovered a throne which he afterwards polluted with every imaginable crime that disgraces human nature. In the year 701, Sergius was succeeded by John, sixth of that name. During this pontificate we hear of no attempt to compel the acceptance of the Quinisext statutes.[c] But in that of his successor John VII., Justinian renewed the experiment; and this time, in a spirit of reasonable forbearance. A copy of the decrees was sent to Rome, with the request that the pontiff would consider them in council; and that after due deliberation he would sanction such of them as he should think right, and object to those he might see reason to disapprove. The pontiff, however, declined the office of censor thus thrust upon him, as he might reasonably suspect, not without design, and sent back the document in the same state as that in which he received it, without signifying either adoption or rejection.

Constantine succeeded to John VII. on the papal throne,[d] in the month of December 708. It is remarkable that this Constantine was the seventh in succession of popes all natives of Greece or Syria; a circumstance pointing to some remaining influence of the imperial court in the pontifical elections. Yet in all these pontiffs the sentiment of na-

Complaisance of Justinian II. towards the holy see.

[b] *Anastas.* in Sergio, ap. *Murat.* vol. iii. p. 149; *Ciacone,* Vit. Pont. tom. i. p. 489; *Paul. Diac.* lib. vi. c. 11.

[c] According to *Ciacone,* John VI. reigned three years, two months, and twelve days.

[d] Sisinnius intervened, but for a few days only. He died within the month of his election or consecration, in November 708 of our calendar. *Ciacone,* in Sisinnio.

tionality yielded to the sense of official obligation; with this difference, perhaps, that their resistance to imperial irregularities or innovations was rather of a passive than an active character. We are not, indeed, informed of the ultimate fate of Justinian's recommendation on behalf of the Quinisext decrees; but we learn that at this point of time a more cordial feeling than heretofore subsisted between the pope and the emperor. Justinian became not merely indulgent, but, after his own savage fashion, complaisant to the holy see. The pope having complained of the contumacious conduct of Felix archbishop of Ravenna, the emperor obligingly caused that prelate to be deposed, imprisoned, and blinded: he at the same time put to death certain officers of the archbishop; and reiterated the decree of Pogonatus cancelling the charter of privilege granted by Constans II. to the see of Ravenna.[e]

Mysterious journey of Pope Constantine to Constantinople.

But perhaps these characteristic proofs of imperial favour were as much calculated to inspire terror as confidence in the mind of the pope. At all events, they served as an introduction to a scene of mystery, to which we have only a conjectural solution to offer. In the fourth year of his pontificate, Pope Constantine received an order from the court to repair to Constantinople. He obeyed without delay, and took the road to Naples with a numerous retinue of clergy. Scarcely, however, had he turned his back upon Rome, when the exarch Rizocopas appeared in the city; and, for no assigned cause, put to death Saulus, a cardinal-deacon of the Church, and three principal officials of the pontifical court. After this tragedy, the pope without delay embarked and pursued his voyage. In every city where he landed, he was, by order of the court, received with extraordinary demonstrations of reverence; and on his approach to Constantinople he was met by Tiberius, the eldest son of the emperor, accompanied by the patriarch Cyrus and his clergy, and all the great officers of the imperial court, at the distance of seven miles from the city, and conducted in state to the residence

[e] *Anastas.* ubi sup. p. 152. Conf. pp. 449, 450 of this chapter.

assigned to him in the palace of Placidia. After some days of repose, he received a summons to meet the emperor at Nicomedia in Bithynia. Constantine obeyed, and was received by Justinian with the most marked respect and courtesy. The emperor, we are told, prostrated himself at the feet of the pontiff, and afterwards embraced him amid the joyful acclamations of the assembled people. On the following Lord's-day, the pope and the emperor communicated together; and on that occasion Justinian solemnly entreated the prayers of the pontiff for the remission of his sins. This was to all appearance the last scene of the comedy enacted at Nicomedia. Constantine was given to understand that he might now set out on his return as soon as it should please him. Not a moment was lost in availing himself of the permission; and he arrived safely in Rome about a twelvemonth from the date of his departure for the East.[f]

Conjectural explanation.

For these grotesque demonstrations of cruelty and ostentation the papal biographer assigns no motive. The outrage inflicted upon the archbishop of Ravenna, the sudden deportation of the pope, the murder of four of the cardinal-clergy of Rome, the extravagant display of respect lavished upon the pontiff, the scenic performance at Nicomedia, and the dismissal of Constantine with as little ceremony as that which accompanied the summons,—all these incidents pass before us rather like romance than history. Still there are some reasons to believe that much more passed at the conference at Nicomedia than appears upon the face of the narrative. The unswerving obedience of the pope after the murder of his friends at Rome, his perseverance in his journey, notwithstanding the infirm state of his own health and the death of several of his companions on the voyage, are strong indications of the terror inspired by the preliminary measures of the emperor. The obstinate determination of the latter to carry through the decrees of the Quinisext council, however disguised under the cloak of moderation or deference, was too notorious not to have struck the pope as the probable, if not the ascer-

[f] *Anastas.* ubi sup. pp. 152, 153.

tained, motive for the summons. And when we reflect that in the course of time the Trullan decrees made their appearance in the public code of the Latin church, though, it might be, to the exclusion of some of the more offensive articles,[g] we shall probably have no great difficulty in arriving at the conclusion that some understanding was established at the interview of Nicomedia, having for its object the acceptance of those decrees in some such form as to reconcile them with the scheme of decretal law upon which the whole structure of the Roman church-government rested.

[g] *Anastasius* himself, in the preface to the acts of the so-called seventh general council (Nicæa II. A.D. 787), admits that the see of Rome had adopted the Quinisext decrees as far as was consistent with the older canons and decretals of the pontiffs. *Hard.* Concil. tom. iv. pp. 19, 20. Conf. *Van Espen*, Dissert. ad Synod. Quinisext. tom. iii. p. 359.

CHAPTER III.

THE ICONOCLASTIC CONTROVERSY. (I.)

Elevation of Leo III. the Isaurian—Origin of the iconoclastic controversy—Primitive opinions as to image-worship—Sudden rise of image-worship—Causes of the rise of image-worship—First breathings of the controversy—Arguments—Controversy stimulated by the Arab conquests—Aversion of Arabs and Jews to the use of images—Earlier steps of Leo the Isaurian against images—Germanus on image-worship—Pope Gregory II. on image-worship—Reply of the iconoclasts—Inveterate character of the controversy—Leo's second edict against images—Insurrection—Papal denunciations of iconoclasm—Gregory III.—His insolent address to the emperor—His fabulous portraits, images, &c.—Ignorant vituperations of Gregory III.—Gregory defies the emperor—Impotency of the empire in Italy—Council at Rome against the image-breakers—Leo confiscates the patrimonies of the Roman church, &c.—The pope retains his nominal allegiance to the empire—State of the papacy at the death of Gregory III.

THREE years after the death of the tyrannical Justinian II., his conqueror Philippicus Bardanes was himself deposed by Artemius, or Anastasius II. (A.D. 714); and within the following four years the latter yielded up the throne to Theodosius III. But at that moment the capital of the empire was threatened both by sea and land by countless hosts of Arabs, under their caliph Suleiman. The feeble emperor and his subjects concurred in opinion, that he was unequal to the government in so critical a state of public affairs; he therefore surrendered the sceptre into the abler hands of Leo, an Isaurian soldier of fortune, who, by long and meritorious services, had acquired the respect and confidence of all classes, but more especially of the army, which he for some time commanded with ability and success.

Elevation of Leo III. (the Isaurian).

The emperor Leo III., better known in history by the name of Leo the Isaurian, ascended the throne of the East in the month of March 717. His first achievement was the total defeat and destruction of the Moslem fleet and army before Con-

Origin of the iconoclastic controversy.

stantinople, after sustaining a pertinacious siege of fourteen months. But for the purpose of our narrative, the name of Leo the Isaurian is chiefly interesting as it connects itself with a controversy of higher importance to the history of the politico-religious scheme of Rome than any that had hitherto disturbed the peace of the Church. This controversy and its issue are known to the Latins by the name of the "Iconoclastic, or image-breaking, schism." It arose out of a very general opinion among the Christians of the East adverse to image, picture and relic worship, and a widely-spread project for the total and simultaneous abolition of these practices throughout the Christian world; an attempt which engendered hatred more intense, and a fanaticism more mischievous, than any preceding divergency of religious opinion. The merits of the questions debated on both sides do not enter into the purview of our history; but as public opinion is a material element in determining the course of human events, we cannot avoid adverting to the state of the general mind upon the subject of representative worship, and the steps by which visible and material objects of religious reverence came to engross so large a share in the devotional practices of the Christian Church.

Primitive views as to image-worship.

It is generally admitted, that within a period of more than three centuries from the first publication of the Gospel neither images nor any other visible objects of religious reverence were admitted into the public ritual of the churches, or adopted into the exercises of private devotion. The reasons for this abstinence from all external or representative worship are sufficiently obvious; for, in the first place, if any such practice had been permitted, the Christian community would have inevitably exposed themselves to the charge of that idolatry which they reprobated in the heathen; and would have thereby practically abandoned their protest against the besetting sin of an unconverted world. In the next place, the judaising Christians, and with them all who adopted the literal exposition of the second commandment, could not but

regard the exposure of images, pictures, relics, or other visible objects of devotional reverence, as a positive breach of the rigid and uncompromising law of God. Some of the earlier fathers carried this severity of exposition so far as to pronounce unlawful the exercise of the imitative arts of sculpture and painting, not only because they were, in fact, the ministering arts of idolatry, but from an opinion that the absolute and unconditional prohibition to *make* or set up any image or representative object of worship, was intended to encounter and to strangle in its birth the criminal predilection of mankind for symbolism, and its ordinary consequence—idolatry.

Sudden rise of image-worship.

But when Christianity was once safely lodged under the protecting wing of the law, a change in this state of public opinion becomes almost immediately apparent. The empress Helena disinterred the wood of the "true cross;" and the discovery sharpened the appetite for similar memorials of the Saviour, his holy mother, and his inspired disciples. Stories got abroad of an autograph letter of the Lord, sent by Himself to Abgarus, king or prince of Edessa;[a] Nicodemus was reported to have made an image of the divine humanity; not long afterwards portraits of Christ and his mother were ascribed to the hand of the evangelist Luke; an original statue of the Lord himself was reported to be still extant at Cæsaræa Philippi in Syria. These statements gave encouragement to other inventions of the like character; effigies of sacred persons and things multiplied with surprising celerity, and were exhibited for the reverence of the faithful, without a whisper of objection on the part of the Church or its ministers. It might be truly said that Christians had with one consent fallen down and worshipped graven images.

Causes of the rise of image-worship.

It is not difficult to comprehend the causes of this sudden revolution of the religious mind. From the age of Constantine the Great till the epoch of the Arab invasion, the Christian community had, for more than three centuries, been relieved from all fear of the reproaches or the evil example of the

[a] *Euseb.* H. E. lib. i. c. xiii.

heathen; and the reason founded on that apprehension for persisting in the renunciation of representative worship ceased altogether. In the same degree as this fear vanished from their thoughts, the clergy became alive to the incidental advantages to be derived from the use of images and pictures. In consequence of the almost total decay of literature, both among clergy and laity, pictures and statues, and visible representations of sacred objects and subjects of Scripture-history, became the readiest, almost the only mode of conveying instruction, encouraging devotion, and strengthening religious sentiments in the minds of their people. Neither is it altogether improbable that, in the absence of other means of instruction, the whole scheme of Christianity, thus divested of external forms, might have fallen into oblivion, or have become so inextricably confounded with the mythic superstitions of the heathen converts, as to be scarcely distinguishable from the grossest paganism. The introduction of images and pictures of the Saviour and his saints may therefore at least have had the merit of excluding merely heathen forms, and directing the religious sentiments of the ignorant to the contemplation of worthier objects of adoration.[b] By the substitution of the hallowed personages of the Christian revelation for the profane and fabulous objects of heathen idolatry, it was believed that a sufficient distinction between the two antagonistic practices was established; the line was thought to be thus drawn in a manner the most intelligible to the apprehensions of the multitude: and, indeed, it is likely that in such a state of the public mind as that in which this theory found favour, whatever the danger of a virtual relapse into idolatry, something was gained on behalf of spiritual religion; and that though the outward shell or husk

[b] Many persons contend that there is a twofold method of inculcating religious truth open to the Church, namely, the exoteric or formal, and the esoteric or spiritual; and that the former being left to the discretion of the Church as an external visible body, she is at full liberty to choose the best and readiest of the two modes of clearing the path to religious knowledge. But, as the ultimate object must always be the promotion of spiritual religion, the real issue to be tried between the patrons and the adversaries of representative worship must be, whether the admission of images, pictures, &c. into Christian worship is at all, and in what degree, consistent with the attainment of that ultimate object of all religious instruction.

which enveloped the sacred fruit may have been thereby hardened and rendered less accessible, it was nevertheless preserved entire for the enjoyment of a future and a wiser generation.

Towards the close of the sixth century, the question of image-worship had already attracted the attention of the Western churches. Serenus, bishop of Marseilles, as mentioned above,[c] had, in agreement with the earlier fathers, put in an emphatic protest against the admission of pictures and images into his churches. His followers boldly maintained that the proper objects of Christian worship dwelt not in any temple made with hands; that their only true shrine was in the heart and affections of the worshippers; that visible representations of the Godhead were inconsistent with his nature and attributes, degrading to his honour, and destructive of genuine spiritual religion in the heart. They regarded the Mosaic commandment as absolute both in its terms and effect; and gave to the words, "Thou shalt not make to thyself *any graven image*, &c.; thou shalt not bow down to them, nor worship them," a sense extending the prohibition to all external and factitious objects of devotion, whether divine or human, Christian or pagan. "If," said they, "the Jew lay under the curse for setting up images, whether of the true God or the false gods of the heathen, then, by strict consequence, the Christian lay under the like penalty for exposing images of Christ, whether in his character of God or man." Against this mode of stating the question, Gregory the Great opposed the argument from expediency and convenience. Without denying the danger attending the practice, he thought he could hold fast the benefit without incurring the penalty. He maintained that the practice did not *necessarily* lead to idolatry; that it might be avoided by proper precaution; and that the danger was less serious from permitting, than the inconvenience that must arise from prohibiting the use of images.

First breathings of the controversy.

Arguments.

The question rested in this state from the death of

[c] Book III. c. vii. p. 222 of this work.

Gregory the Great, in the year 604, down to the year 726. In the interim the Arabs had overrun and subdued the three great dioceses of the East. And now one of the most serious practical inconveniences so earnestly deprecated by the earlier churches recurred with augmented effect. By an exaggerated devotion to images, the Eastern world had, with more than a mere show of reason, exposed itself to that charge of idolatry which their earlier instructors had so seriously reproved in the heathen; a charge of which their actual accusers stood so remarkably clear: and thus from the moment the Mohammedan adversary set his foot upon their soil, they found themselves involved in the same odious category with other worshippers of false gods and idols. From the year 640, to which epoch we may assign the completion of the conquest of Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, the Christian population had, for a period of more than eighty years, been surrounded and closely watched by the devout adversaries of their faith; and had obtained from their Moslem conqueror no more than a scornful toleration of their religion and its rites, upon the severest and most burdensome terms. The Jews now beheld with malignant joy their old persecutors and taskmasters involved in the like servitude with themselves. To that vindictive race, no opportunity of retaliation is unwelcome; and thus it happened that, amid the uplifted voices of the infidels, none were more clamorous than those of the Jews. The majority of the Christian community listened to their blasphemies with the bitterest resentment. But the iron had entered into the souls of many: they hesitated, doubted, and cast their images behind them; some probably in a spirit of contrition for past error, the majority from that feeling of wounded pride engendered by the discovery that they had been so long the dupes of a miserable and anti-christian superstition.

Controversy stimulated by the Arab conquests.

Aversion of Arabs and Jews to the use of images.

In the year 721 the caliph Yezid cast the first stone at the Christian images. He issued an edict for the ejection of all images and pictures from the tolerated churches. This insult

was imputed by the exasperated worshippers to their old enemies the Jews. It was affirmed that so diabolical an outrage upon all that was most holy could have been suggested by none but an apostate or a Jew. Their opponents, however, regarded the edict with a more favourable eye; and among these the emperor Leo the Isaurian stood foremost. For some years before his elevation he had commanded the imperial armies on the Syrian frontier, and had had opportunity enough to contrast the lofty theism of the Arabs with the coarse devotion of the Christians for their images and relics. He saw and felt the difficulty of establishing any intelligible distinction between image-worship, as it was practised in the East, and the most abject idolatry. How, indeed, was that distinction to be maintained, when, to the eye of an undiscriminating adversary, all public worship was accompanied by every external token which the heathen and the infidel were accustomed to regard as constituting the essence of idolatry? Arabs and Jews had but one name for all kinds of representative worship. The afflicted Christian knew and felt the scorn with which both *must* treat his most elaborate apologies; they would, he knew, point in derision to the prostrate worshipper and the image before him—to the censer, the burning tapers, the altar, and the offering upon it: yet the only defence he could set up consisted of a refined distinction between the symbols and the thing represented, which he equally well knew would find no avenue to the understandings or the feelings of the objectors. There was but one path open to him, which might relieve him at least from half his difficulty, and that path lay in a strict adherence to the divine commandment; he would then have but one position to defend—one battle to fight. Fleury indeed remarks, that the emperor was too ignorant to comprehend the difference between absolute and relative worship; but it would probably be equally just to say, that, in common with many men of a later and more enlightened age, the emperor Leo saw no good reason to adopt a distinction where the difference, if not distinctly perceived, and ever present in the mind of the worshipper, must lead to idol-

atry, and if devoutly apprehended, would be altogether useless.[d]

Earlier measures of Leo the Isaurian against images.

Many years before the emperor Leo took any steps for the suppression of image-worship, he is known to have regarded the practice as a crying national sin. But the critical state of public affairs deterred him from any active interference with the popular predilection for images; though in the mean time his agents and preachers succeeded in withdrawing many persons from the grosser practices of iconolatry. "But," saith his bitter opponent John of Damascus, "he at length (A.D. 726) assembled his senate, and vomited forth the absurd and impious dogma that images and pictures of devotion partake of the nature of idols, and ought not therefore to be adored by the faithful, lest ignorant and heedless persons should thereby be seduced into paying to the images that worship which is due to God alone."[e] The intent of the emperor is so far correctly described; and the edict issued upon the principle he had adopted tended in the first instance only to remedy the apprehended evil with as slight a shock to the popular prejudices as was consistent with the purpose in hand. All images and pictures of worship in the churches were ordered to be removed from the lower and more accessible places they occupied to greater height and distance from the worshippers, so that they could not be touched or kissed, and yet not be rendered useless for the purposes to which they were originally appropriated,—the instruction of the ignorant, and the comfort of the afflicted.

Germanus on images and image-worship.

A still more formidable enemy of the imperial scheme appeared in the person of the patriarch Germanus of Constantinople.[f] In direct opposition to the principle of the decree, he stoutly maintained that the adoration of the images of Christ and his saints could in no conceivable sense be regarded as idolatrous, or that it could ever become so. "For,"

[d] No really spiritual worshipper would care to have before him a representative symbol, who felt himself capable of immediate access to the subject of the symbol itself.

[e] *Baron.* Ann. 726, § 4.

[f] In consideration of his services, both the Greek and the Latin churches have raised him to the rank of saint.

said he, "when Christ took upon himself the form of a man, and was born of a pure and holy virgin, the God-man Christ became in his own person the proper object of personal adoration; consequently, if the worship of the divine original would not have been idolatry, so neither can it be idolatry to adore the image or picture which represents that person." He affirmed further, that "the precept to adore images had been handed down in the Church by the clearest tradition." He adopted with the simplest credulity the tale of a miraculous portrait of himself sent by the Lord to the toparch Abgarus, and quoted other legends of the like authenticity that had obtained a place in the popular creed; with a view to show, not merely the lawfulness, but the obligatory character of image-worship.[g]

Pope Gregory II. on image-worship.

In every stage of his opposition to the edict of Leo the zealous patriarch was ably supported by Pope Gregory II. "How," he asked, "can *they* love Christ who insult the visible effigies of his divine person? Do not *they* who dishonour the image dishonour him whom that image represents? For, that he came among us men in a visible form, visibly lived, visibly wrought many miracles, visibly suffered and rose again for our salvation,—all this is surely sufficient to justify his followers in making visible representations of his natural body." The same argument he—somewhat loosely—affirmed applied to the holy Virgin, the apostles, the saints and martyrs of the faith. The word 'idolatry,' he contended, was not applicable to such service; "no kind of divinity being ever imputed to the images themselves, as is done by the heathen to their idols;[h] neither do Christians sacrifice to them, nor apply to them that name which is above all other names. Besides, these images are only another kind of writing; they are merely visible symbols through which the true

[g] *Baron.* Ann. 726, § vi. p. 335.

[h] Sed quære? The confusion of object and subject here imputed to the heathen seems to be equally chargeable upon the Oriental Christians, who, like the Latins of the subsequent ages, always imputed divine powers to the images of Christ and his saints. The distinction is almost evanescent. The heathen thought neither more nor less highly of their images than the Christians of the East thought of theirs.

believer adores Him whose birth and death, whose glorious resurrection and ascension, are thereby made perceptible to our senses; bringing, as it were, in a written book, the Son of God before us, whereby the soul is rejoiced in the remembrance of his resurrection, or softened by reflecting upon his agony and passion."[i]

The second commandment—how encountered.

But after the allied patriarchs had exhausted the grounds of defence turning mainly upon the distinction between absolute and relative worship, the intrinsic nature of Christian images, and the authority of tradition, they had still to encounter the intractable terms of the second commandment. Gregory II. affirmed that that ordinance had no application to Christians; that it had reference solely to the heathen nations by whom the Jews were surrounded, and to the idols worshipped by those nations; such idols being the mere work of men's hands, and the objects represented being in fact demons and evil spirits, and effigies neither of God nor of godly men. So far, indeed, from there being any solid objection to images of holy things, God himself had directed certain symbols to be set up in his sanctuary for his own special service: such were the tables of the law, the ark, the cherubim over the altar, the table of showbread, &c. Yet even Christians have never allowed any visible image of God himself: such a representation was always regarded as unlawful: the Christian worshipper is in this respect indeed bound by the commandment as rigidly as the Jew himself,—he never paints God, any more than the Jew paints Jehovah, because the divine form is as inconceivable as his nature is ineffable: but when Christ appeared in the flesh, the case was altered; as to him the commandment was by that act repealed. And so it would be in relation to the eternal Father himself, if he had ever assumed a form visible to human eye: but inasmuch as "no man hath seen God at any time," therefore it is unlawful to make an image of him.[j]

[i] See the entire epistle of Greg. II. to Germanus, ap. *Baron.* Ann. 726, §§ xv.-xx.

[j] See the documents at length, ap. *Baron.* Ann. mod. cit.; and the address of Pope Gregory III. to the Roman Council, Ann. 732, §§ 17 and 18, p. 342.

The industry of the victorious party in this great controversy has so effectually succeeded in destroying every original writing from which the replies of their antagonists can be collected, that we are driven to the garbled and vituperative statements of the latter to discover the answers returned to these arguments. From the extant documents it appears that they either altogether denied the distinction between absolute and relative worship, or that they repudiated it as inappreciable in itself, and therefore dangerous. In common with the Jews and Arabs, they urged the notorious fact, that it had been practically inoperative; and that in strict consequence the Church had become polluted by the grossest superstitions and idolatries: that, *in fact*, miraculous powers had been, and *were still*, ascribed to the images of Christ, the Virgin, and the saints: that when such an opinion was once afloat among the vulgar, there was an end of the speculative distinction—the image was of necessity converted into something far above a mere instrument of devotion; the wood, the stone, the board or canvas, acquired *a sanctity of its own* quite independent of the object represented. In the state of mind which such practice inevitably engenders, no precaution could guard men from trespassing beyond the evanescent boundary-line between allowable and idolatrous service. Lastly, the practice of image-worship was in so many ways injurious to spiritual religion, as to forfeit all claim to toleration in any form of Christian worship.

Reply of the iconoclasts.

A more critical question had never been raised since Christianity became the religion of the Roman world; nor is there an instance in which both parties were more unequivocally in earnest. The abstract or metaphysical character of all the antecedent disputes of itself tended to restrict the discussion, however stormy, to the clergy and their immediate partisans. But in the case before us, the question to be dealt with came directly home to the individual conscience: it implied the attack and the defence of sentiments the most sacred; a war of principles enshrined in

Inveterate character of the controversy.

the recesses of the intellect, the heart, and the affections of the whole religious world. On the one hand, an enormous national apostasy was charged; on the other, an intolerable sacrilege was to be avenged. Every element of immitigable religious war was at hand; and the fortunes of the reigning prince—perhaps of the state itself—were staked upon the issue. Though the weaker in point of numbers, the iconoclasts were led by a man of high reputation and intrepidity. The immediate consequence of the moderate edict of 726 was a formidable insurrection in the Greek islands. The rebels collected a numerous fleet and army, and ventured to lay siege to Constantinople. But the regular forces of the empire adhered to their indomitable chief, and a decisive victory over the rash assailants was speedily achieved. Punishments, or—as the defeated party generally call the severities which follow upon unsuccessful resistance—persecutions, were unsparingly inflicted. In the elation of triumph, the emperor and his friends, as usual, forgot the rule of moderation they had hitherto observed. Their religious opponents had become their political enemies; and their ultimate safety was now involved in the success of measures originally resorted to for the satisfaction of their private consciences.

Leo's second edict against images.

In the year 730 the emperor issued a second edict, by which he commanded the total expulsion of images from all the churches of the empire. The imperial party went beyond the precept; the most sacred effigies and pictures were every where ruthlessly broken or torn to shreds, or publicly committed to the flames, under the eyes of the enraged worshippers.

Insurrection.

Heedless of danger and death, men, women, and children rushed to the defence of objects as dear to them as life itself. They attacked and slew the imperial officers engaged in the work of destruction: the latter, supported by the regular troops, retaliated with equal ferocity; and the streets of the metropolis exhibited such a scene of outrage and slaughter as can alone proceed from envenomed religious passions. The leaders of the tumult were for the most part put to death on the

spot; the prisons were filled to repletion with delinquents; and multitudes, after suffering various corporeal punishments, were transported to places of penal banishment.[k]

Unable to divert the emperor from his purpose, or to arrest the fury of iconoclasm, the patriarch Germanus surrendered his pallium into the hands of the sovereign, and was permitted to end his days without further molestation.[l] He was succeeded in the chair of Constantinople by Anastasius, a convert to the imperial opinions on image-worship; but when the new prelate ventured, according to custom, to send his inaugural letters to Pope Gregory II., the storm of indignation, which had been fast gathering in the West, burst upon his devoted head. The pontiff, in his reply, reviled him as a heretic; and threatened that, unless on receipt of his admonitory letters he renounced his error, and returned to the bosom of the catholic Church, he would pronounce him an irreclaimable reprobate, depose him from the episcopate, and strip him of all sacerdotal office, dignity, or authority.[m] It is probable that, before the death of Gregory II., orders had arrived from the court to put the decree against images in force within the Italian dependencies of the empire. In the month of February 731, that pontiff was succeeded by his namesake Gregory III. The emperor, it appears, had addressed justificatory letters to the pontiff of Rome; but whether before or after the death of Gregory II., seems not certain. This document, like every other from which the genuine arguments of the party might have been

Papal denunciations.

Gregory III. pope.

[k] It is unnecessary to quote authority for these matters of notorious historical detail. We cannot bring ourselves to believe the monstrous stories of cold-blooded and malignant cruelty circulated by the Greek writers of the eleventh and following centuries. The credulity of the age, and the obvious malignity of the reporters, taken together with the assiduity of the orthodox clergy in destroying every record, defence, or apology that may have been offered by the iconoclast party, throws upon them a strong suspicion of forgery and slander. *Fleury* does not appear to value them more highly. But the credulous Baronius and the fanatical Jesuit Father Maimbourg have collected them with great diligence for the edification of the faithful.

[l] Baronius and Maimbourg repeat the stories of the later Greek writers, affirming that Germanus was deposed, tortured, and then strangled, by order of the emperor. *Fleury* (tom. ix. p. 227) takes no notice of these tales; and *Paul Warnefrid* (lib. vi. c. 49) mentions the resignation of Germanus without further particulars. *Anastasius* the Librarian copied Paul. Conf. Vit. Greg. II. *Murat.* tom. iii. p. 158.

[m] *Anastas.* in Vit. Greg. II. ubi sup.

collected, has perished, and its contents are now known only in the mutilated, and probably garbled, extracts of the adversary. From all that appears, we infer that the emperor relied upon all or most of the grounds, for the rejection of images, to which we have already adverted. The pope, Gregory III., upon whom the task of replying to the imperial manifesto devolved, did not advance any new argument: but the tone of his communication was disloyal and offensive in the extreme; every sentence breathed a spirit of insolent and seditious defiance unparalleled in the correspondence of the bishops of Rome with the temporal sovereign, and equalled only by the marvellous credulity and ignorance it displayed.

His insolent address to the emperor.

"Ten years of empire," said the pope, "passed away before you discovered that images were unlawful. By what right, we would ask, do you *now* affect to treat them as idols? You say that we are forbidden to venerate things made by men's hands. But you are an unlettered person, and ought therefore to have inquired of your learned prelates the true meaning of the commandment. If you had not been obstinately and wilfully ignorant, you would have learnt from them that your acts are in direct contradiction to the unanimous testimony of all the fathers and doctors of the Church, and in particular repugnant to the authority of the six general councils."[n] Repeating the arguments deduced from the decorations of the altar and mercy-seat of the Jewish Temple, the visible appearance of Christ in the flesh, his visible life and death, and the sacrament instituted in commemoration of his bodily presence among us men, he informs the emperor that the impression of that presence was so strong upon the minds of his disciples, that "no sooner had they cast their eyes upon him than they hastened to make portraits of him, and carried them about with them, exhibiting them to the whole world, that at the

Fabulous portraits, images, &c.

[n] In none of which, however, does a word about images or image-worship occur. The "unanimous testimony of the fathers" is equally at fault. Excepting in the works of Gregory the Great, I have not met with any mention of the practice of image-worship in the fathers of the first six centuries of the Christian era.

sight of them men might be converted from the worship of Satan to the service of Christ,—but so only that they should worship them, not with an absolute adoration, or *latria*, but only with a relative veneration." In like manner,—so the pope assured his correspondent,—pictures and images had been taken by the disciples of the proto-martyr Stephen, and all other saints of note; and in the same way dispersed over every part of the earth, to the manifest increase of the gospel cause.[o]

"If," said Gregory, "you had taken the trouble to inquire, all this would have been explained to you. But, in truth, it is due only to your unparalleled dullness of apprehension[p] that you have not long since embraced the truth. Turn, then, from the evil of your ways, unless you wish to become a laughing-stock to the veriest children in the faith! Go, we pray you, into the schools for infants, and there proclaim yourself a destroyer of holy images, and verily they shall, one and all, fling their hornbooks at your head; and rightly, for if you will not be taught by the wise, it is fit you be schooled by the foolish and the unlearned." By a strange perversion or confusion of scriptural facts, the pope compares the emperor with "the impious Uzziah, who," he tells him, "sacrilegiously removed the brazen serpent, which Moses had set up, out of the temple, and broke it to pieces" (!).[q] Leo was, in fact, worse than other heretics, many of whom sinned from mistake or ignorance; but he, with his eyes open: *he* had sinned against the light itself; *his* frenzy was directed against objects seen, known, handled, and revered by all. The emperor, he continues, had called for a general council. "Well," exclaims the pope, "but where are we to look for the God-fearing emperor to preside in such a council? And, indeed, what need of a council at all, if you would but hold your peace?

Ignorant vituperation of Greg. III.

[o] This account seems to be a simple exaggeration of the legends relied on by Germanus. Pope Gregory III., however, has the merit of the earliest publication of this new edition of these legends.

[p] Ἀναισθησία.

[q] I presume that the learned pope had some confused recollection of the story of Uzzah or Uzzia (who was punished for laying hands on the ark), and confounded it with the act of Hezekiah, who broke in pieces the brazen serpent expressly to prevent the people from paying divine homage to it. Conf. 1 Chron. xiii. 9, and 2 Kings xviii. 4.

. . . . Cease but your clamour, and there will be no call for synods; retain, if you please, your opinions about images, and we will absolve you from the sin of silence; for we have authority to absolve both in earthly and in heavenly things."

Greg. III. defies the emperor.

Heaping every calamity which had befallen the Church and state in Italy upon the imprudence and folly of the emperor, the pontiff then derisively alludes to the personal menaces in which Leo had indulged against himself. "You have," he says, "*dared* even to threaten *us*. . . . You have boasted that you will send your officers to Rome, that you will break in pieces the statue of St. Peter, that you will send us away in chains, as *your* predecessor Constans did unto our predecessor Martin: but know that your jurisdiction does not extend to the pontiffs of this see; *for they are the arbiters and judges of the whole Christian commonwealth both in the East and the West.* But with the best will, you have not the power to carry your threat into execution; assail, insult us as you please, we have only to retire twenty-four stadia from Rome at your approach: follow us whither we go, if you list—you might as rationally pursue the wind! Take, therefore, a lesson from the fate of your infamous predecessor Constans (II.). He was a heretic; and thus it happened, that when his servant Nezeuxius was told by the faithful bishops of Sicily that he had been denounced as a heretic by the Church, that zealous man slew him within the walls of the temple of God.[r] But Martin is to this day reverenced as a saint,—and would to God we were honoured by such a death as his; but we have other duties. The whole of the West looks to us for help; and we put our trust in Peter, *whom every region of the world worships as a god on earth.* Come, then, if you dare, and repeat your outrages; lift up your hand against his holy statue, and you shall find to your cost that the people are prepared, not only to defend their own cause and his, but to retaliate upon you the mischiefs you have perpetrated in the East. You

[r] Whence Gregory III. obtained this version of the death of Constans II. is unknown. It is not to be met with in any other writer.

may, indeed, succeed in driving us out of Rome; but the pontiff will be beyond your reach: . . . . then, if you persist in your design to throw down the statue of the prince of the apostles, may the innocent blood which shall be shed fall upon your head, and yours only!"[s]

Impotency of the empire in Italy.

Gregory was, as we have seen,[t] at this moment in a convenient position to hold this defiant language with safety. The army of Ravenna, upon which alone the emperor could reckon for the execution of his designs against the pope, could no longer be used for such a purpose. The Lombard dukes of Beneventum and Spoleto had joined in alliance with the pope even against their own sovereign; and their territory could be reached in a few hours from the city. The imperial troops had been removed from Rome for the defence of Ravenna and Naples; and the government was thereby wholly surrendered into the hands of the urban magistracy, under the presidency of their bishop. A militia for the protection of the republic was speedily levied, and trained by the joint authority of the magistrates and the pontiff. The late Pope Gregory II., prior to his decease, had repaired and strengthened the defences of the city; and every preparation for resistance to the threatened attack was completed. Yet the temporal interests of the pontiff still pointed to the maintenance of the Byzantine connection, as long as it could be retained without a total sacrifice of religious character. The patrimonies of the Church in the Neapolitan and Sicilian provinces were at the mercy of the emperor; while the possessions of the holy see in the Decapolis, Romagna, and Lombardy, were in the power of King Luitprand. The advances of the latter had been always a subject of deep apprehension to the pontiffs of Rome; and to have severed the tie which still bound them to the only military power at that moment capable of checking the progress of Lombard ambition was not to be thought of.[u]

[s] See the prolix original, ap. *Baron.* Ann. 726, tom. xii. pp. 346 et sqq. Conf. *Fleury's* Abstract.

[t] Book IV. c. i. pp. 319 et sqq.

[u] Some later writers have affirmed that Pope Gregory II. had renounced his allegiance to the emperor. But there is not only no valid authority for the fact, but the improbability of such a step is abundantly apparent upon the surface of the political history of the times.

Council at Rome against the image-breakers.

But the vituperative letters of Gregory had been rejected by the emperor with well-merited contempt. The presbyter George, whom the pope had selected to deliver them, shrank from the perilous task, and returned with them in his hand to Rome. For this act of cowardice he was severely censured, and condemned a second time to incur the risk he had attempted to evade. But on this second journey he was by the emperor's command detained a prisoner in Sicily, and the papal missive was ignominiously taken from him.[v] Gregory revenged the insult by a threatening demonstration against the religious reforms of the emperor. A solemn council was convoked at Rome, consisting of all the bishops of the Lombard and Byzantine territories in northern Italy, to the number of ninety-three prelates. The assembly was held in the actual presence of the sacred relics of the apostle Peter, and was attended by the whole body of the city clergy, the consuls, and a vast concourse of people; and a decree was framed, unanimously adopted and signed by all present, to the effect that "if *any person* should thereafter, in contempt of the ancient and faithful customs of all Christians, and of the apostolic church in particular, stand forth as a destroyer, defamer, or blasphemer of the sacred images of our God and Lord Jesus Christ, and of his mother, the immaculate ever-virgin Mary, of the blessed apostles, and all other saints, he be secluded from the body and blood of the Lord, and from the communion of the universal Church."[w]

Leo confiscates the patrimonies of the Roman church, &c.

Successive messengers were despatched to court with monitory letters, officially notifying the above decree to the emperor and all the Eastern churches. But on every occasion the messengers were arrested, and their despatches taken from them; they themselves were detained for many months in custody, and ultimately dismissed with disgrace and contumely to their employer. A numerous fleet and army were, at the same time, fitted out for the

[v] The contents of the letters must have transpired. The detention of the messengers was, in every instance we read of, accompanied by a forcible seizure of their despatches. *Anastas.* in Vit. Greg. III.; *Murat.* iii. p. 158.

[w] *Anastas.* ubi sup.

subjugation of the obstinate recusants in Italy: the armament was, however, disabled by a sudden tempest on its outward voyage; and Leo was compelled to postpone his designs for enforcing the execution of his edict against images in the Italian dependencies of the empire; though he indemnified himself, as far as possible, by the confiscation of all the estates belonging to the church of Rome in Calabria and Sicily. Under any other state of circumstances, no step of the court could have tended more effectually to dissolve the connection of the empire and the pontificate. But as long as the ambitious Lombard retained the power to arrest the progress of territorial acquisition, in which the whole heart and soul of the papacy was engaged, or to endanger that which was already won, nothing could be further from the contemplation of Rome than the overthrow of the imperial power in Italy, feeble as it was. So decisive a movement could not but have been attended with disturbances inconvenient, if not obstructive, to the whole policy of the papal court; more especially since, by a fortunate concurrence of circumstances, the pope was under no positive compulsion to obey the commands, or to consult the wishes, of his nominal sovereign.

The pope perseveres in nominal allegiance to the empire.

The last year of the pontificate of Pope Gregory III. was, as already observed,[x] disturbed by the efforts of Luitprand to counterwork the intrigues of the papal court with the vassal dukes of Beneventum and Spoletum. But the pontiff had laid the foundation of that more powerful political connection which was soon to supersede that troublesome and hazardous trimming to which the papacy had hitherto been compelled to resort; more perhaps by lust of temporal dominion than by its pretensions to universal spiritual autocracy. Luitprand could not, however, neglect the expressed wishes of his powerful neighbour and actual ally Charles Martel. His armies were withdrawn from the vicinity of Rome; and Gregory III. departed in peace on the 28th Nov. 741.[y]

State of the papacy at the death of Gregory III.

[x] Book IV. c. i. p. 264.

[y] *Ciacone*, in Vit. Greg. III. p. 513.

CHAPTER IV.

ICONOCLASTIC CONTROVERSY. (II.)

Constantine V. (Copronymus) emperor — Religious truce with Rome — General synod of the Greek church on image-worship—Character of the factions—Their mutual hatred—Stephen of St. Auxentius—His interview with Constantine V. — Murder of Stephen of St. Auxentius — Constantine's embassy to Pippin of France—Leo IV. and Irene—Constantine VI. and Irene—Negotiation with Rome—Convocation of the (so-called) seventh general council (Nicæa II.)—Deliberations and resolutions of the council—Restoration of image-worship—Pope Hadrian I. accepts and ratifies the decrees of Nicæa—Protest of the Gallic churches — The "Libri Carolini" — Apology of Pope Hadrian I.—Great synod of Frankfort—Condemnation of image-worship—Concurrent relations of the pope to the Frankish and Byzantine courts—Byzantine arrogance—Papal cupidity—Mutual disgust—Papal principle of secular acquisition—Negotiations between Charlemagne and the Byzantines—Emperor Nicephorus averse to image-worship—His toleration—Insurrection —Revolutions at Constantinople for and against image-worship — Michael I. —Leo V.—Theodore the Studite—His adulation of Pope Paschal I.—Value of these encomiums—Reception of the Studite memorial at Rome—Michael II., the Stammerer, convokes a general council — Opposition of the Studites — Grounds of opposition—Reply of Michael II. to the Studites—Insolence of the Studite party—Value of the Studite testimony to the supremacy of Rome—Embassy of Michael to Louis the Pious—Moderation of Michael II.

Constantine V. (Copronymus) emperor.

THE emperor Leo the Isaurian died six months before the mayor of the palace Charles Martel, and about five before Gregory III. Leo was succeeded by his son Constantine, nicknamed Copronymus by the enemies of his creed and person. Constantine V. was inspired with a devout hatred of image-worship, and he was probably even less under the control of prudential considerations than his father. The beginning of his reign was inauspicious. A dangerous insurrection, under the banner of image-worship, threatened his throne. The rebellion was quenched in rivers of blood. But after the restoration of tranquillity, few persons were made to suffer for their share in the late disturbances; the people were amused and conci-

liated with public shows and games, and cajoled by a promise that the question of image-worship should be shortly submitted to the impartial consideration of a general council of the Church.[a]

As soon as the state of public affairs permitted the emperor to attend to domestic matters, he graciously received and gave audience to the envoys of Zachary, the successor of Gregory III. This was no time for the revival of religious disputes; the new pope dutifully announced his election to his sovereign, and continued, to all outward appearance, to acknowledge his dependence upon the throne of Constantinople. In truth, the menacing attitude of the Lombard king Luitprand at this moment absorbed all other cares; while at the same time the emperor was too earnestly bent upon the recovery of the eastern provinces of the empire from the Arabs to desire a renewal of religious hostilities. This unpremeditated truce lasted for a period of thirteen years. An advantageous peace was at length concluded with the Saracens; and Constantine found himself at leisure to redeem his engagements to both parties to the controversy in hand by the convocation of an œcumenical council for the final adjustment of the great question of image-worship. In the year 754, a general synod, consisting of three hundred and thirty-eight bishops, met at the palace of the Hiera at Constantinople; and, to the best of our information, were permitted to discuss the subject with all ostensible freedom. But the records of this synod no longer exist; and all that can now be gathered about it must be taken from the mouths of envenomed adversaries. Whether any difference of opi-

Religious truce with Rome.

General synod of the Greek church on image-worship.

[a] The self-refuted slanders vented against the memory of Constantine V. by the Byzantine writers, more especially of the monk Theophanes, are paraded by *Baronius* and his commentator *Pagi*, ad ann. 741, tom. xii. pp. 459, 460. Theophanes rails more like a maniac than a person of sound understanding. But the almost uniform success of Constantine, his undisturbed reign, his administrative ability and activity, are inconsistent with the character for unmitigated animal ferocity, cruelty, and tyranny, it has been attempted to fasten upon him. *Fleury* (tom. ix. p. 292) quotes Theophanes with reluctance and circumspection. Gibbon, notwithstanding his disclaimer, thinks that "where there was so much smoke, there must have been a little fire,"—Decl. and Fall, vol. vi. p. 83, ed. Milm. and Smith.

nion existed in the assembly, or what arguments were urged on either side, cannot be ascertained. This much, however, is certain, that it was unanimously resolved that no worship ought to be paid to images; that the act of bowing down before or worshipping any created being or thing, is robbing God of the honour due to Him alone; that men thereby fall back into idolatry; and, generally, that image-worship is inconsistent with the spiritual religion of Christ. They therefore strictly prohibited the making or setting up of any image of the Saviour, the Virgin, or other Saint; but reserved to the sacred persons all that spiritual devotion which the Church had ever decreed to them. The proceedings concluded, according to custom, with a general anathema against all who should dispute the authority of this "*great seventh general council.*"[b]

Character of the factions.

The mass of mankind generally attaches itself to some single aspect of every question that closely touches its interests or feelings, and gives to that view the most exaggerated form it is capable of assuming. The image-breaker took it for granted that every image of Christ, the Virgin, or Saint, was as much an idol as the effigies of Jupiter, Mercury, or Venus; while, on the other hand, the image-worshipper fell into the opposite extreme of paying to those images a homage in no outward or practical respect distinguishable from the veneration or adoration due to the originals. In this disposition, the former faction accused their adversaries of the foulest idolatry; while the latter described their opponents as an assemblage of beings too vile to tread the same earth with themselves,—an abandoned horde of blasphemers and murderers of all that was adorable in heaven and on earth. The demeanour of the iconoclasts, while the power rested with them, gave colour to the most odious misrepresentations of their tenets and motives. After the first moderate movements against that which they believed to be an objectionable practice, they plunged headlong into a course

Mutual hatred.

[b] The only remaining record of this council, whose claim to universality stands upon grounds equally valid or invalid with the six preceding, is that which is recited in art. vi. Conc. Nicæa II. ap. *Hard.* Concil. tom. iv. pp. 323 et sqq.

of provoking and contemptuous outrage against the venerated objects of popular devotion, affording thereby plausible evidence of an impious mind. The distinction between the honour due to the image and the subject it represented was as unintelligible to the mass of the image-worshippers, as that which the latter attempted to establish between absolute and relative worship was to the common herd of image-breakers. But the demeanour of the parties proved in reality no more than the intensity of their mutual hatred; the impiety charged was in neither case very different from that which they mutually strove to fasten upon each other: neither faction was inclined to tax its passions and prejudices on behalf of truth or sober inquiry; and neither would consent to dispense with an atom of the stock of combustibles wherewith the flame of mutual hatred was kept alive. The swarms of monks which peopled the cities and deserts of the East beheld with dismay the religious ferment settling down into an ominous tranquillity under the iron hand of Constantine V. Shrieks of horror and disgust resounded from every pulpit and cell; regardless of life or safety, they painted the emperor as an abandoned apostate—a Julian—a Valens—a monster of impiety: he was by turns an atheist, an Arian, a Nestorian, a Eutychian—one who in his single person combined every heresy that had ever polluted the Christian faith and endangered the souls of men. The iconoclasts retaliated in language borrowed from the fiercest scriptural denunciations against idols and idolaters, without the remotest regard for the difference between the objects represented in one case and the other. The spirits of persecution and martyrdom flowed into one another; the tormentor of to-day was ready on the morrow to take his turn on the rack or the scaffold; and thus, without any vital or essential difference, both factions ardently thirsted for each other's blood.[c]

[c] It should be borne in mind, that neither faction denied the doctrine of saint-worship; nor do I find it any where stated that the iconoclasts objected to the reverence of relics, or questioned their efficacy. It may also be noticed, that by the argument of the image-worshippers, their practice *might* become idolatrous, if at any time the distinction between relative and absolute worship should be absent from the mind of the worshipper.

Stephen of St. Auxentius.

The rigid ascetic Stephen, abbot of the monastery of St. Auxentius in Bithynia, stood forth as the champion of image-worship.[d] So great was his reputation for zeal and piety, that the emperor thought him worth the honour of a personal refutation.

His interview with the emperor.

But when summoned to the presence of Constantine, he returned a defiant and insulting reply. The former, who was animated with the like fanatical spirit, now commanded the interview he had in the first instance condescended to solicit; and Stephen was conducted to the palace by the officers of the court. On his way to the audience, he borrowed, and concealed under his habit, a coin bearing the effigy of the reigning sovereign. The disputation grew warm; the emperor roughly described all images of worship as idols, and their worshippers as idolaters: Stephen pronounced the imperial opinion to be a damnable heresy; he denied that he or his communion adored the wood, the stone, the gold, or the silver of which the image was composed: "But," said he, "*you* break them in pieces; *you* treat the image of Christ as you would treat that of the false god Apollo; the likeness of the ever-blessed Mother of God as that of the demon Diana; you destroy, you tread them under foot, you burn them!" The vehement saint then drew forth the coin from his bosom, and exhibited it to the emperor. "Whose image and superscription is this?" he asked. Constantine admitted them to be those of the emperor. "If, then," rejoined the abbot, "I were to cast this image and superscription upon the ground and tread it under foot, what, I pray, might be the penalty?" The bystanders unanimously exclaimed that such an act would be treason to the name and image of the sacred majesty of the empire. "Then," exclaimed the saint, with a profound sigh, "what should be done to the man who treads under foot the holy name and majesty of Jesus Christ and his divine Mother, as represented and inscribed on their sacred images? Ought he not to be at once delivered

[d] Stephen strenuously maintained the distinction of absolute and relative worship, with which even the most frantic defenders of that practice thought it requisite to fence around their theological position.

over to the devil and his angels?" The saintly aspiration was devoutly expressed by casting the coin to the earth and stamping upon it with his foot.

The emperor was not prepared with an answer to this coarse but plausible sophism.[e] The treasonable apologue of Stephen would have cost him his life—for which, however, he cared very little—but for the interference of the emperor. In the prison to which he was led away, he exhorted and comforted his friends, and reviled his sovereign with tenfold acrimony and with the manifest intent to sting him into the last act of tyrannous violence. Whether with the intent of indulging his anxious desire for the crown of martyrdom or not, is not very apparent; the saint was turned out of his prison, and instantly torn limb from limb by an enraged mob of iconoclasts, who do not appear ever to have been punished or even blamed for the murder.[f] The emperor dissolved the monasteries, and stripped their churches of all images; those monks who turned upon their persecutors were tortured, exiled, or put to death, and a deceitful peace was restored, which left all the elements of discord fermenting beneath the surface of the religious world.

Murder of Stephen of St. Auxentius.

In Italy the fortunes of the Byzantine power continued on the decline. Since the failure of the expedition, from which Leo the Isaurian had formed great expectations, no attempt had been made to interrupt the communications between

Constantine V. sends an embassy to Pippin of France.

[e] He might have replied, "The image and superscription I reject is a forgery and a counterfeit, condemned and denounced by the prince it pretends to represent: that which you have trodden under foot is a genuine current coin, stamped with a true effigy, and issued by the authority of the earthly sovereign whose image and superscription it bears."

[f] *Baron.* Ann. 754, §§ 26 et sqq.; with Father Pagi's extracts from the Life of St. Stephen Junior (as he is styled), by a deacon of Constantinople, written about forty-two years after his alleged martyrdom. Conf. *Fleury*, tom. ix. p. 411. We wish we could discern the spirit of Christian martyrdom in this heroic act of self-sacrifice. But it is to be apprehended that the unselfish devotedness for which this description of martyrs give themselves credit veils from their mental vision the dark and gloomy passions which revel in their hearts—that indomitable spiritual pride which, while it hardens them against suffering and death, shuts out compassion or charity for the sufferings of opponents. As long as persons of this stamp are supported by the applause of a party, conscience never complains; and thus they are ever ready to accept from the disguised fiend within a forged passport to Paradise.

the Roman pontiffs and their Lombard or Frankish protectors. Now, however, Constantine V. made a tardy effort to recover by negotiation what had been lost by the weakness and folly of Byzantine management. Pope Paul I., the brother of Stephen IV., was at this point of time urging with indecent vehemence the surrender of the last remnant of the exarchate to the holy see; and the emperor, with a view to dazzle the Frankish barbarians, and, if possible, to lure them into an alliance against the papal encroachments, despatched a magnificent embassy, with rich presents, to the court of Pippin, the recently-crowned king of France, to propose a close alliance between the two states, which was to be cemented by a marriage between Leo, the emperor's son, and Gisela the daughter of Pippin. Pope Paul, who beheld in the success of this proposal the ruin of his high-wrought hopes of a speedy transfer of all that remained of Byzantine territory in northern Italy into his own hands, spared no pains in prejudicing the Frankish prince against both Greek and Lombard. The emperor he depicted as a heretic and a persecutor, with whom no Christian prince could hold any intercourse or have any dealings; the Lombard, as a perjured tyrant, whom it behoved the king, as the patron and protector of the Church, to reduce by force of arms to the minutest fulfilment of his late covenants with the holy see.[g] Pippin received the imperial envoys with civility, but declined the proposed alliance. The reasons alleged by the king were probably connected with the religious differences pointed out by the pope. Pippin entertained the embassy at Gentilly, where he was celebrating the Easter festival. The questions of image-worship, and the insertion of the "*filioque*" into the Nicene symbol, were, it seems, discussed in the presence of the papal legates; and, in the result, the Byzantine embassy was dismissed without any satisfactory reply.[h]

After a reign of nearly thirty-four years, the emperor

[g] Epp. Paul. Pap. I. in Cod. Carolin. ap. *D. Bouq.* tom. v. ep. xiv. pp. 120, 121; ep. xv. p. 124; ep. xvii. p. 129; ep. xx. p. 126; ep. xxiv. p. 142; ep. xxxiv. p. 159. The same, ap. *Murat.* tom. iii. pt. ii. pp. 76 et sqq.

[h] I adopt this incident from *Fleury* (H. E. tom. ix. p. 438), with some hesitation.

Constantine V., surnamed Copronymus, was succeeded (A.D. 775) by his son Leo IV. The new emperor maintained the religious policy of his father; but died after a short reign of five years (A.D. 780), leaving the throne to his son Constantine VI., an infant of the age of nine years, under the guardianship of his mother the empress Irene; a woman whose personal attractions and abilities were equalled only by her ambition and profligacy. During the lifetime of her husband she had been strongly suspected, if not actually convicted, of addiction to image-worship. After his death, she cast off the mask she had hitherto been compelled to wear; she by degrees reintroduced the proscribed images; she published an ordinance for liberty of conscience and free discussion; she recalled and reinstated the monks whom Constantine V. had banished; and in the year 784, she placed her favourite Tarasius, though still a layman, upon the patriarchal throne of Constantinople. Anxious to justify this flagrant irregularity, she despatched an embassy to Pope Hadrian I. to explain the transaction, and to express her desire to earn the restoration of communion with the holy see by the reinstatement of the holy images in their former honour and worship. The envoys were, as might have been expected, received with the warmest welcome by the pontiff. Some formal objection was, it is true, taken to the uncanonical elevation of a layman to a patriarchal throne,[1] and a more serious protest entered against the title of "universal patriarch" assumed by Tarasius; but in consideration of the critical state of religion in the East, and the fitness of the person chosen to encounter the difficulties of the times, the papal repugnance was got over: yet upon the express understanding that all the estates of the Church confiscated by preceding emperors should be restored to the holy see, and that Tarasius and his sovereign should purge all previous errors by their zealous efforts for the extirpation of that "execrable heresy" which had deprived the holy

Leo IV. and Irene.

Constantine VI. and Irene.

Negotiation with Rome.

[1] Ep. Had. Pap. I. ad Taras. Concil. tom. iv. p. 98.

images of the honours they had enjoyed "from the beginning."[j]

Convocation of the (so-called) viith general council, Nicæa II.

To that end the imperial envoys proposed the convocation of a general synod, at which the pontiff himself was requested to preside. To this invitation the pontiff demurred, but promised to send legates to represent the holy see. The convocation of the proposed synod was, however, delayed by the disaffected state of the army; and it was not till three years afterwards that the taint of iconoclasm could be eradicated from the various corps quartered in the metropolis and the principal cities of the empire. But even after these purifications, it was not thought expedient to expose the assembled fathers to the caprices of the fickle populace of Constantinople; and the council was transferred to Nicæa in Bithynia, where it was formally inaugurated and opened on the 24th of September in the year 787, in the presence of the legates of the pope, the patriarch of Constantinople, two deputies of the Oriental patriarchates, and three hundred and seventy-seven bishops, collected from every part of the empire.[k]

Deliberations and resolutions of the council.

Although Pope Hadrian I. omitted no form of words which could give colour to his own virtual presidency in this, as in every other general council,[l] yet it appears beyond doubt that the Greeks took upon themselves without contradiction the

[j] Ep. Constant. et Irenes ad Had. Pap. I. in Conc. Nicæa II. ap. *Hard.* tom. iv. pp. 21 et sqq.—Apol. Taras. id. ibid. p. 23. See especially the letter of Hadrian to the emperor and empress. *Ibid.* p. 79. Anastasius accuses the Greeks of having mutilated this epistle, with a view to save the credit or the pride of the court and patriarch of Constantinople. The Latin version certainly contains a great deal more than the Greek original. The restoration of the estates of the Church, the protest against the title of "œcumenical patriarch," and the objections to the election of Tarasius, are not contained in the latter. It is singular, if not suspicious, that all these topics are inserted at the close of the Latin version, and come in where the Greek ends; and then the questions arise,—Were they contained at all in the original epistle sent by Hadrian to the emperor and empress; or, might they not have been fraudulently inserted to save harmless the pontiff from the charge of having connived at the irregularity of Tarasius, to found an implied promise of the restitution of the confiscated estates, and to keep up the Roman protest against the title of "œcumenical patriarch," without endangering the success of the religious movement for the restoration of image-worship?

[k] The authorities are carefully collected by *Fleury*, tom. ix. pp. 515-527; and see *Baronius* and *Pagi*, ad ann. 780-787. Conf. *Gibbon*, ed. M. and S. vol. vi. pp. 163 et sqq.

[l] See his letters as above quoted.

entire direction of the proceedings.[m] The Western churches were no otherwise represented in this so-called general council than by or through the legates of the pope.[n] The order of proceeding was prescribed and directed by Tarasius; and all the forms observed in preceding general synods were scrupulously followed. There was, however, but one thing to be done. A period of scarcely thirty-three years had elapsed since three hundred and thirty-eight bishops of the East had solemnly denounced image-worship as derogatory to the honour of God, his virgin mother, and all the saints,—as idolatrous in itself, and obstructive of human salvation. They had decreed the total abolition of images and every kind of representative worship; and they had, upon grounds equally tenable with those upon which the preceding councils had based their œcumenical character, constituted themselves, and assumed the name and title of, a *seventh general synod* of the whole Christian body. Now, however, many of the identical prelates who had set hand and seal to the decrees of 754 eagerly tendered their recantation; they alleged duress, seduction, fraud, artifice—any plea—in mitigation of their error, and, with the zeal of apostates, urged, with frantic vehemence, the condemnation of the tenets they had professed and taught for the greater part of their lives. The restoration of images, with all the honours of adoration and worship which had been theretofore paid to them, was unanimously decreed; a general anathema was pronounced against the iconoclastic opinion and practice; and all the acts and writings of the heretics, more particularly the records of the council of 754, were carefully collected and committed to the flames. Seven sessions were consumed in prolix discussion and

Restoration of image-worship.

[m] The Latins confined themselves to a simple demand of conformity with the sentiments expressed by Hadrian in his letter to Tarasius. *Hard.* Conc. tom. iv. p. 103.

[n] Besides them, not a single prelate from Italy, France, Spain, Germany, or England, had received either summons or seat. It is barely a matter of conjecture whether the Western churches had received any notice of the convocation or its object. The œcumenical character, therefore, can only be sustained by supposing that the chair of Peter might at its pleasure, and without notice or concurrence, take upon itself to represent the Church universal; and by assuming, as of course, that both the Greek and Latin churches admitted the right of Rome to take upon herself that character.

vehement declamation. In the fifth, the archpriest Peter moved that an image of the Saviour be on the morrow introduced into the assembly, to be devoutly saluted and adored by all present. The motion was adopted, and the assembly fell down and worshipped—a graven image.[o]

Pope Hadrian I. accepts and ratifies the decrees of Nicæa.

Hadrian I. promptly ratified the decrees of this seventh general council, and sent copies of its acts and decrees to Charlemagne, and the bishops of France and Germany, for their adoption. The reception which these documents met with in those realms belongs to the most remarkable and interesting features in the religious history of the period. The acts of the Nicene fathers were examined with attention and minuteness, and—peremptorily rejected. The document by which this solemn protest is vouched passes under the title of the "Libri Carolini." It was published about the year 790, in the name and by the authority of Charlemagne himself, and purports to contain a refutation of the conflicting errors of the councils of 754 and 787. The author or authors ex-

[o] *Hard.* Conc. tom. iv. p. 322. It is not said that the act of adoration was actually performed; but the resolution passed without a dissentient voice, and we may presume of course that it was complied with. The solicitude of the interlocutors, especially in the fifth and sixth sessions, to substantiate the distinction between the material image and the sacred person or thing represented, is remarkable. Upon this point the entire debate turned. It was perceived that the whole difference between absolute, or idolatrous, and relative, or spiritual, devotion, before or in the presence of a representative image, depended upon their success in establishing the distinction clearly and universally in every Christian mind. Unless they could accomplish this practical point, the image must become a trap to the unwary and the ignorant worshipper, and the Church must charge upon its own shoulders all the consequences of conducting the religious conscience in a path beset by so many spiritual dangers. For it could not escape attention that, unless the worshipper could be made to apprehend with unerring distinctness and precision what it was that he worshipped in the image, the visible object must, in the great majority of cases, supersede the spiritual object, and the worshipper be thereby seduced into absolute or idolatrous worship. The difficulty was seriously increased by the very general idea of a miraculous power or efficacy residing in the effigies of the Saviour, the Virgin, and the Saints; an opinion which of necessity transferred to the wood, the canvas, or the stone used in the manufacture, all the sanctity—it might be said, the divinity—of the object represented. The only mode of rendering images innocuous, and yet preserving their use in the sense of Pope Gregory the Great (see Book III. c. vii. p. 223 of this vol.), is to prohibit rigidly all outward acts of adoration, retaining them only as memorials of the founder and the heroes of the faith. This seems to have been the original intention of Leo the Isaurian; but the fury of party spirit, and the great difficulty of preventing the forbidden practice, soon diverted him from his purpose, and drove him to the shorter but very dangerous measures he afterwards adopted.

amined with unsparing severity every step in the argument by which the fathers of Nicæa had arrived at the conclusion that worship ought to be paid to images: they disputed their interpretations of holy writ; they ridiculed the miraculous tales upon which they relied; they impeached them of the grossest ignorance, superstition, and credulity; and they protested against the presumption and vanity which had prompted them to impose their partial definitions on the whole Christian world, as if they alone had been its sole representatives. "What infatuation," they exclaimed, "that a *particular* church should presume to bind the whole Christian world by its anathema! What raving madness, that a *part* should dare to pronounce a solemn curse upon the *whole!* This is indeed cursing without reason—rage without power—judgment without jurisdiction." Political jealousies and resentments swelled the storm of angry feeling; and it is hinted that Pope Hadrian and his party in the Nicene council had sacrificed religion and conscience to the material and temporal interests of their church.[p] Therefore, while they condemned the insolent and irreverent act of the council of 754, in displacing and breaking to pieces the images of Christ and his saints, they denounced with equal severity the attribution to them of those outward and formal tokens of devotional homage they had always regarded as unlawful; consequently, no decree of any council to such effect could have validity or currency within the Frankish realms, but must be absolutely rejected.[q]

Protest of the Gallic churches: the "Libri Carolini."

[p] The recovery of the forfeited estates of the Church in Sicily and Calabria, probably. The Protestants of the Libri Carolini, however, expressed equal disapprobation of the decrees of the image-breakers. Images and pictures, they said, had for ages past been used with great and salutary effect in France, where they had been retained in pursuance of the wholesome counsels of Pope Gregory the Great in his pastoral letter to Serenus of Marseilles. But the French churches had, they affirmed, adhered to the letter of that advice, and had never permitted any external honours in the nature of worship to be paid to them; but the wanton destruction of images they condemned as an insulting outrage upon a religious usage of great antiquity and utility, and knew of no language strong enough to convey the sentiments of disapprobation and disgust at the conduct of the council of 754 in decreeing their expulsion from the churches.

[q] The prohibition of Charlemagne included all acts of adoration, service, veneration, and worship of every kind—"omnimodum cultum," *e. g.* praying, bowing, kneeling, burning incense or tapers before them, or any of those marks of devotion by which men sig-

Apology of Pope Hadrian to Charlemagne.

Pope Hadrian received this uncivil document with extraordinary forbearance. He replied to it in a very diffuse apology for the decrees of the late Council of Nicæa; professing to have adopted them solely because he had believed them to be in conformity with the ancient practice of the Roman church, and the expressed opinion of Pope Gregory the Great; and he urged that if he had not sanctioned them, the Greeks might have reverted to the shocking heresy of iconoclasm, to the imminent peril of men's souls. But circumstances, he said, had since occurred to delay his final approval of the council; neither had he given any definite answer to the Byzantine court upon the subject: *for that, in fact, the Greeks had delayed the fulfilment of their special engagements with the holy see;* the metropolitan and other jurisdictions of the church of Rome had not been surrendered; and her patrimonial possessions sequestrated during the predominance of the iconoclastic heresy had not been restored. He therefore proposed, with the permission of Charlemagne, that his letters of acknowledgment to the emperor, for the restoration of the sacred images, should convey a severe rebuke for this breach of faith; that the emperor be pressed closely upon the subjects of jurisdiction and patrimony; and that, if he continued obdurate, he should be at once published a heretic.[r]

Great synod of Frankfort.

The attempt of Pope Hadrian to involve Charlemagne in his quarrel with the emperor and his mother Irene does not appear to have been followed by any practical result.[s] But the genuine reverence of the Western sovereign for the holy see, and the anxiety of the pontiff to maintain a good understanding with his powerful protector, disinclined both from pushing the difference upon the subject of image-worship to the

nify their adoration of God and Christ. *Fleury*, tom. ix. pp. 579 et sqq. Conf. *Cent. Magd.* cent. viii. pp. 641 et sqq.: see also the account of the synod held at Paris in the year 825 upon the subject of image-worship, published for the first time in 1596; though impugned by Baronius, subsequently reprinted from an authentic Ms. ap. *D. Bouq.* tom. vi. pp. 338 et sqq.

[r] *Hard.* Conc. tom. iv. pp. 818 et sqq.

[s] The courts of France and Constantinople were at this moment not in the best humour with each other. Irene had negotiated a marriage between a daughter of Charlemagne and her son Constantine; but from some caprice had subsequently changed her mind, and married him to an obscure Armenian girl.

length of a rupture. But in the year 794 the question of image-worship was brought forward at a great synod of the Frankish churches, probably without premeditated design. A council, consisting of three hundred French, German, and Spanish prelates, had been convoked in that year, at the royal villa of Frankfort-on-the-Mayne, to discuss the alleged heresy of the Adoptionarians, a revival of the Nestorian theory of the incarnation, with some slight difference of form. Felix bishop of Urgel in Spain, and Elipandus archbishop of Toledo, lay under accusation as the authors of the new heresy. After a minute inquiry, the opinion of the Spanish prelates was condemned. But, that business accomplished, the acts of the second Nicene council were incidentally brought under the notice of the synod. "The doctrine," says the second canon, "enounced at the late synod *of the Greeks* held at Constantinople (Nicæa) concerning the adoration due to images being brought under the consideration of this council, that, namely, they who refused to pay unto them the like adoration as to the holy Trinity should be adjudged anathema, the fathers of this council do hereby declare their rejection and contempt of adoration or servitude *in any form* paid to such images, and do unanimously condemn the same."[t]

Condemnation of image-worship.

It should be observed, that legates from Pope Hadrian were present at this council; that they approved the acts and canons; and that the pontiff himself took no

[t] *Hard.* Conc. tom. iv. p. 904. It is probable, as *Fleury* observes (tom. ix. p. 607), that this canon was suggested by some misstatement of the doctrine of the second Nicene council, which certainly took good care to guard itself against the charge of paying to images the *same kind of worship* as that due to God or Christ or the Holy Spirit. But his version of the canon is, I think, not quite candid. The fathers of Frankfort appear to me to have put the exaggerated proposition in the former clause of the canon, with a view to intensify the contrast between their view of image-worship and that of the Nicene fathers. The word used in the second or prohibitory clause is "omnimodis," in any manner or form, scilicet, of adoration. *Fleury* chooses to render the words "adorationem et servitutem" in this clause by the terms "*cette* adoration et *cette* servitude;" which, to my mind, alters the real sense of the passage, and makes the latter clause to have specific reference to the *kind* of adoration and service described in the first. But the Caroline books contain the clearest condemnation of *every kind* of adoration or service to images; and it is not imaginable that the fathers of Frankfort should so soon have forgotten their prior opinions, as now to restrict themselves to the denunciation of that which all the world acknowledged to be an enormous heresy, equivalent to idolatry.

Concurrent relations of the pope to the Frankish and Byzantine courts.

objection to any single article or canon among them all. A glance at the relative position of the pope, the emperor, and the mighty king of the Franks, will, we think, explain the unusual submission of the pontiff under religious contradiction. The attitude of Charlemagne had become threatening to the Byzantines. His assumption of the crown of Italy had placed him, in most respects, in the threatening position abdicated by the Lombards. He had pushed his conquests eastward to the very confines of the Byzantine dominions on the Danube and the Save; and now had good cause of offence in the capricious rejection of an alliance touching the honour of his family. The Byzantine court at the same time beheld with indignation the transfer of an integral portion of her dominions in Italy to the vassal bishop of Rome. That court had

Byzantine arrogance.

learnt nothing by misfortune: like fraudulent traders, the Cæsars still placed their hopeless losses to the credit of their account; and insisted upon the *dominium supremum* of vast countries in which they had not for ages possessed a foot of ground. Charlemagne himself was, in their view, at best a barbarian vassal; the pope a political traitor, whom it behoved them to cajole or coerce as opportunity offered or expediency might suggest. The pontiff, on the other

Papal cupidity.

hand, intent upon robbing his nominal sovereign, demanded a right to the produce of his political industry as perfect and indefeasible as that which the nominal head of the holy Roman empire claimed to every region and province which had at any time formed a part of that empire. We have already seen, that while Leo the Isaurian and Constantine V. were striking heavy blows against the religious influence of Rome, the pontiffs were engaged in appropriating to themselves every inch of the imperial territory in Italy they could lay their hands upon: the emperors retaliated by the sequestration of the estates of the Roman church within their remaining Italian and Sicilian dependencies, and permitting her spiritual jurisdiction over the extensive dioceses of Macedonia, Greece, Epirus, Prævalitana, Dardania,

and Illyricum, to pass into the hands of the national prelacy and their patriarch. In these respects the successful issue of the iconoclastic controversy does not appear to have improved the position of the papacy; the confiscated estates were not restored, and the Greek hierarchs were less than ever disposed to abdicate their natural jurisdictions for the benefit of the Western patriarch, from whom they had now little to fear and nothing to expect. The resentment of Hadrian I. at the disappointment of his hopes, leads to a strong suspicion that his concurrence in the extravagant theory of image-worship adopted by the second council of Nicæa was prompted rather by political than religious motives. Certain it is, that when he found that he had been overreached by the wily Greeks, he was quite prepared to pronounce sentence of heresy against the empress and her son, if Charlemagne should encourage him to hope for his assistance in recovering the territorial losses his see had sustained during the progress of the controversy.

Mutual disgust.

The pontiffs of Rome might, it may be thought, have reasonably regarded the great gains achieved through the Frankish alliance as an ample set-off against these losses. But it was not so; the papacy did not acknowledge any principle of reciprocity or compensation in their accounts with the people or the rulers of the world: they received, but never paid; and even that which they received was, in the contemplation of Rome, always accompanied with a perpetual covenant for undisturbed enjoyment, at the peril of the bodies and souls of the grantors. The breach of this implied covenant was as much a heresy as doctrinal error. But as long as any thing was to be gained, or any loss retrieved, by the aid of the secular arm, the pontiffs wisely forbore to put forward this unqualified warranty. For the moment Hadrian fully appreciated the value of his alliance with Charlemagne for protection against the resentments and intrigues of the Byzantines; to that connection he looked for the chance of reëstablishing his spiritual power in the East, and the recovery of the patrimonial territories in southern Italy and Sicily. Contrasting this posi-

Papal principles of secular acquisition.

tion with that in which he stood towards the Cæsars of Constantinople, we may, therefore, readily imagine what would have been the fate of the Caroline books, or of the second canon of Frankfort, had they appeared under the patronage of Constantine and Irene instead of that of Charlemagne.

Negotiations between Charlemagne and the Byzantines.

The Greek historians hint at a project of the empress to strengthen her own power against the court factions of Constantinople by a marriage with Charlemagne himself.[u] Embassies passed between the two courts; but whatever may have been their object, before any definite understanding could be arrived at, Irene was deposed by her minister Nicephorus. The envoys of the king to the late empress were, however, civilly received and entertained by her successor; and a settlement of boundary in Italy, in some respects advantageous to the empire, was ultimately agreed upon. A treaty of alliance was, it seems, at the same time under negotiation; but in the interim Charlemagne had assumed the imperial crown of the West. Embassies still continued to be exchanged between the two emperors, and treaties were concluded with three successive Cæsars of Byzantium; but the latter could not be prevailed upon to concede the title of emperor and Augustus to the barbarian prince; nor could they cast off the suspicion that the powerful monarch of the West intended this assumption of imperial rank and title as a first step towards the acquisition of the empire to which, in their minds, that title was exclusively appropriate.[v]

The emperor Nicephorus;

We have no doubt that so vain a project had no place among the political schemes of a monarch so distinguished for practical good sense as Charlemagne. The suspicion itself was the offspring of the jealous vanity and constitutional timidity of the court of Constantinople. Nicephorus dabbled in religious controversy with the same morbid zest as his predecessors. But he struck into a different path for the success of his

[u] *Theophanes*, Chronog. ap. *D. Bouq.* tom. v. p. 188.

[v] *Einhardi*, Vit. Car. Mag. ap. *Pertz*, tom. ii. p. 451, §§ 7, 33. See also *Annal. Einhardi*, ann. 803, 806, 812, pp. 191-193, ibid.; *Annal. Fuld.* ann. 803, 811, ibid. pp. 353-355.

schemes. The new emperor was averse from the practice of image-worship, probably because its triumph had been the glory of his predecessor's reign; he reprobated the violent methods adopted by Irene, and published an edict of general toleration in favour of those who, like himself, might object to the prevailing ritual. But toleration is the bane of fanaticism; and the Studite monks of Constantinople, under their ringleader Theodore, made the welkin to ring with exclamations of horror and disgust at this sacrilegious attempt to re-open the floodgates of iconoclasm. At their instigation the populace of the city rose in the mass, and were with difficulty reduced to submission; the monks themselves were expelled, and the ringleaders of the sedition were incarcerated. Nicephorus, and his patriarchal namesake and nominee, drew upon themselves the foul charge of Manichæism, the epitome of every heresy that had ever polluted the heart of an apostate; Irene was elevated to the rank of a saint and martyr; and the death of Nicephorus (A.D. 811) in battle with the Bulgarians was hailed by the frantic Theodore and his monastic bevy as a delivery from the dominion of sin and Satan.[w]

averse from image-worship: toleration.

Insurrections.

His successor, Michael I. (Rhangabe), reversed the religious policy of Nicephorus. The patriarch of Constantinople hastened to excuse his compliance with the heresy of his late master on the usual plea of compulsion, and poured out his devout orisons for the success of the holy cause of the sacred images.[x] In the year 813 Michael resigned the crown to Leo V., surnamed the Armenian, a soldier of fortune, and a devout adversary of image-worship. Again the city and court of Constantinople became the arena of fierce and often bloody contests for and against iconolatry. The patriarch Nicephorus hesitated at a second apostasy, and was deposed; in his place the emperor installed Theodatus, like his predeces-

Revolutions at Constantinople for and against image-worship.

[w] *Baronius*, Ann. 802, § 6, from the furious invectives of Theophanes and Theodore the Studite.

[x] See this disgusting effusion of hypocrisy and effrontery, ap. *Baron.* Ann. 811, §§ 20-43; more especially § 41.

sor a layman, in the patriarchal chair; and the new pontiff instantaneously became, in the hands of his adversaries, the representative of every vice that disgraces human nature. According to invariable custom, Theodatus sent his inaugural letters to the reigning pontiff of Rome, Paschal I. In the interim, however, a close alliance had been struck between the Studite faction and the papal court. The indomitable Theodore, archimandrite of the Studite community, unsheathed the sword of controversy with fanatical alacrity. The reasonable desire of the emperor for the convocation of a general council, at which the contradictory decisions of two equally qualified and equally numerous general synods (A.D. 754 and 787) should be discussed and reconciled, was defeated by the furious declamations of Theodore and his friends; and the emperor contented himself for the present with the banishment from the metropolis of images and monks together. Though he maintained the policy of toleration in the provincial cities and districts, the Studites and their leader found means from their prisons to keep alive the flame of religious discord, and even to open a confidential communication with Rome, where their hopes of ultimate triumph appear, by this time, to have centred.

Theodore the Studite.

Theodore continued to pour forth from his place of confinement, where he appears to have enjoyed every indulgence consistent with safe custody,[y] the most unmeasured and venomous aspersions upon his sovereign. He issued appeals to the passions of the populace; indited and despatched hortatory letters to the four patriarchs of Christendom descriptive of his own sufferings and those of his friends in the cause of the holy images; and addressed to Pope Paschal I. a memorial and supplication, omitting no phrase of Oriental adulation which might conciliate the well-known favour of Rome for those who flattered her pretensions. The pope figures in this address as "the great light; the *prince of all the priests* of the

His sycophantic adulation of Pope Paschal I.

[y] We altogether reject the tales of inhuman cruelties and persecutions inflicted on the captive advocates of image-worship by the mendacious Theophanes and his copyists. Such rigour is totally inconsistent with the freedom of communication and the unity of effort to which these same writers depose.

Lord; the apostolic chief, chosen by God himself to be the *supreme pastor* of his Church; the *doorkeeper* of the kingdom of heaven; the *rock* upon which the catholic Church is built: he is Peter, and rules all-glorious in Peter's chair; he is prince over all, established in and by God." Other addresses of Theodore and his faction may match these in extravagance. The pope "is to be *adored* as the *supreme* light of the world; the *universal* pope that sitteth upon the highest of the apostolical thrones, and made manifest as the true successor of the prince of the apostles by his sympathy with the suffering churches: he is moreover, and hath been *from the beginning*, the clear and unpolluted *source of divine truth;* the sure and only haven of refuge from the storms of heresy; the divinely-appointed city of refuge unto salvation." Then, as if struck by the immensity of the distance at which all other mortals stand before the majesty of St. Peter's chair, he exclaims: "Of a truth it is a bold thing for us, miserable and unworthy beings, thus to approach with our profane praises that *divine name* which hath, by the tongue of Christ himself, been pronounced 'blessed.'"[z]

Value of these encomiums.

We may perhaps form the safest judgment of the true value to be attached to the encomiums of the Studite faction upon the pope of Rome, by comparing them with the parallel eulogistic expressions adopted in their correspondence with the three bishops of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. Thus the first of these patriarchs is addressed as "the *in-all-things* most holy *father of fathers*, the *light of light*, the *most blessed* the pope of Alexandria." The same adulatory phrases are bestowed upon the patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem; and the latter more especially is assured that he is, in fact, the *first of all the patriarchs*, though but the *fifth* in nominal rank; for that his seat was established upon the very spot where He, the great bishop of souls and universal pontiff, was born, lived, and suffered, was buried, and rose again, and was received up into heaven; where, therefore, the *supreme patriarchal dignity* must needs reside."[a]

[z] *Baron.* Ann. 818, §§ 1, 2, p. 604.

[a] *Ibid.* Ann. 817, § 20, p. 590.

Reception of the Studite memorial at Rome.

Attributions of so universal a character are necessarily exclusive of all concurrent claims, and when applied to more than a single subject, of necessity neutralise one another.[b] But the correspondence of the Studites with the churches of the East was probably unknown to Pope Paschal; and when the synodal letters of the patriarch of Constantinople arrived, they were rejected with disdain; while those of his opponents met with the most gracious reception. The memorialists had, however, ignorantly flattered themselves with the belief that there was but one opinion among the Western churches upon the subject of image-worship; and had proposed a general council for the purpose of giving expression to that opinion. But the pope knew that the ground was hollow beneath him, and wisely abstained from the untimely measure suggested by his friends in the East. In his reply he confined himself to expressions of warm approval of their efforts, and sympathy with their sufferings in the good cause; with an earnest exhortation to persevere unto the end in opposition to the heresy of the court.[c]

Michael the Stammerer convokes a general council.

Though the votaries of image-worship gained nothing by their appeal to Rome, they were soon afterwards relieved from the pressure of real or constructive persecution by the death of the emperor Leo the Armenian (A.D. 820). His assassin and successor, Michael II., surnamed the "Stammerer," began his reign by a general amnesty; he reinstated the monks, restored their property, and issued a decree of perfect religious toleration, to continue in force until the controversy should receive its proper solution at the hands of an impartially selected and independent general council of the Christian Church. The emperor was in earnest, and

[b] Cardinal Baronius is very disagreeably affected by the address of Theodore to the patriarch of Jerusalem; but he *rather thinks* that he meant to say no more than that the Christian Church began at Jerusalem. It seems tolerably clear that Theodore wished to convey to each of his correspondents the highest opinion of his official dignity, consequently he avoids all terms of comparison that might raise either of them above the other; yet, inasmuch as the bishop of Rome alone possessed the power to serve his interests and those of his party, he prostrates himself somewhat lower before the majesty of Rome, and uses the terms most likely to command the sympathies of the pope.

[c] *Baron.* Ann. 818, § 13, and passim.

appears to have persuaded himself that he might appropriate to himself the glory of reëstablishing religious peace, after nearly a century of the most embarrassing and pernicious dissension. Without any of those previous inquiries which, in like cases, appear requisite to ascertain the dispositions of the contending parties, he issued his summonses to the prelates of the empire. But the Studite party at once avowed their uncompromising opposition to any proposal that might bring them into the most distant communication with their antagonists, or have the effect of re-opening a question they maintained to have been finally settled by œcumenical decree (A.D. 787); they vehemently denied the right of the temporal sovereign to convoke a council, or at his pleasure to set the Church in motion for the discussion or determination of religious questions,—that function, they maintained, belonged exclusively to the Church at large; and they affirmed, that when any difficulty was apprehended, the emperor was bound by ancient custom to take council of Rome, and abide by her decision. "For," said they, "*that* is the supreme Church of Christ on earth, in which Peter sat in the beginning; and unto whom the Lord had said, 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my Church.'"

Opposition of the Studites.

The Studite party had by this time ascertained that a general assembly of the churches must seriously endanger their dogmatic position. Under favour of the court, and encouraged by the tolerant policy of the emperor, there was the most imminent peril of what they most dreaded—a free discussion. The pope, they now found, could not command the suffrages of the West: a really œcumenical convocation would, in all probability, register the adoration of images, pictures, and symbols of every kind in the catalogue of heresies. They therefore prudently took their stand upon the decrees of Nicæa (787) and the papal alliance; and in aid of their position they alleged two principles not hitherto dogmatically admitted by any considerable party in the Oriental churches—*first*, that the temporal sovereign is incompetent to set the ecclesiastical powers in motion; and

Grounds of opposition.

secondly, that for any such purpose the previous assent of the pope of Rome, as supreme president of the whole Church, is indispensable. Thus prepared, they importuned the emperor to restore the sacred images to their places and their honours, to expel the bishops of the opposite party, to reinstate their friends in their forfeited sees, and to revoke his decree of toleration. Michael treated the petitioners with much courtesy, but declined to put power into the hands of persons from whom no mercy to the members of his own communion was to be expected. He had, he said, himself never bowed down before an image; but as far as he was concerned, others might, in that respect, do as they pleased, provided they granted to others the liberty they claimed for themselves. In all parts of the empire, therefore, they who worshipped images were free to set them up where and however they pleased, excepting only in Constantinople; but as that city was the place of his imperial residence, he had resolved to mark his own personal and conscientious opinions by prohibiting them altogether within its purlieus.[d]

Reply of Michael II.

The cool civility of the sovereign convinced the petitioners that he would not be easily driven from his conciliatory policy. The edict of toleration, they perceived, was silently undermining their influence;[e] and they expressed their rage and apprehension in terms of such disloyal and contemptuous vituperation as they thought must impel the court into those measures of repression which would once more elevate them to the dignity of martyrs and confessors.[f] The seditious violence of the petitioners was punished by simple banishment. Though interrupted by civil war, Michael persisted in his project of a general council; and was again encountered by a peremptory and insolent

Insolence of the Studite party.

[d] *Baron.* Ann. 821, § 39, p. 26.

[e] "Quæ utilitas si nos, qui Dei templa et sumus et dicimur, *inutiles facti sumus*, et inanimas domus servamus." *Baron.* ubi sup. § 48, p. 29.

[f] Theodore, the champion of image-worship, put the finishing hand to the profession of iconolatry: he maintained that "the *only access* to the Saviour and his saints was *through their holy images*; that therefore all who reject his image, reject Christ, and are the very worst of heretics; for by their contempt of the type they signify their rejection of the prototype." *Baron.* Ann. 823, § 25, p. 54.

denial of his right to interfere, directly or indirectly, in matters of religious concernment: "The apostles and their successors," it was contended, "were alone competent to judge and determine upon divine things; and who those successors were was equally manifest: *first*, namely, he who occupied the highest chair, to wit, that of old Rome; *next*, the bishop of the second see, that of Constantinople, or new Rome; in the third, fourth, and fifth places, the bishops of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem: these were the crown of the ecclesiastical pyramid, and in them resided the exclusive right of adjudicating upon spiritual matters and things: the emperor's sole duty was to support them with the civil power; to stamp their decrees with the seal of secular law, and to suppress all carnal resistance or contradiction." They frankly informed him that the only course open to him was without delay to suppress the prevalent heresy, to turn out the recreant bishops, and to put their sees into the hands of their own friends. After that, they said, they would not object to a synod, provided it were convoked by an orthodox patriarch, with the concurrence of his four colleagues, more especially that of the great pontiff of Rome, to whom of right belonged the *supreme power* (*summa potestas*) in all œcumenical synods.[g]

Value of Studite testimony to the supremacy of Rome.

These professions of subserviency to Rome cannot be regarded historically in any other light than as the expression of party attachment, and the desire of the weaker to purchase at any price the support of the stronger power. Destitute of all authority to speak for the majority, even in their own church, it is a simple imposture to assign to the ravings of the Studites and their champion the character of historical evidence, or to present them to the world as authentic expositions of ecclesiastical law.[h] The sole object of that

[g] *Baron.* Ann. 823, §§ 9-15, pp. 48-51. The zealous cardinal exults in the orthodoxy of Theodore, and extracts from his effusions a complete theory of Roman prerogative as to the convocation, management, and control of the councils of the Church. It is surprising that he should have so easily passed over the very unorthodox association of Constantinople with the other apostolical sees; and the equally unorthodox supposition that the concurrence of the latter was in any respect necessary to complete the powers of the pontiff of Rome.

[h] Baronius has, however, adopted

party was to multiply obstacles to the free discussion of the question of image-worship. They were determined at all hazards to maintain the decrees of 787, and were anxious to engage the pope in the like uncompromising defence of the second Nicene council. The emperor Michael, however, was well informed of the reluctance of the Gallic churches to adopt the extremes proposed by the Studite party; and in the year 824 despatched a solemn embassy to the Western emperor, Louis the Pious, with a view to engage his religious sympathies against the more serious abuses of image-worship. After describing the coarse and degrading superstitions to which that practice had given rise within his own dominions,[1] Michael vowed that he had caused all images and pictures in the churches to be removed from the lower and more accessible places to others where they were beyond reach of the touch or osculation of devotees, yet so visible as still to serve their proper purpose of instruction to the unlearned, without offering them to the adoration of the ignorant and super-

Embassy of Michael to Louis the Pious.

this course throughout his great work. When the credit of his authorities comes under our consideration, we often find that it rests upon phrases and opinions of a like partial and unauthoritative character.

[1] Though not immediately connected with the narrative, we may be allowed in a note to give an extract from the letter of the emperor, descriptive of the practices complained of. Without placing any undue reliance upon Byzantine veracity, we accept his account with the remark that it has never been contradicted. "We further take leave," says Michael II., "to inform your highness that many of our clergy and laity have of late gone back from the apostolic tradition, and have become the inventors of strange and wicked delusions. In the first instance they effaced the symbol of the cross from the churches, and afterwards they substituted images, and now they burn lamps before them, and fumigate them with incense, and hold them in as high honour and worship as if they were made of the identical wood upon which Christ our God was crucified for our salvation; they sing hymns to them, and adore them, and supplicate aid from them. Many persons clothe them in white raiment, and cause them to hold their children over the baptismal font. Others again, when they embrace the monastic profession, and cut off their hair, cause it to fall into the lap of an image (in token of spiritual adoption), instead of consigning it to some ancient of the order to be kept by him. Again, many, both of clergy and laity, are guilty of the extravagant superstition of scraping off the outside colour from their images, mixing it with the sacramental elements, and administering it in that state to the communicants. Again, others place the bread and wine in the hands of an image, and pretend to receive them from it. Again, others spread pictures of saints upon altars in private houses, and celebrate the sacred mysteries upon them; and many other things do they in the churches contrary to our religion, and to the great scandal of the more learned and sober-minded among ourselves." *Baron.* Ann. 823, §§ 10, 11, p. 66, cum not. *Pagi.*

stitious, or allowing lamps to be kept burning before them, or fumigations of incense to be performed in their honour. "For we think," said the emperor, "that the persons who practise or encourage such pernicious inventions ought to be expelled from the Church of Christ. Yet because we have set our faces against such doings, certain persons have had recourse to old Rome, and have traduced our church and true religion by denying our orthodoxy; in proof whereof, however, we herewith send you our confession of faith."

In every essential point of doctrine, that confession was strictly orthodox. But while it adopted the first six general councils, it passed over in silence both the iconoclastic council of 754 and the second council of Nicæa of 787; thereby tacitly disavowing the extreme tenets of either party. Michael, in fact, took his stand much upon the same ground as that chosen by the Caroline books and the synod of Frankfort (794), and closed in accurately with the doctrine of Gregory the Great in his instructions to Serenus of Marseilles. He expressed at the same time an exceeding aversion from schism, and the highest reverence for the holy see; and intimated that his envoys were instructed on their return to visit Rome, and to convey to the holy pope of that city certain rich presents, to be offered on the shrine of the great intercessor Peter prince of the apostles.[j] Moderation of Michael II.

This embassy gave rise to transactions between the emperor Louis the Pious and the papacy of sufficient importance to form the subject of a fifth and concluding chapter of this Book.

[j] *Baronius*, Ann. 824, § 29. The cardinal is highly scandalised by the audacity of the heretical emperor in mingling so much good orthodoxy with his blasphemies against images and their worshippers.

CHAPTER V.

ISSUE OF THE CONTROVERSY ON IMAGE-WORSHIP.

Ecclesiastical relations with Rome during the reign of Charlemagne—Louis I. the Pious—Gallic view of the question of image-worship—Commission of inquiry and report—Substance of the report—Censure passed upon Hadrian I. and Gregory II.—Proposals of the commissioners to the emperor Louis—Gallic estimate of papal authority—General exposition of the report, &c.—Letter of Louis the Pious to Pope Eugenius—Inconsequential issue of the emperor's proposal—Claudius Clemens, bishop of Turin—The reforms of Claude fall to the ground—Subsidence of the iconoclastic disturbances—Theophilus emperor—John Leconomontis—Restoration of images in the East by the emperor Michael III.—Epoch of 844.

Ecclesiastical relations with Rome during the reign of Charlemagne.

THE death of Pope Paschal I., in 824, had placed Eugenius II. upon the papal throne. Political events, of which we shall take occasion hereafter to give a more detailed account, had cemented the connection between the court of France and the papacy, and added to the influence of the secular power to an extent unprecedented in the annals of papal Rome since the downfall of the empire of the West. A spirit of self-reliance had sprung up among the French clergy simultaneously with the development of the empire of Charlemagne. His acute discernment of the religious wants of the times had placed on the spiritual thrones of France and Germany a class of men of theological and secular attainments greatly in advance of their predecessors,—it may, indeed, be added, of the age in which they lived. As long as he occupied the throne, ecclesiastical and secular legislation proceeded hand in hand. The high spiritual regard in which the see of Rome was held alike by church and state, was not allowed to interfere with the fullest freedom of movement

in the religious body. The interpositions of Rome, when they occurred, were treated with respect; and although the Gallic bishops held themselves at liberty to deal freely with all questions of faith or discipline which arose in the course of their ministrations, they still regarded themselves bound to report their proceedings to Rome, and to take counsel of the chair of Peter in all matters of more than ordinary doubt or difficulty. In the year 814, Louis I., surnamed the Pious, had succeeded his renowned father upon the imperial throne of the West. But the character of the new emperor was cast in a widely different mould. Louis was wanting in all those vigorous and self-reliant qualities which subdued the hearts and spirits of men to his great predecessor. His religious education had tended to weaken rather than to strengthen his natural character. His mental constitution was singularly liable to religious disturbance; and his feeble judgment inclined him to lean upon authority rather than upon independent inquiry or personal conviction. Hitherto the authority of the Caroline books and the council of Frankfort had remained unimpeached in the church of France. All the more learned of her clergy—probably the majority of the whole establishment—zealously maintained the unlawfulness of image-worship in any shape. They rejected the Greek distinction between absolute and relative worship; they disavowed all uses of images but those of instruction and encouragement to devotion; and rigidly denounced the performance of all external acts of homage to any visible objects as symbols of religious contemplation. The embassy of the emperor Michael powerfully affected the minds of Louis and his clergy. The disgusting abuses brought to light by the statements of the Byzantines produced a lively zeal for the purity of their own practice, and awakened a strong desire to see the precise line which divides the legitimate use of images and pictures from the idolatrous abuses prevailing in the Oriental churches fully and finally determined.

Louis the Pious.

The Gallic church on image-worship.

For that purpose, the emperor Louis, with the concurrence of his clergy, besought Pope Eugenius II. to

The emperor proposes a committee of inquiry, &c.

sanction by his license, and become a party to, a formal investigation of the great questions involved in the doctrine of image-worship. For that purpose, he proposed that the inquiry should be conducted by a select commission consisting of the most learned divines of the catholic communion of France; and that they should be instructed to search the Scriptures and the writings of the Christian fathers, with a view to collect the aggregate suffrages of the Church as the groundwork of a future and definitive settlement of all questions at issue between the fanatical image-worshippers and the equally fanatical image-breakers.[a] Pope Eugenius gave the required permission without delay, and without any recorded objection.[b]

Commission of inquiry and report.

The commissioners accordingly met at Paris in the month of November 826; and, after diligent inquiry, made their report to the emperor Louis with a freedom of censure which we must take for the result of that increase of self-reliance which the advance of information and knowledge had engendered. The reign of Charlemagne, among its manifold merits, could boast of none more justly than the liberal patronage extended to learning and learned men, the endowment of schools, and the general provisions made for the education of the

[a] The pontifical advocates contend, with some appearance of reason, that the application of the emperor Louis to the pope for his *license* (licentia) to the proposed inquest is satisfactory evidence that it was unlawful to hold any kind of inquiry having relation to matters of faith or doctrine without the previous permission of the holy see. *Baron.* Ann. 824, §§ 9, 31, 32. In the reign of Charlemagne, however, there is at least equally satisfactory evidence that no such license was regarded as essential to the legality of public or private inquiry. There is not a tittle of evidence to show that the discussion which produced the Caroline books, or the convocation of the great synod of Frankfort, was preceded by any application for leave or license to the holy see. But we see no reason to doubt that the Gallic clergy were anxious for a uniformity of doctrine respecting the use of images between their own church and that of Rome; and that to that end they regarded the opportunity as favourable to make the pope a party to the inquiry, and to bind him to its results. It is obvious that they thought a general synod premature; and that without a previous inquiry, under the sanction of the holy see, no definite issues could be proposed to the council for discussion or adoption. Hence the necessity of a license or permission from the pope for the proposed investigation.

[b] Baronius (Ann. 824, § 33) says, that he reproved the rashness of the emperor and his advisers for opening afresh an inquiry already determined by immemorial tradition; yet yielded, in order that he might not be supposed to act arbitrarily rather than according to reason. The cardinal quotes no authority, nor can I find any, for this statement.

people. The clergy of France no longer laboured under the thraldom of ignorance; conscious of the power, they no longer doubted the right to investigate for themselves the most profound questions of theology, and to censure error wherever they believed it to lurk, whether in the head or the members of the Christian body.[c]

Substance of the report. Censure upon Hadrian I.

The commissioners opened their report by a deliberate censure of the letter of Pope Hadrian I. to Constantine and Irene on behalf of image-worship.[d] Though they approved his condemnation of those who laid violent hands upon, or altogether prohibited the use of, images, yet they reprobated the sanction he had given to the bestowal of tokens of adoration or worship, the application to them of the epithet "holy," and his ratification of the decrees of a synod which upheld such reprehensible usages.[e] His quotations from the fathers of the Church in support of those practices, they said, were strange and little to the purpose; tending rather to mislead than to enlighten those whom he addressed; inasmuch as they were adduced, not to show that images and pictures ought not to be dishonoured or broken in pieces, but that they might be adored and called "holy," and that they were capable of imparting to the worshipper a certain special grace (*quandam sanctimoniam*). The emperor Charles, they further remarked, had in many respects disapproved that synod,[f] and had freely communicated his objections to Pope Hadrian I.;[g] but that, instead of correcting what was found amiss, he (Hadrian) had defended the superstitious decrees of the synod article by article, to the great scandal of the faithful, and to the manifest disparagement as well of the pontifical dignity as of the truth itself. The pontiff had professed to be guided by the precepts of the holy

[c] The Caroline books, the canon of Frankfort, and the report of the commissioners of the emperor Louis, furnish a remarkable contrast to that plain avowal of ignorance which a century and a half before induced them to adopt the whole Roman tradition, because they felt their own incompetence to escape the entanglements of religious error otherwise than by an implicit reliance upon the doctrine of Rome. See ch. i. p. 436 of this Book.

[d] See ch. iv. p. 490 n. (j) of this Book.

[e] The second Nicene council to wit.

[f] By the promulgation of the Caroline books.

[g] See ch. iv. p. 493 of this Book.

pope Gregory (the Great); it was manifest that he had misunderstood the doctrine of that holy man: they believed, indeed, that he had erred not so much against better knowledge as from positive ignorance; yet unless he had fortunately, though accidentally, found a partial support in the institutes of that blessed person, he must inevitably have fallen headlong into the gulf of superstition.

and Gregory II.

The commissioners took the liberty of commenting with equal severity upon the letters of Pope Gregory II.: they compared the decrees of the second council of Nicæa with the Caroline books, and adverted to the epistle of the preceding year from the emperor Michael to their own pious sovereign. From these documents, and other authentic reports that had come to their knowledge, they had conceived the most serious alarm at the extent to which that "wicked custom and pestilent superstition" (image-worship) had taken root and flourished: they could now understand why the emperor Louis wished for its abolition; more especially since it was found that the popes, whose special duty it was to keep others in the right path, had themselves strayed far away from it. And although the emperor had set on foot this inquiry for the satisfaction of his private conscience, and for that reason had thought it requisite to obtain the consent of the pontiff; yet as, before that, he had the will to inquire without the power, so now, being providentially furnished with authority from him who had himself swerved from the truth, that *erring authority* itself must willingly or unwillingly yield to the force of truth.[h]

[h] This passage is ambiguous. It may be doubtful whether the commissioners are describing the state of mind of the emperor Louis — that is, his private doubts of his competency, as a layman, for his own personal satisfaction to set on foot so important a theological inquiry; or whether they meant to state it as a matter of ecclesiastical law, that the papal license was essential to all inquiries of that nature. The papal writers, of course, understand them in the latter sense, and expand the apparent admission into the general proposition, that no assembly or synod whatever, touching faith or doctrine, could have any validity without the prior sanction of the holy see. I think the 'power' here alluded to does not denote the *ecclesiastical* power to discuss and to determine the points in issue; but the necessity, in this particular case, of the papal concurrence, for the purpose of settling one uniform practice regarding the use of images in the Latin church. Without that concurrence, he would have been deprived

But with all this freedom of reprehension, they advised the emperor in his dealings with the pope to avoid, as much as possible, casting blame upon him personally; and they suggested that there were others upon whom the whole charge of these misdoings might be laid *without causing scandal in the Church*:[i] they thought that by sparing the pontiff, and yet not shrinking from a frank profession of what he believed to be the truth, the emperor would best consult the interests of church union, as well as those of the holy see itself: by such means the pontiff might be gently led to adopt sounder views; and they advised that an answer should be sent to the emperor of the Greeks in conformity with their report, and that at the same time the pope should be furnished with a copy of the extracts they had made from the holy Scriptures and the fathers of the Church for the use of their master. With a view to arm him at all points, they subjoined the draughts of two letters; one to accompany the book of extracts, and the other to be proposed to the pope as the pontifical reply to the emperor Michael touching the objects of the late embassy. In order, however, to dissipate all question as to their own convictions, they declared it to be their opinion that the images of the saints ought not to be abrogated nor broken, nor altogether set aside; yet that they ought by no means to be made the objects of worship or superstitious reverence, but be retained only in memory, and for the love of those whom they represent, according to the strict tenor of Pope Gregory the Great's decretal upon the whole question.[j]

Proposals of the commissioners to the emperor Louis.

of the means of bringing the discussion to any profitable issue; and he contended, that as soon as he obtained it the pope was bound to acknowledge his error if the decision should be against him.

[i] Meaning the Greeks, who had not cleared themselves of the imputation of iconoclasm to the satisfaction of the commissioners; and whose reputation for general orthodoxy was not so well established as to make it inconvenient to shift the whole sin upon their shoulders.

[j] See the entire report, ap. *D. Bouq.* Hist. de Fr. tom. vi. pp. 338-341. And conf. *Baron.* Ann. 825, §§ 7 to 18. Baronius flouts this remarkable document. Bellarmine flatly denies its genuineness. The Jesuits *Labbé* and *Sirmond* omit it from their collections. *Pagi* admits that the practice of the Gallican church was, for many ages afterwards, in conformity with the terms of the report. It is now, however, on all hands admitted to be a genuine document. It was, indeed, first discovered and anonymously printed at Frankfort in the year 1596, by Pro-

Gallic estimate of papal authority.

It is, however, somewhat startling to find that, with all this anxiety to spare the sensitiveness of the pontifical court, more especially after admitting in some sort the right of the pope to the initiative in all inquiries of a religious character, the commissioners should advise the emperor to assert an independent and unqualified right to search the Scriptures and the writings of the "divinely inspired fathers;" and that they should express an opinion that in so doing the holy see is bound to approve of the act, "*because that see itself was subject to the dictates of Scripture and of the holy catholic fathers*, and ought therefore to be careful how it refused a reason to a reasonable inquirer: that, in fact, he (Louis) had duties to perform which must be grounded upon personal conviction, and therefore required personal research: that he was bound to pity and relieve the distracted churches of the East; where it so happened, that while one party would not endure images, the other not only set them up but bowed down to them and worshipped them; yet that both parties heaped up quotations from Scripture and the fathers in support of such contradictory views: that in the performance of this duty he (Louis) had an absolute right to the support of him to whom the Almighty had committed the vicariate over His whole Church,—of him to whom a name is given above all other names in the ranks of the pontificate; who is alone ordained to be called 'universal,' not to do his own will, but to do the will of his apostolic founders: that he (the pope) had therefore no alternative but to stand forth for the correction of these evils, and the bringing back the strayed sheep to the path of truth: that when Satan, as then, went abroad to destroy in men's hearts the holy law of charity, it was the duty of the whole order to go forth to battle against him; but more especially was it the duty of him who by apostolical authority and the reverential deference of the

testants; but whatever suspicion might have attached to it from that circumstance has since been dissipated by the discovery of an undoubted Ms. copy in the library of the learned Thuanus. *Fleury's* account, or abstract, is unusually meagre; H. E. tom. x. p. 269. D. Bouquet, it should be mentioned, does not publish the two draughts proposed by the commissioners.

Christian world is exalted to the universality: *for even he cannot be called 'universal' if he doth not combat with all his might on behalf of universal truth.*"[k]

General exposition of the intent of the commissioners.

It is not easy to determine with precision the views entertained by the commissioners of the proper functions of the papacy which these documents disclose. That the Gallic clergy were disposed to uphold the universal primacy of the chair of Peter in some sense, is obvious; yet it is equally so that they were far from conceding a prerogative independent of the ecclesiastical body corporate. Granting the universality of function, yet it is apparent that the Church was the equally universal monitor and adviser of the pontiff. They addressed him with the freedom of a co-ordinate rather than a subordinate authority, and seem to treat his function rather as a ministerial than a judicial or self-acting power. His responsibility to the Church is assumed in principle, though not affirmed in any specific form of words. The universality, though broadly assented to, is treated as dependent upon the due execution of the duties attached to the office; it is made to rest rather on the personal and official merits of the holder than upon the Petrine commission. They believed that by neglect of duty that commission would be virtually cancelled, or rest in abeyance until satisfaction be made to the Church. Consistently with this opinion, the powers vested in the chair of Peter were therefore not of a nature to transform the Church into a merely derivative institution, destitute of all life or self-action, but such as it might please the representative of St. Peter to impart: that chair was, indeed, held to be the regular instrument for setting the ecclesiastical authorities in motion; yet this was not to preclude the self-action of the hierarchy, or any constituent portion of that body, where it was requisite to support or to rectify the movements of the pontifical powers.[l]

[k] *Baron.* Ann. 825, §§ 15 to 20, pp. 75, 76.

[l] *Baronius* (Ann. 825, § 20) is more than usually sore at the touch of these documents. His business was to satisfy those of his communion that the Church was a merely derivative and dependent association, without life of its own but what it borrowed from the Petrine source.

Letter of Louis the Pious to the pope.

Louis the Pious appears, however, not altogether to have relished the bold councils of his commissioners. After mature consideration, he despatched envoys to Rome furnished with a letter to the pope of a somewhat different tenor to that drawn up for him by his late advisers. The letter avoids the tone of counsel or remonstrance; the emperor disclaims all intention to dictate to the pope, and places his own interference solely upon the ground of religious duty. "He could not," he said, "conscientiously omit to lend his aid to the pontiff: but the matter of images having been brought under his notice by the Eastern emperor, he could not avoid dealing with it; he had therefore chosen the course he had pursued as in his judgment the best; and herein he had all along acted strictly in aid of the holy see, with the knowledge and consent of the pope himself, and was therefore entitled to his utmost confidence and approbation."[m] His envoys were at the same time furnished with a copy of the extracts; but with injunctions to use them with great circumspection, and to quote such only as they knew could not be contradicted or refuted by the pope: they were to be cautious in their personal demeanour; to avoid irritating him by contradiction or resistance, but rather to draw him into their views by bland and gentle speech. If, with the usual "Roman pertinacity," the pontiff should decline every approach to an accommodation, there was no help for it; but if he should show a disposition to negotiation or compromise, they were then to propose a joint embassy to Constantinople; and to appoint time and place for the envoys of the emperor Louis to meet those of the pope, that both might proceed to their destination together.[n]

Inconsequential issue of the emperor's proposal.

The sequel of this transaction is not upon record. Pope Eugenius appears from beginning to end as a passive personage. Certainly no step was taken to carry into effect the proposal of Louis the Pious during his short pontificate; and in

[m] *D. Bouq.* tom. vi. p. 342; *Baron.* Ann. 825.

[n] *D. Bouq.* and *Baronius*, ubi sup.

that of his successor, Gregory IV., matters of a more absorbing interest occurred to engage the attention of the papal court. It is not improbable that Louis himself soon became convinced of the impracticability of his project. The history of the Oriental churches held out no encouragement to any scheme of union based upon compromise. The fate of the "Henoticon," the "Ecthesis," and the "Type;" the failure of the successive attempts of Leo the Isaurian, Constantine V., Nicephorus, Leo the Armenian, and Michael Balbus,—might concur in suppressing every expectation of success in his mind. All those attempts had proceeded on the presumption that some neutral ground might be marked out, upon which both parties might meet, if not in amity, yet in mutual forbearance and toleration. The scheme of Pope Gregory the Great offered perhaps the fairest chance of acceptance; but the fanatics on both sides rejected every middle course with equal abhorrence. It was manifest that the battle in the East must now be fought out, and the issue of orthodoxy be staked upon insensate clamour and brute force. But in the West, the powerful hierarchy of France had placed its foot firmly upon pontifical ground; they had hoisted the banner of Pope Gregory the Great, and under it were enabled in a measure to reconcile resistance and even censure of the pope with their loyalty to the see of Peter.

Claudius Clemens bishop of Turin.

But that loyalty was still a strong and genuine sentiment; and this is sufficiently proved by the active protection extended to the holy see when its vital prerogatives were assailed. In the latter years of Pope Paschal I., Claudius Clemens, bishop of Turin, had protested more loudly against the prevalent taste for images and image-worship in Italy than any of his contemporaries. In process of time his dissent took a wider sweep, and he denounced with equal vehemence every kind and form of symbolical worship: he rebuked the practices of adoring the cross, of kissing or fumigating the relics of saints; he proscribed images and pictures of every description, and repudiated their

use for any purpose, whether of devotion or instruction; he caused all symbols or representative objects to be cast out of his churches and publicly committed to the flames. Step by step he was led on to deny the spiritual efficacy of many other outward acts of religious duty generally regarded as meritorious; for instance, pilgrimages to Rome, the shrines of saints, and other spots reputed holy. The last step in the progress of dissent or reform led him to deny the supremacy of the chair of Peter, and to proclaim the apostolic commission to him and his successors to be in no wise constitutional, but functional and ministerial only; dependent, therefore, for its force and vitality upon the due performance of the duties attached to it.

The reforms of Claude fall to the ground.

The schism of Claude of Turin created a sensation in France the reverse of what might have been expected from the late opposition to image-worship in that kingdom. And if he had restricted his censures to that practice, even the act of casting out and destroying images might have been overlooked.[o] But when he attacked the favourite devotion to the holy cross, refused the accustomed reverence to relics, proscribed pilgrimages, and reduced the Roman primacy to a mere presidential and moderatorial office, their wrath knew no bounds. The dilemma to which they had reduced themselves by their repudiation of image-worship was cast in their teeth by the extreme parties on both sides. Though it were true that relics were neither pictures nor statues—though they were utterly unlike "any thing in the heavens above, in the earth beneath, or the waters under the earth"—yet both advocates and opponents might return the derisive reply: "If you kiss and fondle the dry bones, the shrivelled skin, or the tattered garments of the Saviour and his saints, why should you object to do the like reverence and worship to those effi-

[o] The celebrated Archbishop Agobard of Lyons not only denied the lawfulness of image-worship, whether absolute or relative, but maintained that, as soon as the people showed a disposition to worship images, they ought to be destroyed, to prevent the growth of idolatrous practice. *Fleury*, tom. x. p. 273; and conf. *Pagi's* account of the different views and opinions of the French controversialists, ap. *Baron.* tom. xiv. pp. 70-90.

gies to which antiquity has imputed a living resemblance to the sacred persons they are verily believed to represent?" A sense of this difficulty appears in most of the writings by which the Gallic champions strove to put to silence the formidable heresy of Claude. While some who went out to battle for Rome were drawn into a closer approximation to the Nicene doctrine, others were thrown off to a greater distance. But it is obvious that the Gallic divines were ready rather to compromise their dogmatic consistency than to abandon or endanger their connection with the chair of Peter. The pontiff, on the other hand, prudently refrained from interfering with his defenders, merely because the weapons they used were not attempered in the Roman forge. Time and the course of events justified this forbearance; and Claude and his innovations passed away without further injury to the papal cause, or perceptibly advancing the interests of a purer religious practice in the world.[p]

Subsidence of the iconoclastic controversy.

In the West, the controversy of iconolatry died off of itself, or became absorbed in the contemplation of the more interesting perspective which had already begun to dawn upon the mind of the Gallic and Germanic hierarchy. In the East, a different state of circumstances led to a like result. Theodore, the abbot of the Studite community, died in exile in the year 826. During the latter years of the life of Michael II. (the Stammerer), the faction of the image-worshippers had ceased to disturb the peace of the metropolis. In other parts of the empire, they were permitted to bow down before their images without molestation. But Theophilus, who succeeded his father in the year 829, appears to have deserted the tolerant policy of the latter. He forbade the use of images, pictures, or religious symbols of any kind; he directed them to be ejected from all the churches of the empire, and the pictures which ornamented the walls of the sacred buildings to be erased. The carvers of images, and the painters of holy portraits—a numerous class of

Theophilus emperor.

[p] See *Baron.* A. 825, §§ 56-63. Claude of Turin died in the heat of the controversy he had kindled.

artists—were objects of his special aversion.[q] The monks became frantic, and were probably treated with as little regard to humanity as to sound policy. The government expelled them from their convents, and drove them to desperation by adding the stings of hunger and destitution to their native fanaticism. The prisons, we are informed, were filled with a motley crowd of bishops, priests, monks, and image-painters, ready to endure the scourge, the scaffold, or the rack, so they might but be permitted to exhibit with all publicity their affection for the holy images, and their contempt and scorn of the imperial heretic. The sufferings endured by these faithful witnesses are described in lively colours by the orthodox Greek writers, but without alleging specific facts enough to justify the exaggerated terms in which they depict them.

John Leconomontis.

Amid the confusion of conflicting invective, it is difficult to distinguish the aggressor from the victim. The emperor and his friend John Leconomontis, patriarch of Constantinople, were assailed by the sufferers in every form of insolent invective or malignant slander. The latter was the object of special invective: he was, we are gravely told, a professed necromancer, a juggler, a whoremonger, a defiler of religious women; but all his crimes were committed in secret, for he had taken care to hide his abominations from the public eye in the recesses of a building expressly constructed for the indulgence of his hidden lusts and debaucheries. Yet it is singular that neither the cruelty nor the vigilance of Leconomontis and his master had the effect of excluding image-worshippers from the palace itself, or even from the intimate association of the monarch. Methodius, a devout member of the religious opposition, was at this very time living in the palace, apparently upon good terms with Theophilus and the imperial family. The empress Theo-

[q] A monk named Lazarus was the most popular among these artists. He was frequently and cruelly scourged for his perseverance in producing holy pictures, yet went on painting as if nothing had happened, till at length the emperor ordered his hands to be seared with red-hot irons, to deprive him of the use of his fingers; but all to no purpose—the blessed saint went on painting as vigorously as ever, and survived his persecutor many years. *Fleury* adopts this tale from Theophanes, H. E. tom. x. p. 334.

dora, and her daughter Theoctista, were known to be attached to the practice of image-worship; but the resentment of the emperor went no further than to deprive them of the dolls they kept hidden in small boxes under their pillows for occasional worship when unobserved.[r] Thus it appears that even during the reign of the zealous iconoclast Theophilus, the court itself had imbibed a strong taste for the prohibited devotion; and when, in the year 842, that prince was succeeded by his son, Michael III., surnamed the Sot, no obstacle existed to the reintroduction of image-worship in all its pristine extravagance. The empress mother, the patrician Bardas, and the powerful eunuch Theoctistes, concurred in the work of restitution: the monks were recalled, the prisons emptied, and the martyrs of the late persecution restored to honour and estate. A single opponent held out against the universal apostasy; the reprobate Leconomontis was found to have a conscience, and to prefer the resignation of his high office, and the very means of continuing the indulgence of his alleged vices, to the trivial compliances so familiar to his predecessors which might have saved him from ruin.[s]

Restoration of images in the East by Michael III.

The triumph of image-worship in the East restored for the present peaceful relations between the Greek and Latin churches. That event, we find, coincides accurately with an epoch of high importance to the progress of the pontifical power. In the year 843 the empire of Charlemagne was disintegrated by the treaty of Verdun between his three grandsons; and to the following year we trace the publication of the false decretals of Isidore Mercator, or Peccator; a production which imparted a momentum to the sacerdotal scheme hitherto unparalleled in the history of hierarchical pretensions. In the ensuing Book it will, however, be

Epoch of the year 844.

[r] Theodora was once detected in the act by the court buffoon, and betrayed to her husband; but she evaded his anger by a falsehood, and administered a severe whipping to the luckless fool. *Fleury*, tom. x. p. 332.

[s] His enemies do not grant him the merit of a voluntary resignation; but the stories they tell wear every appearance of gross slander, and are in themselves so frivolous, that it is impossible to attach any credit to them. See the narrative of *Fleury* from Theophanes, pp. 401 et sqq.

necessary to revert to the relations subsisting between the different sections of the Latin church and its chief, with a view to exhibit the series of external causes which contributed to those striking changes in the law and constitution of that section of the Christian body which transferred the claims of the papacy to a new and, politically speaking, a far stronger basis than that which existing ecclesiastical law, the policy of states, or the simple prepossessions of the people could supply.

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